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EDITED BY

HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.

NUMBER XVIII., ... 5
Contents, ... 5
NUMBER XIX., ... 321
Contents, ... 321
INDEX TO VOLUME VII., ... 713

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in September, 1804. After graduating he became an assistant teacher, first in Mr. Stevenson's school at Morristown, and then in Mr. Finley's at Basking Ridge. He resigned his place with the latter in 1807, and about the same time became a member of Mr. Finley's church, and a candidate for the ministry, under the care of presbytery. He was then for two years Latin and Greek tutor in the college at Princeton, where he devoted himself to the study of theology, chiefly under the direction of its president, Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith. On the 24th of April, 1810, he was licensed to preach the gospel by the presbytery of New Brunswick.

Continuing his theological studies during the next two years, and also preaching a while at Newtown, L. I., where he declined overtures for a settlement, he made an excursion into Virginia, and afterward to New England, and in November, 1812, returned to Princeton, in the capacity of senior tutor in the college. In 1813 he was transferred from the tutorship to the professorship of languages, and at the same time was chosen secretary of the board of trustees. He also held the offices of librarian and inspector of the college during his connection with the institution. In October of this year he was married to Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Nathaniel Lawrence, attorney-general of the State of New York.

In 1817 he was twice chosen president of Transylvania University, Kentucky, but in both instances declined. In the same year he was ordained, *sine titulo*, by the presbytery of New Brunswick, and was also elected vice-president of the College of New Jersey. In 1822, after Dr. Green's resignation, he was for one year its acting president. The next year he was chosen president of Cumberland College, Tennessee, and also of the College of New Jersey, but he declined both appointments. The same year, the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him, by Dickinson College, then under the presidency of Dr. J. M. Mason.

After refusing to consider overtures concerning the presidency of Ohio University, at Athens, he was again offered the presidency of Cumberland College, and finally induced to visit Nashville; the result of which was that he at last signified his acceptance of the office in 1824. During his absence, the board of trustees of Dickinson College had sent a deputy to Princeton, to induce him to consent to become president of that institution. On the 24th of December he arrived in Nashville with his family—the college having then been in operation a few weeks, with about thirty students. He was inaugurated with much pomp and ceremony, on the 12th of January, 1825. His address, delivered on the occasion, was published and very widely circulated. It was a noble effort, and was regarded as auspicious of

an eminently useful and brilliant career. The corporate name of the college was changed the next year to "The University of Nashville."

In May, 1834, Dr. Lindsley was unanimously elected moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church of the United States, then holding its sessions at Philadelphia. He was elected a member of the "Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians," at Copenhagen, in 1837.

In 1845, Mrs. Lindsley was taken from him by death, after a most happy union of about thirty-two years. In 1849 he was married to Mrs. Mary Ann Ayers, the widow of a kinsman—Elias Ayers, the founder of the New Albany Theological Seminary—a daughter of the late Major William Silliman, of Fairfield, Conn., and a niece of the venerable Professor Silliman of Yale College. In May, 1850, he was elected professor of ecclesiastical polity and biblical archæology in the New Albany Theological Seminary; and, having resigned the presidency of the University of Nashville in October following, he removed to New Albany in December, and entered on the duties of the professorship at the beginning of the next year. Here he continued usefully and acceptably employed until April, 1853, when he resigned the office, contrary to the unanimous wish of the board.

The remaining two years of his life were spent chiefly in study, devotion, and intercourse with his friends. A few weeks before the meeting of the general assembly in 1855, he was asked if he would consent to serve the presbytery, as a commissioner to the assembly, and his reply was, "I have never sought any appointment, and when God has placed upon me a duty, I endeavor to discharge it." He was accordingly appointed; but he seemed afterward to doubt whether it was his duty to attempt to fulfill the appointment; and he remarked, the morning that he left home, as if from a premonition of what was before him, "I think it probable I shall never return—I may die before I reach Nashville." He, however, did reach Nashville, though he reached there only to die.

On Wednesday morning, the 23d of May, while he was sitting at the breakfast-table, surrounded by his children, the conversation turned upon the danger of aged men traveling from home; and Dr. Lindsley expressed the opinion that it was unwise, and that they thereby often put their lives in jeopardy. A guest at the table pleasantly inquired, "Is not your advice inconsistent with your own lonely journey to this place?" "No," he replied, "no; I am here also at home—as well die here as any where." And in a few minutes he was struck with apoplexy, and passed instantly into a state of unconsciousness, in which he remained till his death, which occurred at one o'clock the next Friday morning.

When the tidings of his alarming illness were communicated to the general assembly, special prayers were immediately offered in his behalf, and a committee appointed to visit him, and express the sympathy of the assembly with his afflicted family. When his departure was announced, the most tender and respectful notice was taken of it, and the funeral solemnities, which took place on the succeeding Monday, and were conducted by distinguished members of the assembly, bore witness to the gratitude and veneration with which his character and services were regarded. His remains were deposited by the side of his first wife and his youngest son.

Dr. Lindsley left five children—three sons and two daughters. All his sons were graduated at the University of Nashville. One of them, Adrian Van Sinderen, is a lawyer; another, Nathaniel Lawrence, was formerly professor of languages in Cumberland University, and more recently principal of Greenwich Female Seminary, Tennessee; and the third, John Berrien, is an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church, chancellor of the University of Nashville, and professor of chemistry in the medical department of the same institution.

II. HIS CHIEF WORK AT NASHVILLE.

It will thus be seen that there were three principal fields of labor on which Dr. Lindsley, at different periods of life, made his influence felt as an educator: the first in his native state, and within the walls of his own *Alma Mater*, where he devoted fifteen years of his early prime, with unsurpassed energy and ardor, to the work of classical instruction, gradually but easily winning his way up, from a tutorship to the presidency of the college; the second at the capital of the then young and rising state of Tennessee, where, for twenty-six years, he gave the whole force of his intellect and character to the furtherance of all popular and liberal education; and the third at New Albany, where, for a few years, he imparted to candidates for the gospel ministry the well-matured results of his experience and scholarship. Of this last field we shall not now speak. His period of labor there was too short, and the circumstances of the institution too much embarrassed, to admit of much development. Nor need we dwell long on the first field, in New Jersey. Brilliant as had been his successes there, both as a scholar and a teacher, there can be no question that the great work of his life, both as it regards its intrinsic labor and its lasting usefulness, was performed in Tennessee.

Of this first period, however, we may give, in passing, the testimony of an eye-witness, Dr. Maclean, the present (1859) president of the college at Princeton. "Dr. Lindsley," says he, "was one of the best teachers of whom I have any knowledge. He had, in a high degree, the happy faculty of imparting to his pupils some of his

own ardor for the studies of his department. They were taught to give close attention to grammatical niceties, as well as to the style and sentiments of the authors studied. For youth in college, as well as for youth in classical schools, he insisted upon the importance of constant reference to the grammar and the dictionary, and of a thorough analysis of the words, as requisite to a full appreciation of the beauties of style and thought. His favorite Greek authors, if I mistake not, were Homer, Aristotle, and Longinus; and to his fondness for them may be traced some of the characteristics of his own style."

It is known that he declined the highest position in the gift of his *Alma Mater*, and cast his lot in the West, contrary to the wishes, and indeed to the deep regret, of his friends at the East. Who can tell the career of honor and usefulness which might have awaited him there had he accepted that important position? Who can say that a presidency at Nassau Hall, running through a quarter of a century, would not have presented a career of usefulness fully equal to that of Dwight at Yale, or Nott at Union, or any other which our country has yet afforded. Still we hesitate not to think that he acted wisely and well in going just when he did to what might then be called the wild woods of Tennessee. We have no manner of doubt that he there achieved a greater and more important work for his generation than he could possibly have ever done at Princeton, New Haven, or any other eastern seat of learning. The heart of man deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps. A great state was just emerging from the wilderness—building its churches and school-houses, constructing its works of internal improvement, bringing its virgin soil into cultivation, and just ready to lay the foundations of its literary and scientific institutions. The greatest work which any state can ever do for its children in all time to come, that of forming and putting into operation its systems of liberal and popular education, was here to be done. A master-workman was needed for the occasion—one who had the knowledge to grasp the problem, and the genius, energy, and enthusiasm to solve it. That master-spirit was found in Philip Lindsley. It is not too much to say that, if Cumberland College had made her selection from the entire circle of the eastern colleges, she could not probably have found any man more competent and better furnished for the task, better prepared, by all his tastes, studies, and attainments, to be the very pioneer, missionary, and champion of collegiate or university education at the South West.

Having thus selected his ground, and driven down his stakes, at a point which was then the extreme south-western outpost of educational institutions, he determined once for all not to abandon it. Nothing is more striking in all his history, and indicative of that firm-

ness of purpose which constituted so important an element in his character, than the fixed and persistent determination which kept him from ever leaving Nashville till his work was done. No inducement from abroad, and no amount of difficulty at home, could ever wean him from this his first love of western life. There was scarcely a year of the twenty-six when he might not have gone to other posts of usefulness and honor. Offers came to him unsolicited, from the East, the North, the South. To those who understood the discouragements which he had to encounter at Nashville, and the repeated liberal inducements held out to him from other quarters, there was a touch of the heroic and sublime in that steady, unalterable resolve which kept him at his chosen post so long, and from first to last so confident of success.

Says Dr. Sprague, "Though Dr. Lindsley never, directly or indirectly, sought an appointment from any literary institution, such was his reputation that he was solicited to the presidency of such institutions more frequently perhaps than any other man who has ever lived in this country. In addition to the cases already mentioned (in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio,) he was chosen to the presidency of Washington College, Lexington, Va., and of Dickinson College, Carlisle, in 1829; was chosen twice to the presidency of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa, in 1830; was chosen provost of the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, and president of the College of Louisiana, at Jackson, in 1834; president of South Alabama College, at Marion, in 1837; and president of Transylvania University, in 1839: all which appointments he promptly declined, though he was greatly urged to accept them."

Now the explanation of all this is, that he saw from the first, with the clear intuition of his strong, practical mind, that there was a great work to do in Tennessee—one not to be finished in a day or a year, but demanding the labor of a life-time; and accordingly, instead of frittering away his energies on half a dozen different schemes and points of influence, he determined to make the most of life by devoting it all to that one work, and never to leave it, until those who should come after him might be able, upon the foundation which he had laid, to rear a noble and lasting structure.

III. HIS PLANS AND PURPOSES AS TO A UNIVERSITY.

Coming to Nashville in the full vigor of his well-matured faculties, at a time when there was scarcely any thing worthy of the name of college in all the South West, it was natural that Dr. Lindsley should at once form the design of establishing an institution on a broad and permanent basis, fully equal, if not superior, to any thing

of the kind in our country. He was too well versed in all the essential elements that constitute the life of a college, ever to suppose that this could be done immediately. But we find the magnificent conception taking possession of his mind from the very beginning—of building up an institution of the first order, not only for Tennessee, but the whole South West. Accordingly, in his first public address at Nashville, in 1825, on his inauguration as president—which was throughout a most masterly plea for "*Collegiate Education*" as the very life of a free people—he expressed his views in such terms as the following:—

The grand experiment is about to be made whether this college shall be organized on a permanent and respectable basis, or whether it again be destined to a temporary existence, and to ultimate failure, from the want of due encouragement and patronage from the wealthy citizens of West Tennessee and the adjacent states. It is desirable that, in a college, provision should be made for instruction in all the sciences, and in every department of philosophy and literature. To the ultimate attainment of this desideratum we must direct our views. We hope to see the day, or that our successors may see it, when in Cumberland, or in the University of Nashville, shall be found such an array of able professors, such libraries and apparatus, such cabinets of curiosities and of natural history, such botanical gardens, astronomical observatories, and chemical laboratories, as shall insure to the student every advantage which the oldest and noblest European institutions can boast. So that no branch of experimental or physical, of moral or political science, of ancient or modern languages and literature, shall be neglected.

In his first baccalaureate address, entitled "*The Cause of Education in Tennessee*," and delivered on the first commencement of the university, in 1826, we find him developing still further the magnificent educational scheme which he had projected. He says:—

The trustees of Cumberland College have purchased one hundred and twenty acres of land, to meet the various purposes of their contemplated university. It is proposed immediately to commence the erection of a series of buildings for the accommodation of students, instructors, and stewards; consisting of five additional colleges, each sufficiently commodious for a hundred students, and three assistant professors or tutors, and of seven houses for as many principal or head-professors. We shall then have six colleges, and twenty-five instructors, and accommodations for six hundred pupils. To each college will be attached a refectory or boarding-house, with eight or ten acres of land for gardening and exercise. The colleges will be erected at such distances from each other as to prevent the usual evils resulting from the congregation of large numbers of youth at the same place. Professors will occupy houses on the intervening lots; and there will be at least three officers resident within the walls of each college. We shall thus have six distinct and separate families, so far as regards domestic economy, internal police, and social order; while one *senatus academicus* will superintend and control the whole.

A more eligible or healthful site, for such an establishment, can not be found in the western country. *Here* is the place, and *now* is the time, for generous enterprise. Here let us erect a university so decidedly and confessedly superior in every department that a rival or competitor need not be feared. Let us make ample provision for every species of instruction—scientific, literary, professional—which our country demands. Let education be extended to the physical and moral, as well as to the mental, faculties. Let agriculture, horticulture, civil and military engineering, gymnastics, the liberal and the mechanical arts—whatever may tend to impart vigor, dignity, grace, activity, health to the body—whatever may tend to purify the heart, improve the morals and manners, discipline the

intellect, and to furnish it with copious stores of useful, elementary knowledge—obtain their appropriate place and rank, and receive merited attention, in our seminary; so that parents may, with confidence, commit their sons to our care, assured that they will be in safe and skillful hands—under a government equitable, paternal, mild, firm, vigilant, and faithful—where their every interest will be consulted, their every faculty be duly cultivated, and where every effort will be made to render them intelligent, virtuous, accomplished citizens.

In his "*Baccalaureate*" of 1829, he pleads still more urgently the cause of a great university, including all the departments of law, medicine, divinity, science, literature, and the arts, and remarks:—"Scarcely any portion of the civilized Christian world is so poorly provided with the means of a liberal education as are the five millions of Americans within the great valley of the Mississippi. In casting my eye over the maps of Tennessee, it struck me from the first that this was precisely the place destined by Providence for a great university, if ever such an institution were to exist in the state. And in this opinion I am fully confirmed by several years' observation and experience. I am entirely satisfied that it is physically impossible to maintain a *university* (I am not now speaking of an ordinary college,) in any other town in the state. And for this single good reason, were there no other, namely, a medical school, which may be regarded as an essential and as the most important part of a real university, can never be sustained except in a large town or city, and the larger the better, Nashville is the only place where a medical school would even be thought of; and physicians know full well that such is the fact. If Tennessee then is to have such a school, it *must* be established in Nashville."

The *city* of Memphis was not then in existence, and it is remarkable how well the present flourishing medical school at Nashville, with its four hundred students, its able faculty, its spacious and well-arranged laboratories, museum, library, and general apparatus, hardly inferior to any in the Union, vindicates the sagacity of this early opinion and prediction.

In his commencement speech of 1837, which was one of the longest and ablest of all his educational discourses, after giving an outline of the various systems of collegiate and university education in England, Scotland, Continental Europe, and our own country, he proceeds to present a sketch or summary of the scheme which he wished to carry out at Nashville. After expressing the opinion that, for the *purpose of educating boys*, generally between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one, our isolated American colleges are, as a system, to be preferred either to the English or German universities, provided they be made in *fact* what they are in *name*, he says:—

But I would not stop here. While I would duly encourage and improve the common college, as we should the common school, there ought to be in every

state, at least in each of the larger states, one institution of the highest order and most comprehensive and commanding character. If we can not achieve this object in five or twenty years, it may be done perhaps in fifty or five hundred. If we can not hope in our day to rival Berlin, Munich, Göttingen, Leipzig, Copenhagen, Vienna, Halle, Leyden, Paris, Moscow, or even St. Petersburg, we may commence the enterprise, and leave posterity to carry it onward toward completion. For *complete*, in the nature of things, it never can be. It must be growing, advancing, enlarging, accumulating, till the end of time. No university in Europe is *complete*—not even in any one department.

Having described the necessary collections and fixtures, he then goes on to say:—

Our university must have the requisite *teaching force* also. Professors of every language, dead and living—of every science, in all its branches and subdivisions, in all its bearings and applications. To be more particular, there should be professors or teachers

Of ancient classical languages and literature;
Of oriental languages and literature;
Of modern European languages and literature;
Of mathematics, natural philosophy, astronomy;
Of chemistry, geology, mineralogy, comparative anatomy;
Of archæology—in reference to ancient nations, governments, jurisprudence, geography, mythology, arts, sciences, and still-existing monuments;
Of philology, eloquence, poetry, history;
Of physiology—vegetable, animal, and comparative;
Of ethics, politics, logic, metaphysics;
Of constitutional and international law;
Of political economy and national statistics;
Of architecture, sculpture, painting, drawing, engraving, music;
Of engineering—civil, military, and naval;
Of mechanics—principles and practice;
Of agriculture, commerce, manufactures;
Of fencing, riding, swimming, and other manly and healthful gymnastics;
Of natural history in every department;
Of all the liberal professions;
Of biblical literature;
And of religion, in such forms and modes as may be satisfactory to the judicious and reflecting portion of the community.

There should be schools, in short, for all the sciences, arts, languages, and professions. So that no youth need ever cross the ocean, to study and learn what ought to be much more safely and advantageously taught at home. The above is not given either as a complete enumeration or proper grouping of the subjects for professorships, but rather as a brief summary or outline of the more obvious and important.

Further on, he remarks—after reducing his scale for Nashville to what might at all events emulate the universities of Geneva, of New York, or Virginia—"Our first effort here in Nashville should doubtless be to elevate the only department which we have hitherto attempted to establish; that is, the college for undergraduates, or the faculty of arts, sciences, and literature. It is desirable to have professors of German, French, Italian, Spanish—perhaps of some other modern languages; though a knowledge of none of them has been made indispensable to graduation in any college."

In a word, his plan was to build up an institution, where boys might be trained, under skillful teachers, in all science and literature, before graduating; and where, after graduation, they might still pur-

sue their studies, to any extent, and in every thing that man needs to know; to combine for the pupil all the advantages of the English and American college, and for the scholar all the aids of the German university.

Of his undertaking he speaks as follows:—"Now the University of Nashville, compared with my own *beau ideal* of such an establishment, is but an element—a mere atom—a foundation—a nucleus—a corner-stone—a first essay toward the glorious consummation and perfection of my own cherished hopes and anticipations. And I could say little more of any other university in our country. I regard them all as being still in their infancy, or at most in their early youth; and that their *right* to the title of *university* is yet to be proved and confirmed by their future growth to vigorous manhood and generous maturity."

But that he would succeed ultimately in accomplishing his plan, in despite of all obstacles, he seemed never to have a doubt. We remember well his look of sublimity and his tone of determination, when in 1834, in one of his most eloquent moods, he gave utterance to these strong, triumphant words:—"We count not on the state's treasury, nor upon legislative indemnification. We rely, not upon ecclesiastical patronage, or sectarian zeal, or individual munificence; nor, indeed, upon any of the usual sources of pecuniary revenue which have reared and sustained so many flourishing institutions in other sections of our happy republic. We belong to no sect or party in church or state. We open our portals wide, and proffer our instructions freely to enterprising, moral youth of every political and religious creed in the land. Literature and science, language and philosophy, morals and virtue, unalloyed and unclouded by the dogmas of any sect or school, we inculcate and exemplify as best we can. And we appeal to the common sense and equity of mankind for the wisdom of our systems and the honesty of our proceedings. We are the staunch, uncompromising advocate of genuine religion—of pure, unadulterated Christianity—but, in all matters which distinguish one class or sect or church from another, we leave our pupils to parental guidance and discretion; and to the ministerial cares of the clergy in our city to whom they severally yield a voluntary preference.

"Where then is the ground of our hope and of our encouragement? It is in the growing strength and moral influence of our own enlightened, loyal, and patriotic sons, who issue, year after year, from our classic halls, imbued with the chivalrous spirit and republican virtue of the brightest age of Greek and Roman glory—and animated by the celestial principles of Christian magnanimity and benevolence—and whose voice shall yet be heard by a generous and honest, though hitherto

much abused and misguided people. It is in these, under the propitious smiles and overruling providence of the Most High, that we place our confidence, and garner up our soul's fondest aspirations. They will never prove recreant or traitorous. The claims of *Alma Mater* upon their affections, their zeal, their labors, their influence, their talents, and their wealth, will ever be acknowledged as of paramount and everlasting obligation.

"We say—or rather let the university proudly say—there are our sons. We send them forth into the world. And by the world's spontaneous verdict upon their training and their bearing will we abide. We calmly and confidently await the world's decision; and we feel assured of no mortifying disappointment. Our faith is strong, unwavering, invincible. And our purpose to persevere in the good work, which has thus far been signally prospered in the midst of every species of hinderance and discouragement, can not be shaken. The tongue which now speaks our high resolve, and bids defiance to scrutiny, to prejudice, to jealousy, to cowardice, to calumny, to malevolence, may be silent in the tomb long ere the glorious victory shall be achieved. But WE, the UNIVERSITY, live forever! And generations yet unborn shall rejoice in our triumphs, and pronounce the eulogium which our labors will have nobly won."

Nothing could exceed the zeal and ardor with which, on all private and all public occasions, Doctor Lindsley was found battling against popular prejudices, and defending the great enterprise to which he had consecrated his life. The college—the higher learning—university education became his abiding theme, on which he was ever ready to pour out the full treasures of his classical and accomplished mind. Probably some of the finest and most triumphant vindications of learning that ever fell from the lips of man were made by him during this period. We subjoin a few specimens:—

Ignorance never did any good, and never will or can do any good. Ignorant men are good for nothing, except so far as they are governed and directed by intelligent superiors. Hence it is the order of Providence, that in every well-regulated community children and all grossly ignorant persons are held in subjection to age and wisdom and experience. No species or portion, even of the humblest manual or mechanical labor, can be performed until the party be taught how to do it.

If it be said that the Deity has no need of human learning to propagate his religion, it may be replied that neither has he any need of human ignorance. He could, if he chose, dispense with human agency altogether. But we have yet to learn that Infinite Wisdom has ever selected an insufficient and inadequate agency for any purpose whatever. In the days of prophecy and miracle, from Moses to Paul, he never employed *human ignorance* in the work of instruction. If they were not all educated in the universities of Egypt, as was Moses, or of Judea, as was Isaiah, or of Babylon, as was Daniel, or at the feet of Gamaliel, as was Paul, they were well-trained somewhere, and by competent masters, as were the fishermen of Galilee by Christ himself, besides being endowed with the gift of tongues, and extraordinary communications for every emergency.

I use the term *university* as equivalent to the best possible system of education, and in reference to the highest order and degree of intellectual and moral cultivation. Wherever, and by whatever process, the human mind is most effectual ly imbued and enriched with the purest treasures of science and knowledge, and where the whole man is duly trained and qualified for the greatest usefulness, *there* is *my university.*

I affirm then that the UNIVERSITY, as just explained, ever has been, is now, and ever will be, the grand *conservative principle* of civilization, of truth, virtue, learning, liberty, religion, and good government among mankind. To the *university* are we indebted for all the useful arts, laws, moral, enjoyments, comforts, conveniences, and blessings of civilized society. There has never been a nation or community, highly enlightened and civilized, where the university did not dispense its kindly influences, or where it did not occupy a commanding position. The nations of antiquity degenerated, or sunk into barbarism, just as the university, or higher learning, was neglected or became extinct among them. It has never been found among savages or barbarians; and all the nations and tribes upon our globe are barbarians or savages at this day where the university is not, or where its cheering and illuminating beams have not penetrated.

If to this broad statement it be objected, that science, literature, and refinement abound in regions where no university has been established; I answer, that the beneficial effects of the university are oftentimes experienced at great distances from its actual location. The universities of Egypt extended their salutary and redeeming spirit even to barbarous Greece. Those of Europe are felt in America. And those of Massachusetts and Virginia may operate in Tennessee and Texas. In the present condition of the commercial and missionary world, the influence of the university is visible in almost every quarter—in New Holland and the South Sea Islands—on the banks of the Ganges and the Congo and the Amazon—and wherever European and American civilization has acquired even a partial or temporary resting-place.

If again we be directed to self-taught and self-made men as a triumphant negative to our whole theory; I tell you, that self-taught men (as they are styled,) such as Franklin, Ferguson, Shakespeare, Watt, Arkwright, Henry, Fulton, Davie, are, or were, just as much indebted to the university as were Bacon, Selden, Newton, Burke, Jefferson, Jay, Madison, or Whitney. The latter drank at the fountain, the former at the streams which issue from it. Had Franklin been born and bred among savages, he might have become the first among the prophets and chiefs of his tribe; but he would not have been enrolled among the greatest philosophers and statesmen of the civilized world. Washington too might have been the Tecumseh or Black Hawk of the wilderness, but not the saviour, the founder, the father of a mighty republic of enlightened and happy freemen. He had studied in the school of Locke and Milton, of Sidney and Hampden, of Tell and Phocion; and like them was *liberally* educated. He was not a scholar in the strict, technical meaning of the term, though his scholarship was respectable and far superior to that of many a college graduate.

In the eloquent appeals which he was constantly making in behalf of this grand enterprise, Dr. Lindsley was sometimes deemed a visionary and enthusiast by the short-sighted politicians of his day. But there was nothing visionary about him. Never was any man blest with a more practical mind, or a larger stock of good English common sense. He knew precisely what he was about from the beginning. He knew that the way to build up a great institution at Nashville was to secure first a *good and broad foundation in the soil.* And in that he was not mistaken. There is no manner of doubt that he could have accomplished, and would have accomplished, in his own life-time—nay, at an early period of his career—all that he had projected, if he had only succeeded in bringing the legislature or the people of Tennessee to his new views. He told them

from the beginning that a "university would be an expensive concern;" but he demonstrated that it was a concern which would *pay*—both intellectually and morally—both the rich and the poor—both the citizens of Nashville and the people of Tennessee—both them and their children. The visionaries were those who thought it would *not pay*, and that it was foolish to spend a few hundred thousand dollars, to build up a Cambridge or an Oxford, a Harvard or Yale, in the Far West.

In carrying forward so great a work, he had expected at one time to secure both the public aid of the state and the private co-operation and munificence of the citizens of Nashville. The result proved that he had to rely solely on the latter. In the address of 1832, after again unfolding his scheme of a university, he says: "This would be a species of internal improvement worthy of the republic, and which would elevate Tennessee to a rank never yet attained by any people. And the legislature, which shall boldly lay the corner-stone of such a magnificent temple of popular instruction, will deserve and will gain a glorious immortality, whatever may be the verdict of their constituents or of their cotemporaries. Their magnanimous and enlightened patriotism will be celebrated a thousand lustrums after the petty interests and conflicts of this selfish generation shall be forgotten."

But finding, after a few years' trial, that he could neither depend on state aid nor secure from individual munificence such an endowment as his scheme demanded, he then set to work manfully to make of his university as good an institution as the limited means at his disposal and the steadfast co-operation of his coadjutors at Nashville would admit of. In this spirit we find him, ever ready to modify his views to existing circumstances, and never for a moment despairing of ultimate success, giving utterance to the following words:—"In inaugurating the establishment of a university at Nashville, the honest purpose was fondly cherished from the beginning to render it *in fact* all that the name imports. Its friends desired to lay its foundations deep and broad. They felt that they were going to build for posterity as well as for the living. That kind of ephemeral popularity which is so cheaply purchased, and which is never worth the cheapest purchase, they neither sought nor coveted. They did not expect to see the gilded domes and lofty turrets of their university suddenly rising in splendor, and dazzling the eye of every beholder. They knew that they could, at best, achieve little more than the commencement of a work, which must be fostered, and enlarged, and matured, in the progress perhaps of ages to come."

These quiet words indicated the right spirit—the spirit of a true

and faithful worker, who had learned how "to labor and to wait"—a spirit which every man must have who would succeed in instructing the young, or building up a literary institution. And although, for want of funds, Dr. Lindsley did not accomplish in his own life-time the precise thing which he first projected at Nashville, yet he did succeed, in despite of manifold drawbacks and discouragements, in building up an institution which, as it regards the standard of scholarship in its professors and the attainments and subsequent usefulness of its alumni, stood, as long as he was at the head of it, second to none in the Mississippi valley. Nor did he leave it until he felt that he could safely intrust it into the hands of one who, though young to receive such a father's mantle, was fully competent, both by education and endowment, to enter into all his plans and carry forward all his work. *Qui facit per alios facit per se* is as true of a good work as the reverse. An educator's work is never fully done, nor can his influence be fully measured, short of what his pupils and his children shall do. And hence there is no improbability that Dr. Lindsley may yet, by his perpetuated influence and labor, accomplish the realization of that splendid beau ideal of a great university which rose up before his imagination as he first surveyed the beautiful city of rocks and cedars on the banks of the Cumberland.

IV. HIS SPOKEN AND PUBLISHED ADDRESSES.

The published writings of Dr. Lindsley consist chiefly of his baccalaureate addresses and occasional sermons. His great theme, even in his sermons, was education and its kindred topics. In one of his ablest published discourses, delivered at the installation of Dr. Edgar, in Nashville, in 1833, he speaks of his preaching in the following terms, indicating a far humbler estimate of it, in his own mind, than the public were accustomed to take:—"My own particular sphere of ministerial duty has ever been extremely humble and limited, as it regards age and numbers, though not unimportant in reference to the ultimate welfare of the church and the public. My province too has always demanded a different kind and form of preaching from that which obtains in a popular assembly. A word in season—a little here and a little there—and something every day to one or a dozen, as occasion offered or suggested—without touching on points of theological or ecclesiastical controversy, and without the formal method of regular sermonizing—has been the fashion of my own very imperfect essays in the good work of the gospel ministry." And hence it was that, always regarding himself as an educator of the young, he was often, even in his public discourses on the Sabbath, found pleading the cause of education.

Dr. Sprague gives the following list of his publications:—"*A Plea for*

the Theological Seminary at Princeton, (several editions,) 1821;" "*Early Piety Recommended* in a sermon delivered in the college chapel, Princeton, 1821;" "*The Duty of Observing the Sabbath* explained and enforced in a sermon addressed more particularly to the young, 1821;" "*Improvement of Time*—two discourses delivered in the chapel of the College of New Jersey, 1822;" "*A Farewell Sermon*, delivered in the chapel of the College of New Jersey, 1824;" "*An Address at his Inauguration* as president of Cumberland College, 1825;" "*The Cause of Education* in Tennessee;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, 1826;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, 1827;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, 1829;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, 1831;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, 1832;" "*An Address on the Centennial Birthday of George Washington*, 1832;" "*A Discourse at the Installation of the Rev. John T. Edgar*, Nashville, 1833;" "*A Baccalaureate*, entitled 'Speech in behalf of the University of Nashville,' 1837;" "*A Lecture on Popular Education*, 1837;" "*A Baccalaureate Address*, entitled 'Speech about Colleges,' 1848."*

Besides these he wrote various articles on education for the public prints, and contributed two learned and able papers to the "*American Biblical Repository*," on the *Primitive State of Mankind*, which excited much attention at the time both in this country and in Europe. Indeed he was one of the first, if not the very first, scholar of our times to take the ground, which has since become so common, and has recently been so ably argued in Kitto's "*Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*," viz., that man's primeval condition was not that of a savage, but a civilized being. Says Dr. Kitto, (Art. *Antediluvians*,) "That a degree of cultivation was the primitive condition of man, from which savageism in particular quarters was a degeneracy, and that he has not, as too generally has been supposed, worked himself up from an original savage state to his present position, has been powerfully argued by Dr. Lindsley, and is strongly corroborated by the conclusions of modern ethnographical research." Indeed we find Dr. Lindsley "powerfully" defending this view, (for it was a favorite theme with him, which he held with all the tenacity of a discoverer,) not only in the "*Biblical Repository*," but as far back as 1825, in his inaugural address, in which he shows that the old infidel idea of a man's being

* These educational discourses, together with that of 1850 on the "*Life and Character of Dr. Gerard Troost*," his last baccalaureate, have just been issued, in elegant style, from the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, forming an octavo of 588 pages. It is the first of a series of volumes, soon to follow, containing Dr. Lindsley's Complete Works and a Biography. This first of the series is itself a noble contribution to our literature, whether we regard it as a compendium of strong, original, and well-matured views on the great subject of education, or as the actual, connected history of a gifted mind in its efforts to enlighten the public. No educator can read it without having his spirit stirred to new zeal in his high calling.

at the start a sort of noble savage is contradicted alike by reason, revelation, and history.

But this point would lead us too far from our present purpose. Besides these publications, Dr. Lindsley left other valuable writings, in carefully-prepared manuscript, bearing on the same general topics discussed in those already mentioned. The writer heard many of these baccalaureate and other addresses, when they were delivered, and can bear witness to the powerful impression which they produced. It is questionable whether any man in our country has ever made more of the baccalaureate address, and done a more effective service with it, than Dr. Lindsley. They were always prepared with the utmost care, and charged with his maturest and weightiest thoughts. They were generally delivered to the largest audiences ever assembled in Nashville—consisting often of legislators, judges, professional gentlemen from all parts of the state, and the very *élite* of the city. He had made it a point in the start never to speak in public till he had something to say, and was fully prepared to say it. And such was his reputation, after a few efforts of this kind, that both in the college and the city, the baccalaureate was looked forward to as the great occasion of the year. He seemed never so much in his true element as on the commencement stage. And he came forth on these occasions, and delivered this heavy artillery of learning and eloquence with much of the power and success exhibited by our ablest statesmen in their set speeches in Congress. There was in fact scarcely any one instrumentality employed by Dr. Lindsley, during his whole career at Nashville, through which he seemed to exert a deeper, wider, and more wholesome influence on the public mind than these addresses. They were for the most part published in pamphlet form, and some of them passed through several editions. Thus heard and read by the leading men of Tennessee, and incorporated, as so much established truth, into the living thought of all his pupils, they were reproduced in a thousand different forms, and became part and parcel of the public sentiment in all the educated circles of the state.

And they were well deserving of the honor. We have just now had occasion to read most of them over again, after the lapse of many years. And we have been more than ever impressed with their wisdom and beauty. We know not where to find, in the same compass, within our whole range of reading, so much sound doctrine, wise counsel, and soul-stirring sentiment, on the subject of the education of the young. There are some persons who look with disparagement upon our pamphlet literature, and shrink, with a sort of dignified contempt, from the idea of a great man's burying himself in a pamphlet, as the common saying is. But no man can read the pam-

phlet addresses of Dr. Lindsley—especially if he had ever had the good fortune to see and hear him in the delivery of one of them—without feeling that they were, in his hands, a powerful engine of doing good. If he had spent his life in writing large and learned books, he could doubtless have filled a wider sphere and gained a more extended fame; but we have no idea that he could ever thus have reached and indoctrinated the leading minds of Tennessee, as he did by these apparently ephemeral but really effective spoken and published addresses. We consider his example, in this respect, worthy of all praise and all imitation on the part of those who, called to the presidency of our struggling colleges, will find it necessary, not only to supply the demand for instruction within the college-walls, but continually to create a demand for that supply without, by inspiring the people with enthusiasm for learning, and indoctrinating them into large and liberal views of the subject.

By these annual tracts on education, containing the condensed results of his own reflection, reading, and experience, fraught with the living spirit of his own burning enthusiasm for knowledge, and sent forth with the high indorsement of his acknowledged scholarship, he gave a dignity to the teacher's office in Tennessee, and elevated the whole standard of popular instruction in the South West, to an extent which is none the less real and powerful because it was done so gradually that the public mind, even to this day, is scarcely conscious of the change, or to whom it is most indebted for the elevating influence. By this we do not mean to affirm that Dr. Lindsley did all the work alone; nor to detract aught from the valuable services of his coadjutors and predecessors. There were men before him at Nashville, preparing materials for the temple of learning, even in the wilderness: as the well-known and honored names of Priestly and Hume can bear witness. And there were men with him at Nashville—men worthy of their high calling, and master-builders, each in his several department—who stood by him and nobly seconded all his efforts: such men as Troost, and Hamilton, and Thomson, and Cross, whose names will long remain as a tower of strength in Tennessee. But what we mean to say is, that Dr. Lindsley, from the time he set foot in Nashville, was the mainspring of the movement—the master-spirit of the great work of liberal and popular education. The very fact that he gathered around him, and through all embarrassment and discouragement ever kept at his side, a corps of instructors fully equal to any in our country, is proof itself of the important part we have ascribed to him. The fact that literary and scientific men, and many eminent teachers, attracted by his influence, soon found their way to Tennessee—that rare and costly standard works, and book-

stores on a scale not then known any where else in the West, began to be multiplied at Nashville—is additional proof of it. Certain it is that, under his leadership, there was an influence exerted and a work done which to this day could not have been realized, unless indeed God had raised up some other leader of like spirit and ability.

V. HIS VIEWS AND OPINIONS AS AN EDUCATOR.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this article, to give any thing like a full and exhaustive statement of Dr. Lindsley's most cherished principles, maxims, and methods, as a practical teacher. This in fact would be almost to reproduce his whole published and unpublished writings. Still it is due to any thing like a complete memoir of the man, that we should attempt, at least, some brief account of those views and opinions which he held with so much tenacity and defended with so much ability.

We may notice first his *exalted conception* of the *teacher's vocation.* No man could well have a higher estimate of its importance. And no man perhaps in our country, certainly none in the West, ever did more, both by precept and example, to honor and magnify the office. In his inaugural address he says:—

> I fearlessly put the question to any man of liberal feelings and sound judgment, and I challenge him to assign even a plausible pretext for thus degrading a teacher to the level of a drudge, or for employing none but those who are content to be drudges, and who are fit for no higher rank in society. If there be one vocation more important to the community than any other, or than all others, it is that of the instructor of youth. Every such man deserves well of his country, and is more justly entitled to her lasting gratitude than multitudes of those whom she most delights to honor. Our country needs seminaries purposely to train up and qualify young men for the profession of teaching. We have our theological seminaries, our medical and law schools, which receive the graduates of our colleges, and fit them for their respective professions. And whenever the *profession of teaching* shall be duly honored and appreciated, it is not doubted but that it will receive similar attention, and be favored with equal advantages. I again repeat, regardless of all prejudices and defying all rational contradiction, that in a republic, where knowledge is the soul of liberty, no profession ought to be more generously cherished, honored, and rewarded than that of the worthy instructor of youth.

In this connection we cite Dr. Lindsley's early advocacy of *normal schools* or *teachers' seminaries*, from the same address.

> Though the idea perhaps may be novel to some persons, yet the propriety and importance of such a provision will scarcely be questioned by any competent judges. The *Seminarium Philologicum* of the late celebrated Heyne, at Göttingen, though a private institution in the midst of a great university, furnished to the continent of Europe, during a period of nearly half a century, many of its most eminent and successful classical professors and teachers. * * *
>
> At present, the great mass of our teachers are mere adventurers—either young men who are looking forward to some less laborious and more respectable vocation, and who, of course, have no ambition to excel in the business of teaching, and no motive to exertion but immediate and temporary relief from pecuniary embarrassment; or men who despair of doing better, or who have failed in other pursuits, or who are wandering from place to place, teaching a year here and a year there, and gathering up what they can from the ignorance and credulity of

their employers. That there are many worthy exceptions to this sweeping sentence is cheerfully admitted. That we have some well-qualified and most deserving instructors we are proud to acknowledge—and as large a proportion probably in this section of our country as in the older states. Still, the number is comparatively small; and the whole subject demands the most serious attention of the good people of this community.

Now, it is sometimes the fashion to admit all this in theory and belie it in practice. But Dr. Lindsley here practiced what he preached. He carried the sacred dignity of the teacher's high calling into all the walk and conversation of life. He acknowledged no superiority in mortal man over his own work. And, in all his public efforts, as also in all his social intercourse, he threw such a fascination around the work of education as to make every man, woman, and child, that came in contact with him, feel that it was a noble, honorable, glorious, nay, even divine thing to be a teacher of youth. It was under the deep and solemn impression of this sentiment that he uttered the following weighty and eloquent words, at the close of the inaugural just named.

When I consider the value of a single individual in reference to this life, and still more in reference to a future world, and that his character and his destiny may be fixed forever in this seminary, I involuntarily shrink from the awful charge. What then must be the sensation created by the contemplation of the hundreds and the thousands who will here imbibe those principles, and acquire those habits, which must render them blessings or curses, to themselves and to the world? Who is sufficient for these things? No unassisted mortal, assuredly. To God we must humbly and devoutly look—to the infinite Fountain of grace and wisdom I must continually look—to the Eternal Giver of every good and perfect gift we must all look, for that support and direction which we so eminently need.

We notice next his favorite opinion that *education is the rightful inheritance of every human being*, and ought to be sought not merely as the *means* of making a livelihood, but as a *great good* in itself. He denounced the narrow and selfish *cui bono* principle, when applied to education, as a heresy originating in the feudal ages, when men thought that none but gentlemen of wealth and leisure, or the learned professions, needed a liberal education. He held that men ought to be educated, to the extent of their opportunities, because God had endowed them with minds capable of being improved and made happy by knowledge; and, hence, that education was the great equalizer of society, and the special heritage of the poor. He contended that every individual, who wished to rise, or wished his child to rise, above the level of the mere laborer at task-work, ought to endeavor to obtain a liberal education; that, as man was an intellectual, moral, and immortal being, so all his noblest faculties ought to be cultivated, independently of the sordid motive or prospect of pecuniary gain. "Educate your son," said he, "in the best possible manner, because you expect him to be a MAN, and not a *horse* or an *ox*. You can not tell what good he may achieve or what important offices he

may discharge in his day. For aught you know, he may, if you do your duty by him, become the president of the United States. At any rate he has reason and understanding, which ought to be cultivated for their own sake. Besides, learning is itself a treasure—an estate—of which no adverse fortune can ever deprive its possessor. It will accompany, and console, and support him to the world's end, and to the close of life." There was no theme which he loved more than this. And never did he appear more earnest, eloquent, and convincing than when pleading for collegiate education as essential to all popular education, and popular education as essential to the very salvation of our country. "None but the enemies of the people," said he, "will ever gravely maintain that a common school education, in the ordinary meaning of the phrase, is all they need. This would be virtually telling them to be hewers of wood and drawers of water under political taskmasters forever." And he never ceased to hold up the college, or that learning of which the college is the exponent, as being, through all past history, the staunchest defender of the liberty of the people, the truest friend and benefactor of the children of the poor.

Another settled opinion of Dr. Lindsley, analogous to this, was that the *college or university is essential to the existence of any thing like a perfect system of primary or common school education.* Without this higher learning, acting as a stimulus to all other departments of knowledge, and leading the van of popular improvement, it is impossible to create any general demand for education among the people, or to supply it with adequate teachers, even if it existed. The stream can not rise higher than the fountain, nor the day be brighter than its sun. To talk of the common education of any people, without this higher collegiate education—ever pouring abroad its fertilizing waters, or shining down like a sun in mid-heaven—would be like irrigating a country with a fountain lower than the land, or creating a day without any sun.

As education extends, the desire and demand for it increase. Who ever heard of a liberally educated man, who was not the hearty, devoted supporter of every judicious common school system? Such an anomaly our country has not yet produced. Our most illustrious patriots and sages have been the founders of colleges and apostles in the cause of universal education. Far be it from me to utter a syllable in opposition to primary schools. They are indispensable—and ought to be found in every neighborhood. But the best mode of encouraging and multiplying these is carefully to foster the higher seminaries; because the latter must, or ought to, furnish teachers to the former. The greater the number of liberally educated in any country the better the chance of obtaining suitable instructors for the inferior institutions. In this way the state would soon be supplied with accomplished schoolmasters. For be it known and remembered that nowhere on earth does there exist a good and efficient system of common schools, except where colleges and universities are most generously cherished, and where the largest number of poor youths are found among their *alumni.* These become teachers

of necessity. This is a matter of fact, of universal experience, and the most ingenious special pleader in behalf of popular education can not cite an exception to the rule. The truth is, the cause of colleges and of schools of all sorts is one and indivisible. And he who should attempt to establish *good* common schools, without colleges, would be compelled to import a monthly cargo of foreign teachers, or stand before the public a convicted Utopian visionary.

Still more emphatically does he express this view in the great speech of 1837.

I hold the attempt to create and foster common schools without the aid of the university to be utterly vain and nugatory. It can not be done. But establish an efficient, free-working university, any where—whether among the Turks, the Tartars, or the Hottentots—and the common school will spontaneously grow up around it, and beneath its influence: as certainly as light and heat flow from the sun in the firmament. The common school is the child and not the parent, the effect and not the cause, of the university.

So also, in his lecture on popular education, of the same year, he says:—

The best and speediest mode of enlightening a community, is to provide accomplished teachers for the children and youth of such a community. One brilliant, blazing SUN in the firmament will shed around and beneath infinitely more light than a thousand twinkling stars. Plant a noble university in our midst, and from its portals will issue streams of cheering light upon every dark corner of the land. Whereas, if you are content to get up a few scores of old-field schools, that is of mere farthing candles or feeble rush-lights, at various distant points in the wilderness, you will but render the darkness more visible and repulsive. No country was ever enlightened or elevated by such a process. Light flows only from the sun. The moon and the stars do but reflect and diffuse the luster derived from this original fountain.

Home education was always a favorite idea with Dr. Lindsley. He held that every family ought to be a school: that the family fireside was the first and most important of all schools; the parent the first and best of all teachers. This is the true infant school. In his lecture on popular education, we find this view presented with much earnestness and ability.

To distinguish this from the common school system, I have heretofore, on divers occasions, denominated it the *social* or *domestic* system of education. And while it seems singularly adapted to the wants and condition of the great mass of the poor and ignorant, the wealthier and more cultivated classes may avail themselves of its benefits also. Might not the *domestic* system, in its strictest sense, be made to supersede the *public* common school system altogether? Why should a little child ever be sent to school, who has a mother at home capable of teaching. A mother who *can* teach, and who possesses the genuine spirit of maternity, is always the best possible instructress of her children, until they reach the age of ten or twelve. She can teach them all that is expected from a common school infinitely better than any schoolmaster. This she might do without interfering with the business or comforts of a well-ordered domestic establishment. Children ought never to be closely confined at an age when they can not study. Do young children *study* while constrained to sit, book in hand, through fear of the birch, during six long hours, upon a bench (and such a *bench!*) at school? They have not yet learned *how* to study; and, of course, must either go to sleep or passively submit to the daily irksome and stupifying penance of doing nothing. At home, and under the eye of their mother, they can play, or work, or receive instruction, as she directs, and as best suits their years, capacity, and disposition. By far the larger proportion of schools for boys under twelve years of age, with which I have been acquainted in the course of

my life, I would not hesitate to denounce as nuisances and impositions. I have seen them in every part of our country, from Maine to Tennessee; and I feel confident that most parents might, if they would, form a *domestic school* at home, a thousand-fold preferable to ninety-nine out of a hundred, on an average, of the whole number of *common schools* in the United States at this moment. Such has been my honest, deliberate, and avowed opinion for many years past.

Another great doctrine, which he never ceased to urge, was the *usefulness of all learning*, primary and professional, literary and scientific, sacred and secular, English and classical. Regarding education as the best fortune a parent could give a child, he held that no labor or expense should be spared in its attainment. He held that life was a great school, in which it was never too late to learn something: that in school and college we only *learned how to learn*, and that we should ever live to learn. As life is given for improvement and usefulness, so our youth should not be hurried too rapidly over their studies. "Let us not seek to make children youth, and youth men, and men lawyers, physicians, clergymen, or politicians, too fast. Let us keep our pupils at their proper work, and carry them as far as they can safely and surely go, and no further. Better teach them one thing well than twenty things imperfectly. Their education will then be valuable as far as it extends." In his baccalaureate of 1848, when speaking of the prevailing evils in our American colleges, he says:—"In two words, our lads enter college too young, and without due preparation. They ought seldom, if ever, to graduate under twenty years; and, consequently, should not enter the freshman or lowest class younger than sixteen. Up to this period ample work might be provided for them in the primary and classical school, or by the parental fireside. Let them be thoroughly drilled in Greek and Latin—in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography—in one or more modern languages, when practicable—at all events, in the English, so as to be able to speak and write their own vernacular with grammatical accuracy and idiomatic propriety."

Probably no educator in our country ever set a higher estimate upon the value of the *ancient classics, as a part of education*, than Dr. Lindsley. Certainly none ever read them with a keener relish, or taught them with a higher enthusiasm. It would have been enough to have filled the soul of Homer, Plato, or Tully with a glow of honest and patriotic pride, could they have come back and heard their immortal pages read and expounded by one who seemed to give utterance to their matchless music with all the accuracy and emphasis of his mother-tongue. He maintained that there could be now no finished scholarship and no thorough mental discipline without a knowledge of the mathematics, languages, and sciences. "Classical learning," said he, "is so interwoven with the very texture

of modern science, literature, and language, that it is vain to expect scholarship without it, and equally vain for ignorance and prejudice any longer to denounce it." As a teacher of the classics, he required of the pupil a thorough mastery of the grammar, and the most minute and accurate acquaintance with all the forms, inflections, and niceties of the language. This verbal study alone could prepare the way for a full appreciation of the rich treasures of thought and beauty that lay hidden in the classic tongues. Indeed this was his mode of instruction in every department. Accuracy—absolute and unhesitating accuracy—was the grand characteristic of his own scholarship: and he required his pupils not only to learn a given lesson, but *to know that they knew it.* It was a maxim with him that there was nothing worthy of being done, and nothing worthy of being known, that was not worthy of being known and done well. He had no manner of patience with the smatterer, and the mere guesser at knowledge, or the man who undertook to do what he had never learned. "No man," said he, "can teach more than he knows himself. Every man can teach all that he does know. The more he knows, the more useful he will be." Whilst he despised the quack and the pretender, no man ever went beyond him in profound respect for all real knowledge—whether that knowledge was to shoe a horse, or amputate a leg, or teach a boy *hic, hæc, hoc.*

In accordance with sentiments such as these, we hear him addressing his first graduates in 1826 in the following terms of paternal and wholesome counsel.

Young Gentlemen:—Your academical career is now ended; and you have just received the usual honors and testimonials of this institution. According to the opinion which too generally prevails, you have completed your studies. This I am persuaded is not your own opinion. You have already made a juster estimate of your attainments, and of the vast and variegated field for future investigation which still lies before you, and which invites your assiduous cultivation. If you have learned *how* to study, and have acquired a thirst for knowledge, you will continue to study and to learn while you live. This indeed is the grand aim and object of all elementary education. It is to discipline the mind, to develop faculty, to mature the judgment, to refine the taste, to chasten the moral sense, to awaken and invigorate intellectual energy, and to furnish the requisite materials upon which to erect the noblest superstructure. Hitherto you have been laying the foundation, and serving that kind of apprenticeship, which may enable you to march forward by your own diligent and persevering efforts. Do not imagine therefore that your work is done. You have only commenced your studies. Whatever may be your future profession, pursuit, business, or destination, let books, science, and literature be your constant companions. Every man, who intends to do the greatest possible good in his day and generation, will every day seek to acquire additional information. He will gather it from every source within his reach. His experience, his observation, his intercourse with the world with men and things, his daily occupations, his incidental associations, the great volume of nature ever open and spread out to his view, the intellectual treasures of a hundred generations which have passed away, the records of heavenly truth and wisdom—all will conspire to increase his stores, and to qualify him for a greater and a wider sphere of useful and virtuous exertion. All the great and good men, who have enlightened, adorned, and purified the world by

their labors and their counsels, have been indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge, up to the last moment of their existence. Despise not, neglect not, any department of human learning, whenever and wherever it can be consistently cultivated. No man ever denounces as useless or superfluous any science or language with which he is himself acquainted. The ignorant only condemn; and they condemn what they do not understand, and because they do not understand it. Whenever, therefore, you hear a man declaiming against any literary or scientific pursuit, you may rest assured that he knows nothing of the matter; and you will need no better evidence of his total incompetency to sit in judgment upon the case.

We notice next his views as to the *government* and *discipline* of youth in college. His settled conviction was that *perpetual vigilance* on the part of the teacher, and *constant employment* on the part of the pupil, were alike essential in college-life. This he denominated the parental and domestic system. In the inaugural address his views on this point are thus stated:—"That system which should provide complete employment of a *proper kind* for all the time of every individual, would in my opinion be the best system, and might perhaps be fairly denominated a perfect system. And every approximation to it will, to the same extent, be an approach to perfection in this all-important concern. Keep youth busy and you keep them out of harm's way. You render them contented, virtuous, and happy. In general it may be remarked that the government of a college ought to be, as far as practicable, strictly parental. Every instructor ought to conduct toward his pupils, and to be esteemed by them, as a father or elder brother. They ought to regard him as their best friend, and to confide in him as such. Wherever this mutual confidence and affectionate intercourse do not obtain, the connection will neither be happy nor beneficial." On a subsequent occasion, in the baccalaureate of 1829, he brings out this view still more emphatically. "From my own humble experience in the business of education, and from all the information which I have been able to procure on the subject, I do believe that the only efficient system for the complete attainment of every desirable end, is that which *keeps youth constantly employed, body and mind, and which exercises unceasing vigilance and absolute control day and night*—which excludes all vicious and vitiating associates and practices—which superintends all the amusements and social intercourse of the pupils—and which, consequently, requires strong walls and numerous guards, or a large body of faithful, prudent, devoted *mentors*, to counsel, direct, restrain, and instruct them at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances."

He adds, however, that he has no expectation of ever seeing such a system put into operation: first, because the expense would be objected to by a people who can afford money for every fashionable folly and extravagance; and, secondly, its strictness, however parental

and salutary, would be complained of by a people who scarcely subject their children to any restraint whatever. Dr. Lindsley delivered some of his ablest appeals in favor of university education about the time that Tennessee and many of our states began to inaugurate their costly penitentiary systems. He not unfrequently alluded to this fact, while pleading for the education of the people as the best and cheapest method of preventing crime. In view of the lavish expenditure of the state in building costly palaces for the comfortable safe-keeping of her culprits, which he called the *big state university*—and her unwillingness to give a dollar to provide for the education of her own noble sons—he used sometimes to pour out the vials of his keen sarcasm and invective after the following style:—

> Give to the colleges at Nashville and Knoxville an organization similar to the Auburn prison—so far, I mean, as regards the safe-keeping, moral discipline, healthful exercise, and constant employment of their inmates, and their absolute exclusion from all external evil influences—and bestow upon each of them only a moiety of the sum which Pennsylvania has already expended upon the outer yard-walls of but one of her incipient penitentiaries—(said walls have cost $200,000)—and they shall render the state more service in twenty years than all the prisons of Pennsylvania will achieve in a thousand ages, or than a score of penitentiaries will effect in Tennessee to the end of time. And yet, probably, before the lapse of fifty years, half a million of dollars will be expended, and with the best intentions too, by this state, agreeably to the prevailing fashion, upon such establishments for the comfortable accommodation of a few hundred criminals, who have forfeited all claim to public indulgence, and certainly to the public purse—who ought to be punished, not rewarded.

Dr. Lindsley held the opinion—contrary to the views of many eminent educators in our country—that a *large town or city* is greatly to be preferred, for the *seat of a college or university*, to a small town or village. We need not here stop to point out the reasons which he assigns for this opinion—such as the presence of literary and scientific men, churches and other institutions, large libraries, the empire of public opinion, the restraints of refined society, the stimulus of numbers, and the check of the strong arm of the law. "Experience," says he, "has fully proved in Europe, and in the older states of this Union, that large towns or cities are greatly preferable to small ones for such institutions. All the capitals and most of the second-rate cities of Europe have their universities. And wherever they have been established in small towns, the students are proverbially more riotous and ungovernable in their conduct, more boorish and savage in their manners, and more dissolute and licentious in their habits."

He was also of the decided opinion that it was not wise to *stimulate* his students to exertion by the *usual honors and rewards* of other colleges—appealing, as they always do, to the selfish ambition of a few to the necessary discouragement of the great majority, who soon despair of such distinctions. He laid aside every thing of this

sort at Nashville, from the very beginning, and sought to instill into every pupil an enthusiastic love of knowledge for its own sake, and an ambition only to be useful. His testimony on this point, given in the appendix to one of his baccalaureates, is valuable. "This is believed to be the first college in the Union, and is still probably the only one, which has utterly discarded the old system of honorary premiums and distinctions, as incentives to industry and scholarship. This species of emulation and excitement is here unknown. Each individual is encouraged and assisted in making the best possible use of his time and talents and, in acquiring knowledge for its own sake and for future usefulness. At the close of each session, or half-year, all the classes are publicly examined on the studies of the previous session. These examinations usually occupy seven or eight days, and are conducted with such vigorous strictness and impartiality that it is impossible for ignorance or idleness to escape detection and exposure. But no aspiring youth is impelled, by the hope of a prize, to undue and dangerous exertions; and none subjected to the mortification of disappointed ambition, or of an inequitable decision. This is not the place to enlarge on these topics. But from a long experimental acquaintance with the ancient usage in other institutions, and from an eight years' trial of the present system here, I do not hesitate to give the latter a most decided preference. A much larger proportion of every class become good scholars—and much greater peace, harmony, contentment, order, industry, and moral decorum prevail than it had ever been my lot to remark at seminaries east of the mountains." He also abolished the custom, so much in vogue at other colleges, of allowing the senior class a vacation or holiday previous to graduation, and remarks that they found no difficulty in preparing appropriate exercises for the public commencement while going on with their regular studies to the end of the term. The number and ability of the speeches of his graduating classes at every commencement fully vindicated the correctness of this opinion.

Another important doctrine inculcated by Dr. Lindsley, which we must not omit in this enumeration, was that *religious principle is an essential element of all education*, and ought never to be divorced from it. This runs through all his discourses. He was never more eloquent and impressive than when urging upon his pupils the fear of God, and an humble imitation of the example of Jesus Christ. And never did the advice seem to come with more winning grace, or more convincing power, than when thus enforced from the lips of a man whom all his pupils were constrained to look upon as the very Coryphæus of learning, philosophy, and eloquence. On these high themes, the most common and familiar sentiments, coming from him,

seemed to possess new wisdom and beauty. His short and simple words—so plain, so obvious that any child might grasp them—often, on commencement day, brought tears to the eyes of the most thoughtless graduate, and of the veteran professor, as he spoke of the vanity of all earthly things, and the blessedness of the Christian's hope. In one of his addresses, after exhorting to the life-long pursuit of knowledge, he adds this timely caution. "Be not, however, the blind idolaters of genius, or of science. Both may exist where not one lovely or commendable trait of character can be found. The loftiest intellect, without virtue, is but archangel ruined. In God only do we behold the perfection of understanding, of wisdom, of knowledge, of holiness. And He is that perfect standard which we are commanded to aim at. Religion, which requires us to be like God, constitutes the whole of moral excellence. And in proportion as religion influences the heart and life, will be the moral worth of any individual. There can be no principle of integrity, of truth, of kindness, of justice, independently of religion. Nothing does, nothing can, nothing ever will, restrain any mortal from any indulgence, pursuit, gain, or abomination which he covets, and to which no disgrace is attached, except the fear of God—or what is the same thing, RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE."

In his discourse on popular education, of 1837, which contains a pretty full summary of his peculiar and long-cherished views on the whole subject of education, speaking of the want of religious instruction in some of the common school systems in our eastern states, he says:—

It adds another to the thousand melancholy proofs already before the world, that no species of mental cultivation can ever be truly beneficial, where the pupils do not, at the same time, acquire moral and religious principles and habits. Every teacher in every school, from the infant nursery up to the university, ought to be deeply imbued with the purest spirit of christian morality, and to labor assiduously in molding the hearts and lives of his youthful charge agreeably to the only standard of virtue and integrity which is recognized among Christian men. To educate Christian youth as heathens or atheists is at once absurd and monstrous. To expect such youth to become good, moral, peaceful, orderly, religious men is to expect a miracle.

No man could well have a higher appreciation than Dr. Lindsley of the necessity of a *thorough training* on the part of all those who undertake the difficult and important work of *teaching the young.* Being himself so well versed in all the methods of past ages, and so constantly informed as to all the improvements of the present time, he never ceased to insist on high qualifications in all teachers, from the common school up to the university. It was one grand object of all his efforts at Nashville to raise up and send out accomplished teachers. "Education itself," says he, in the lecture just referred to, "has become a *science:* and it deserves the most profound study of

all who wish to be esteemed skillful and thorough *educators*. Education is indeed a topic about which every body feels competent to speculate and to dogmatize—while few comprehend the nature or philosophy of the process."

He describes the good teacher as one who understands perfectly, himself, all that he assumes to teach. He must be *able* and *willing*, or apt to teach. He must possess the requisite intellectual furniture, and also *moral principle*, or he can not be trustworthy. He must be able *to do* the work, and he must also *love* the work. "He will borrow light and information from every quarter—will combine the good properties, as far as practicable, of all the known systems—and yet will teach in a manner peculiar to himself. He will constrain his pupils to love their studies. He will make it their delight to advance in knowledge and wisdom. And (as Milton has it) will insensibly lead them up the hill-side of science, usually indeed laborious and difficult at the first ascent; but, under his kindly guidance, it will appear so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospects and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus could not be more charming." But he adds, "The principal officer or commander-in-chief of every great literary institution, or seminary for juvenile instruction, ought to possess a large measure of the wisdom of Solomon, the learning of Selden, and the patience of Job."

Akin to this idea of constant religious training, he also held that the *study of the Scriptures* was essential to all right education, and should have a place in every seminary of youth. He was accustomed to address his graduating class with such words as these:—"Let the Bible be the companion of your future lives and studies. Read it daily, and with humble prayer for the illuminating influences of that blessed Spirit who first inspired and revealed it. It will be a lamp to your feet, and a light to your faith, and a joy to your hearts, in all your wanderings through life's checkered scenery and through death's dark valley. It will teach you how to value and how to improve time, talent, learning, and wealth—how to be honest—how to be religious—how to be useful—how to be happy—how to live and how to die." In that masterly inaugural address, which has been so often referred to, we find him laying down his doctrine on this point in the following passage, which, for the justness of its sentiment and its chaste and classic diction, we regard as one of the finest passages in all his writings.

The Bible ought to be studied, and its lessons of wisdom diligently enforced and practically exemplified. I say nothing of creeds, or confessions, or systems of doctrine. I speak of the Bible—the grand charter of our holy religion—of our common Christianity. And who of the great Christian family can object to this. In the heathen schools youth were always taught the religion of their country.

Every Mussulman is required to be a master of the Koran. And shall Christian youth be less favored than the Pagan and Mohammedan? Have we a book bearing the impress of Heaven—confessedly embodying the purest morality ever yet known in the world—the only authentic record of the origin of our race, and of the most stupendous events which have occurred upon our globe—filled with scenes of real life the most instructive, with biographical incident the most extraordinary and pathetic, with strains of eloquence and poetry the most melting and sublime—and withal professing to be, and acknowledged to be, our only safe guide through life, and the foundation of all our hopes of a blessed immortality—shall this book be excluded from our seminaries, and withheld from our youth, at the very period too when they most need its salutary restraints and purifying influence? And this lest, peradventure, some speculative error, or some sectarian opinion, might be imbibed! As if worse errors, and more inveterate prejudices, and the most pernicious principles, will not be sure to find their way into that heart which remains a stranger to the hallowed precepts of the sacred volume. But I intend to offer no formal agreement upon this point just now. In every place of education the Bible ought to be the daily companion of every individual; and no man ought to be suffered to teach at all, who refuses to teach the Bible. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is the doctrine of revelation, of reason, and of experience.

We must add yet another point. It was a favorite opinion with Dr. Lindsley, or rather a great general idea for which he battled bravely through all his presidency at Nashville, that education, while it should be *most distinctly religious and Christian, need not be sectarian or even denominational.* It was one of his fondest conceptions from the beginning, and it became one of the leading objects of his life, to build up at Nashville a great educational institute, founded upon the broad basis of the Bible, and as avowedly religious and Christian as the Bible itself, which yet should be in no sense sectarian, but worthy of the confidence and patronage of all evangelical denominations—being at the same time open and free to all others, whether in the church or out of it. It was just to carry out in collegiate or university education that great idea, on which our American common school system is founded, of teaching the Bible without teaching any particular church creed. Going to Tennessee when he did, before any thing like a denominational college existed in the state, it was perfectly natural that he should entertain this conception, and that he should hope—breathing as he ever did the most enlarged spirit of Christian liberality and charity—to rally all denominations of Christians around his rising university. And there is not a doubt, had they done so, but that he would speedily have accomplished all he aimed at, and, notwithstanding every obstacle, have made, somewhat on the plan of the Christian and yet unsectarian College of New Jersey, an institution which would have been an honor to the state and a blessing to every church. He did this even as it was—but on a scale altogether meager compared with what he would have done, with the cordial co-operation and support of all Christian denominations in Tennessee.

Instead of adopting his plan of endowing one great university at

Nashville, and another at Knoxville, and perhaps ultimately one at Memphis, the contrary policy prevailed of having a college in every large town and county, and one or more for every particular denomination of Christians. Bravely and long did he battle against this policy. "A *public* college," said he, "that is, a literary and scientific college, designed for the use of the public generally, ought to be independent of all religious sectarian bias, or tendency, or influence. Science and philosophy ought to know no party in church or state. They are degraded by every such connection. Christianity, indeed, if rightly interpreted, breathes a pure, angelic charity, and is as much a stranger to the strife, and intrigue, and rancor, and intolerance, and pharisaism of party as science and philosophy can be."

But it was all in vain. The denominational currents were too strong for him. From having no college in Tennessee, colleges got to be the order of the day. His very success at Nashville emboldened many to go and do likewise: colleges sprang up in all quarters faster than they were needed. In popular estimation, it was easier to build twenty colleges in the West than it had been to build one in New Jersey. After fighting against this folly for twenty-three years, he gives us the result of it all in the following statement, taken from the address of 1848. "When this college was revived and reorganized, at the close of 1824, there were no similar institutions, in actual operation, within two hundred miles of Nashville. There were none in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Middle or West Tennessee. There are now some thirty or more within that distance, (of two hundred miles,) and *nine* within fifty miles of our city. These all claim to be our superiors, and to be equal at least to old Harvard and Yale. Of course, we can not expect much "*custom*," or to command a large range of what is miscalled patronage. I have a list now before me of twenty colleges or universities in Tennessee alone. Several of these belong exclusively to individuals, and are bought and sold in open market like any other species of private property. They are invested with the usual corporate powers, and may confer all university degrees at pleasure. This is probably a *new* thing under the sun; but Solomon's geography did not extend to America."

It must not be inferred from this that Dr. Lindsley was the enemy of denominational education, or of institutions for that purpose. He disavowed any feeling of that kind. He only contended that, for rudimental and collegiate learning, the churches might have secured all they needed by combining in the support of one Christian institution; as was certainly done at Princeton, N. J. Nor must it be inferred that he was at all indifferent as to the distinctive creed of his own church. He was no latitudinarian. If any ever thought him

such, judging by his frequent denunciations of all religious bigotry and sectarianism, and his hearty commendation of the largest liberality and charity, it was because they wholly misunderstood him. There was perhaps not a minister in the Presbyterian church who held all the peculiar and distinctive doctrines of her standards with a more settled and unwavering faith. We venture to say, there is not a sentiment, in all his published or unpublished writings, which conflicts with one jot or tittle of them. His religious character, molded throughout on the Westminster Confession of faith, was a perfect refutation of the slander that a man must needs be a bigot because he is a Calvinist. He was, to all who knew him, a living witness of the great fact that the soundest and most uncompromising orthodoxy need be no stranger to that philanthropy which can look upon every fellow-man as a brother, and that genial charity which can embrace every humble follower of Christ, of every name, as a fellow Christian.

VI. RESULTS AND INFLUENCES OF HIS LIFE.

Having now gone over some of the more prominent and characteristic views which distinguished Dr. Lindsley as an educator, and in which we have aimed, as much as possible, to let him speak for himself, it only remains for us to set forth the sum or result of his labors. Of course nothing but an approximate, and at best inadequate, estimate can be given. It is not for us to know here the sum total of any mortal life; much less to tell all that lies beyond, and takes hold upon the immortal. Still we are accustomed to form some relative value of the labors of our fellow-men, from what we have seen of them, and as we compare them with others. We have, to some extent, already anticipated this part of the subject, in what has been said. But yet it may be well to bring out a little more distinctly the results and influences of such a life. It is a debt which we, the living, owe to those who are to come after us—to record the deeds and tell of the eminent virtues of those who have gone before us, that they, being dead, may yet speak.

We may form some conception of his work and influence if we consider the number and character of the pupils whom he educated. We are not able to state the whole number; but we find in his address of 1848 one important item. Up to that time there had been three hundred and ninety-eight regular graduates of the university, and fifteen hundred others had received instruction without graduating. Here then we have an aggregate of nearly nineteen hundred youths receiving the elements of an accomplished collegiate education; nearly four hundred of whom completed the whole literary and scientific course. These were from all parts of Tennessee, and from all

classes of the people—nay, from all parts of the South West. A large number of them were sons of prominent and wealthy citizens. But the rich and the poor here met together and, *pari passu*, struggled upward to the high places of knowledge and power. It mattered not, when they went forth, from what rank they had sprung. They went forth brothers and equals—all to take the foremost rank and become themselves heads and leaders of the people. They went forth into all parts of the great South West—furnished with the panoply of liberal learning, and fired with the enthusiasm of the Gamaliel at whose feet they had been sitting—to plead the great cause of education, to take part in laying the foundations of new states, new colleges and seminaries, and every where, from Tennessee to Texas and California, to fill the highest positions of honor and usefulness in the state and the church.

The writer has had occasion to know something of these great south-western states—something of the men who have founded their institutions, and of the influences which have molded the character of their people during the last quarter of a century—and, without wishing to detract a jot or tittle from other eminent and useful laborers, he can bear witness that he has visited no point in all this vast region where the influence of Philip Lindsley had not been felt and where some of his pupils were not found in the foremost rank of honorable men, bravely battling for the true and the good. Often, while weary himself with the heat and burden of the day, in some humble and distant corner of the field, has he felt his own heart cheered to renewed activity, as he has looked back to that unpretending college hillside at Nashville, and thought of the master-magician there—the very Arnold of our western colleges—who, quietly, unobserved by the world, and wielding a power greater than that of Prospero in the Tempest, was sending forth such influences to bless and save his country. What an illustration of the power of knowledge—of the way in which a good man may perpetuate his influence! Many of these nineteen hundred pupils have become educators. Through them the head-master is still teaching—teaching in the colleges, universities, high schools, common schools, medical and law schools—teaching in the pulpit, the press, the courts of justice, the legislative halls—teaching at the firesides, in the counting-rooms, in the workshops, in the banking-houses of this great Mississippi valley. The waves of popular and liberal education, thus created, as by a great central elevating force, are still rolling, and ever widening as they roll! It was fortunate, it was providential, for the South West, that such a force should be applied just *when* and *where* it was.

We may also form some conception of the extent of his influence

from another consideration. It is the statement already given respecting the unprecedented multiplication of colleges in Tennessee. In twenty-three years the two colleges in Tennessee had multiplied to twenty—nine of them within fifty miles of Nashville. For once it might be said that the schoolmaster was fairly abroad among the people. Though this result was far from being what he had been contending for, while pleading the cause of education in Tennessee, yet there can be no question that his influence had much to do, at least, as the occasion of it. Some of his own pupils, fascinated by his genius and learning, and stimulated by his success to do a great work for their particular region, or their particular denomination, embarked in this work of college-building. Nor can there be any question that this furor for colleges, however it retarded his own operations at Nashville, was in the main a great gain to the cause of education. Collegiate education is so important that it is better to have any thing—even a storm of popular favor about it—than to have a dead calm of indifference. This increase of colleges was not the best thing—far from it; but it was infinitely better than nothing. We suppose all thinking men in Tennessee, even those at the head of her colleges, would now agree that Dr. Lindsley was right—that to-day it would be better to have *one*, *two*, or *three* great Christian institutions, like Nassua Hall or Yale, well-manned and well-endowed, than to have things as they are. But inasmuch as that was not to be—though all his talents and wisdom were staked upon it—then the next best thing was the result which followed—to have every wealthy district, and every religious denomination, laboring with might and main for its own college.

But perhaps the most striking illustration of his influence as an educator is seen at Nashville itself—the scene of his longest labors—the home of his adoption—the resting-place where his ashes sleep. We have no citizenship at Nashville; and hence can not be accused of partiality in what we are about to say. But of all we have seen and known, we may safely say, there is no city west of the mountains which seems to us so justly entitled to be called the Athens of the West, as Nashville. And for that distinction we think there is no man to whom Nashville is so much indebted as Dr. Lindsley. If any man ever made his mark, deep and ineffaceable, upon a place and people, he made it at Nashville. We say this too with a full knowledge and appreciation of the eminent labors of his compeers and predecessors. There were many faithful laborers with him and before him, whose names the people of Nashville will not willingly let die—serving well their generation in all the professions and vocations of life—Priestly, Hume, Jennings, Weller, Trimble, Lawrence, Troost,

Hamilton, Stevens, Berry, Craighead, Crutcher, Porter, Yeatman, Woods, Shelby, McGavock, Ewing, Foster, Nichol, McNeiery, Gibbs, Robertson, Roane, Overton, Rutledge, Hunt, Tannerhill, Campbell, Polk, Grundy, Fletcher, Cannon, Carrol, Jackson, and many others—all intimately associated with the reputation of the city abroad and her prosperity at home. But among all these eminent and honored citizens, we doubt not that, for deep, wide, and lasting influence, the foremost place is due to Dr. Lindsley.

To appreciate this influence we have only to contrast Nashville as it now is with what it was when Dr. Lindsley became the president of Cumberland College—an interval of more than thirty years.

We had occasion to visit it for the first time in 1880, in the sixth year of his presidency, and recollect distinctly what it then was, as from an adjoining hill, and on an autumn morning, we saw its rocks, and cedars, and housetops, partially covered with the first fall of snow, and glittering like a mount of diamonds in the light of the rising sun. It was a compact little city of some five or six thousand souls, confined pretty much to a single hill or bluff on the left bank of the Cumberland. But it was beautiful even then—set like a gem in a green casket of the surrounding hill-country. It stood just at the outer apex of a long curve in the river, where, after sweeping westward, through a rich valley, and striking the elevated bluffs of stratified limestone rocks underlying the city, it flows gracefully and slowly away, in a long stretch to the north, as if its waters lingered to look upon a spot of so much beauty. It was precisely such a spot as the old classic Greeks and Romans would have chosen to build a city. It was a site of gently-rising and conterminous hills, almost as numerous and quite as elevated as the seven hills of Rome; and each of their summits at that time wore the green crown of a dense cedar grove—while from the midst of the city, seemingly out of its very housetops, rose one central and higher hill, like Alp on Alp, overlooking all the scene, and not unworthy of the Athenian Acropolis. In that central cedar-crowned hill the old Greeks would have imagined the *genii loci* to dwell. And if the traveler had chanced to visit the spot some fifty years earlier than we did, he might indeed have found there the real genius of the place—not some fabled Grecian goddess, but a wild Cherokee Indian. The *university* consisted of a single, plain, unpretending building, ninety feet long and three stories high, situated on what was called College Hill, to the south of the city, and commanding a fine view both of the city and the river. In the books of that day, the seat of all this natural beauty was described as a "Post-town, the capitol of Davidson county, containing a court-house, a jail, a market-house, a branch

bank of the United States, the respectable private bank of Yeatman, Woods & Co., a valuable public library, a respectable female academy, and houses of public worship for Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists."

Such was the capitol of Tennessee thirty years ago. And what is it now? Now it is a busy city of nearly thirty-two thousand souls, on both sides of the river, and spread out over all the hills and valleys for miles around. Now it has sixteen Protestant churches, three lines of railroad, a hundred steamboats, and an annual trade, including its manufactures, of twenty-five millions. The long, rude box of a bridge, which once connected the banks of the river, has given place to two magnificent bridges—one for railroad and the other for ordinary use—such as the Tiber never boasted, and which would have filled the old Romans with mingled wonder and delight. Those beautiful green cedars, once the glory of winter, have disappeared from all the hill-tops, and in their place have sprung up the marble mansions of wealth or the neat cottages of the artisan. That central summit, where in olden times dwelt the wild genii of the woods, is now surmounted with the capitol of Tennessee—the temple of law and justice, built of native marble, whose massive proportions, rising without an obstruction, and seen from every direction, as if projected against the very sky, would have done honor to the Athenian Acropolis in the proudest days of Pericles. And there too, looking from the broad terraces and steps of the capitol, the spectator beholds, across the city at the distance of a mile to the south, that old and famous College Hill—once "so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospects and melodious sounds," but now environed by a dense and busy population—where for twenty-six years, by day and night, went on the great work we have taken in hand to estimate—the work of training some two thousand immortal minds in all high and liberal learning. That hill is now set apart to the medical department of the university, with its spacious buildings, its costly museum, its laboratory, library, lecture-rooms, and four hundred students, gathered from all quarters of the South West. But further on in the same southern direction, and in the ample and elevated grounds which Dr. Lindsley had the wisdom to secure for such purposes at an early day, are now seen the still more costly and magnificent new buildings of the literary department, which have been erected since his resignation, through the energetic and untiring exertions of his son, the present chancellor of the university. From the capitol is also seen another commanding edifice—the public high school of the city—a noble enterprise both in its conception and execution, for which Nashville was greatly indebted to one of her own university alumni—the lamented Alfred Hume;

while a little further on to the west still stands that large and flourishing female academy, over which his venerated father, William Hume, so long and so successfully presided.

Such is Nashville, such her institutions, such her enterprise and enlargement in 1859. And now, we ask, to whom is she more indebted for all this prosperity and improvement—this intellectual, moral, social, educational, and even material development, than to the man who, even at the darkest hour of her temporary depression, when her own sons were ready to forsake her, would never leave her; but clung to her through all vicissitudes, determined neither to give up her university, nor suffer its real estate to be sacrificed? We had an opportunity, only a few years ago, of visiting Nashville, and while there, of comparing her past and present condition. We examined somewhat closely into the influences which have been at work to make her what she is. In all we saw and heard, we were more and more impressed with the conviction that the prominent elements and agencies of her growth, and of her present elevated character as a city, were those which had originated on that same College Hill. We found that the "Old University," though for a season suspended, was in fact still governing the city. We found that most of the leading men, in all the learned professions, mercantile pursuits, and even mechanic trades, had, in one way or another, been connected with the university, and in a measure *educated* by it. We found that many of her most gifted alumni from other parts of the state, and even from other states, after rising to wealth and influence at home, had worked their way back to Nashville, and were now contributing all the resources of their talents, their experience, their attainments, and their fortunes to the onward and upward growth of the city. We found that thus, congregating at Nashville, and throwing the whole weight of their character, their public spirit, their enterprise, their love of education into all the intercourse of society, and all the walks of business, and the whole public administration of the city, they were not only making the capital of Tennessee an emporium of wealth and an Athens of learning, but sending forth an influence over all the surrounding region—nay, one that must be felt in every nook and corner of the state. We found that thus there was a great elevating moral power at Nashville—the power of letters—the power of education—the power of her own university. And when we saw all this—saw *how* the city had grown, and *why* it had grown, to its present enviable position of intellectual and moral power—we remembered some of those matchless appeals, and arguments, and vindications in favor of the higher learning as the nucleus of all that was great and good, which, for

twenty-six years, Nashville had never failed to hear. The predictions were all fulfilled or fulfilling, though the eloquent tongue that spoke them was now silent. And we felt that, if Nashville should ever erect a public monument to any man, the honor was due to her eminent educator—PHILIP LINDSLEY.

Whether then we measure the results of his great life-work by its special effect upon the city of his adoption, or by its wider influence upon the progress of education in Tennessee, or by its still wider impression upon the whole South West, through the influence of its pupils—not to speak of his writings and general influence abroad—we think it can not be questioned that he has left his mark, deep and ineffaceable, upon his country and his generation. And we doubt not that, as it regards all that earlier portion of his labors, at the east, of which we have here said nothing, there are men still living in various parts of our country—once his pupils, but now leading citizens—statesmen, jurists, divines, educators—who could bear witness to his eminent abilities and to his important influence upon their own character and destiny. It can not be questioned that he was among the leading spirits of our times, and possessed one of the most acute, thoroughly disciplined, and accomplished minds in our country. He was himself a living illustration—and a noble one—of that higher culture and scholarship of which he was, through life, the eloquent advocate and defender. He never crossed the waters; but, had he gone, there can be no doubt that, as a *Grecian* and a *savant*, he would have done honor to his country in any circle of the European *literati*. Devoting all his fine powers and his ripe scholarship to the great work of education, and casting in his lot for life with the people of the West, he has set a noble example of consecration to all young men of genius. Nor will the example be lost. A great state will not soon forget the memory of her adopted son, who so early came to her help, and so long labored for her good, in the very front rank of her scholars and educators.

But our task is done. It has been to us a labor of love. Would that we could have made it a worthier tribute to his memory. We have at least been able to group together some of his own glowing and weighty thoughts. It was a striking and fitting Providence that he should be permitted to return and die on the very scene of his labors—in the presence of his fellow-citizens—in the midst of his brethren of the general assembly of the church—in the arms of his children. Such an exit, after such a life, was more blessed and more glorious than that of the soldier on the field of his fame, and in the very onset of victory. It was the ready and sublime ascent of the veteran teacher from the bosom of his early pupils, and at the sum-

mons of the Great Master, who was calling him to rest from his toils, in that world of light where we shall see eye to eye and *know* even as we are known.

His mortal part sleeps in the rural cemetery adjacent to the city, beside the dust of his kindred and many of the great and good who have been gathered there. In that quiet valley of the dead, from which spreads out in the distance the living panorama of the city—the spires and turrets of its churches, the graceful sweep of its bridges, the classic walls of its university, its medical and high schools, the proud dome of its capital towering to the sky, the gentle flow of the Cumberland toward the setting sun, and over all the blue vault of heaven—there, with his compeers and predecessors, his friends and pupils, does his body await in hope of the resurrection of the just. He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.

Such a life, when we consider its triumphs, its trials, its influences, and its issues, both temporal and eternal, may well be called a great epic. Well may it inspire the young with patriotic ardor, and with high resolves to excel in every honorable and useful calling. Well may it cheer the faithful fellow-laborer with God in the fields of education, through all the heat and burden of the day. Nobly and impressively does it teach the grand moral lesson that we labor not in vain, when we labor in the Lord and for the good of our fellow-men. Let us not be weary in well-doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;

"Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

II. THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

(Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer for the Journal of Education.

THE following Contributions to the History and Improvement of "*The German Universities*" constitutes the fourth volume of Prof. Raumer's "*History of Pedagogics*," and was translated from the last German edition, for the "*American Journal of Education*," by the Associate Editor, Mr. Frederic B. Perkins, Librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society. Prof. Raumer introduces his work with the following quotation, on the title-page, from Savigny's "*History of the Civil Law*."

"The Universities have come down to us as a noble inheritance of former times; and we are bound in honor to leave them to future generations with their condition improved as far as possible, and injured as little as possible."

The work is dedicated by the German author

TO THE

STUDENTS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT,

WHO HAVE BEEN MY COMPANIONS FROM 1811 TO 1854,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK,

IN TRUE AND HEARTFELT LOVE.

The PREFACE is as follows:—

The reader here receives the conclusion of my work.

It is a contribution to the history of the universities. When I commenced it, I hoped confidently to be able to make it greater; but in proportion as I gained an insight into the difficulty of the enterprise of writing a complete history of the German universities, my courage failed. Many of the difficulties which the historian of the German people has to overcome, are here also found in the way, and in much increased dimensions.

If all the German universities possessed the same features, if the characteristics of one of them—important modifications excepted—would stand for all, then the task of their historian would, apparently, be quite simple. But how different, and how radically different, are the universities from each other!

Even the multiplicity of the German nationalities, governments, and sects had much to do in distinguishing them. To compare, for instance, the universities of Göttingen and Jena, as they were at the beginning of the present century; what a contrast appears between them! And how much greater is the difference between these two Protestant universities and the Catholic one of Vienna!

Further than this, each single university undergoes such changes in the course of time, that it appears, as it were, different from itself. To instance the University of Heidelberg: Catholic in the beginning, it became Lutheran in 1556, Reformed in 1560, Lutheran in 1576, Reformed again in 1588; afterward came under the management of the Jesuits; and, at the destruction of their order, returned to Protestantism.

To these difficulties, in the way of the historian of all the German universities, is added this one: that the most important sources of information fail him; as we have, namely, but few competent histories of single universities—such, for example, as Klüpfel's valuable "*History of the University of Tubingen.*"

These considerations will sufficiently excuse me for publishing only contributions to a history of the German universities, which will sooner or later appear.

What I have added under the name of "Academical Treatises," is also a contribution to history; for the reason that these treatises will, of necessity, not be worthless for some future historian of the present condition of our universities.

In conclusion, I desire gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of Chief Librarian Hoeck, for books furnished me from the Göttingen library. Mr. Stenglein, librarian at Bamberg, also most willingly furnished me with books from it. The use of the Royal Library at Berlin was also afforded me, with distinguished friendliness and kindness; for which I would once more most heartily thank Privy Councilor and Chief Librarian Pertz, and Librarians Dr. Pinder and Dr. Friedlander.

ERLANGEN, *9th April*, 1854. KARL VON RAUMER.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

In order to a full understanding of the basis upon which the university system of Germany rests, and to furnish the data for a comparison between our American colleges and professional schools, and the corresponding institutions of higher learning and special scientific instruction in Europe, there are from time to time published in the "*American Journal of Education*," accounts of the Gymnasia, Latin Schools, Lycea, and other institutions of secondary education, and also of the Polytechnic Institutions, Schools of Arts, Science, Agriculture, &c., of the principal states of Europe.

In this place we can merely remind the reader that, in order justly to estimate the absolute and relative excellence and value of the German universities, and their systems, as compared with our American colleges, he must always bear in mind the great differences between the states of society in which the two classes of institutions exist, the different ages of their undergraduates, the different classes of avocations into which their graduates enter, and the different tests of attainment which are applied to these graduates before their entrance into actual life.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
MADISON, *June 4th*, 1859.

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APPENDIX XIV. THE UNIVERSITIES IN GERMANY, IN THE SUMMER OF 1853.

UNIVERSITIES.	NUMBER OF TEACHERS.						NUMBER OF STUDENTS.														
							THEOLOGIANS.														
							Catholic.		Protestants.		Law, Finance, Forests.		Medicine, Surgery, Pharmaceutics.		Philosophy and Philology.		Whole number of Foreign.	Total Matriculated.	Not matric., attend lectures.	Total matriculated and not matriculated.
	Ordinary Professors.	Extraordinary Professors.	Honorary and Assistant Professors.	Private Teachers	Teachers of Languages and Exercises.	Total.	Native.	Foreign	Native.	Foreign	Native.	Foreign	Native.	Foreign	Native.	Foreign				
Basle,	21	3	3	12		39			8	30	6	2	5	13	2	1	46	67		67
Berlin,	52	41	Acad. 7	60	8	168			149	39	526	106	254	62	253	110	317	1491	675	2166
Bern,	13	17	2	8		40			34	1	51		57	1	12	1	3	157		157
Bonn,	47	13		24	8	91	202	4	47	12	248	35	86	8	153	67	126	862	34	896
Breslau,	39	15		24	14	92	246	3	37	1	271	3	88	6	146	5	18	806	31	837
Erlangen,	26	10	2	4	5	47			132	72	131	5	63	5	15	8	90	431		431
Freiburg in the Breisgau,	26	1		7	4	38	151	37			51	4	52	13	15	4	58	327	29	356
Giessen,	31	16	2	7	1	57			45	1	161	18	108	41	96	2	62	402		402
Göttingen,	46	21		28	14	109			80	34	98	123	125	78	67	64	299	669		669
Gratz,	16	3	Suppl. 4	6	3	32	94				173	1			72	3	4	250	93	343
Greifswald,	25	8	7	10	5	55			25		55	2	80	1	35	6	9	204	4	208
Halle,	35	10		19	7	71			283	51	147	14	58	7	50	6	78	616	45	661
Heidelberg,	34	12	1	33	11	91			49	24	77	423	48	57	9	32	536	719	33	752
Jena,	24	22	8	6	10	70			57	46	74	23	60	25	49	86	180	420	12	432
Innsbruck,	15	1		2	4	22					179		51	6	17	1	7	221	33	254
Kiel,	17	11		9	6	43			25		50	3	38	4	12		7	132		132
Königsberg,	30	8		16	6	60			52		168		70	4	49	4	8	347		347
Leipzig,	44	32	2	27	4	100			105	50	262	79	150	94	36	18	241	794		794
Marburg,	29	12		14	7	62			79	7	45		65	12	32	7	26	227	20	247
Munich,	50	14	11	15	4	94	199	38			791	58	277	87	405	45	228	1893		1893
Münster,	10	4		3	1	18	164	23							124	17	40	328		328
Olmütz,	10	1		1	1	13	130				70							200		200
Prague,	37	24		23	4	88	135	4			465	1	284	12	111	3	26	1025	144	1169
Rostock,	21	3		7		31			15	5	49	5	19	5	9	1	16	168		108
Tübingen,	37	13	Ass't. 3	20	6	79	116	45	123	28	178	35	98	22	88	10	140	743		743
Vienna,	56	15		35	10	116		1	30		741	3	875	42	103	5	78	1964	439	2403
Würzburg,	30	7	1	3	5	46	91				186	5	103	199	118	3	207	705		705
Zurich,	19	16		16		51			20		35	4	76	18	48	8	30	189	16	205

II. HISTORY OF GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

[Continued from page 65, Vol. VI.]

VI. History of the Universities in the Eighteenth Century.

A. Nationalism.—The Landsmannschaften.

Pennalism, as we have seen, was based upon the national organizations. When it was suppressed, in the year 1662, it was asked whether it was extirpated from the roots, or, in other words, whether these organizations also were suppressed? The answer given was, by no means. It is, however, not easy to substantiate this answer by facts. The national organizations being strictly forbidden, it was necessary to conceal their existence by all possible means. The statutes of one of the *Landsmannschaften*, for example, provide that a new member, at his entrance, shall give his word of honor "that he will never reveal what happens at any time within the society, that he will always be diligently watchful against renouncers (students belonging to no society), and will never reveal that such a society exists, and will even endeavor to cause the contrary to be believed. But in case he shall be seriously questioned on the subject by the police or the rector, he must lie stoutly, and be willing to give up his existence at the university for the sake of the society."*

In such secrecy, it is natural that the *Landsmannschaften*, as long as they were prohibited, should come to light only occasionally. We will give a few examples.

In 1682, twenty years after the suppression of Pennalism, there arose a great tumult of the students in Leipzig, upon the prohibition of the national organizations by an electoral rescript, and it required the severest penalties to carry out the rule.†

In 1717 there arose, all at once, at Halle, a multitude of *Landsmannschaften;* Meiners names twelve. They chose seniors and subseniors, and openly wore colors as marks of distinction, as those of the Marches of Pomerania, &c. These associations were immediately prohibited by a royal rescript.‡

The *Landsmannschaften* were forbidden at Rostock § in 1750, at

* Haupt, 204. † Gretschel, 274.

‡ Meiners (*History*, iv. 163) says that these associations were in fact suppressed. But *quære*.

§ Ib. pp. 162–174.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Jena in 1765 and 1778, at Kiel in 1774, at Göttingen in 1762, at Erfurt in 1794, in Prussia and at Altorf in consequence of the decree of the diet of 1795. In 1816, when the *Burschenschaft* was organized, *Landsmannschaften* existed in most of the universities, and a contest took place between them and the *Burschenschaft.*

From two of these academical prohibitions, it appears that Pennalism still survived in the *Landsmannschaften.* Thus the Rostock law of 1850 says: "Pennalism, that barbarous custom, barbarously named, having been driven into exile from our universities, for their good, let Nationalism also, with the evils which come with it, be put away from our course of education. Therefore, if any one shall attempt to set on foot any thing either of the name, or the thing itself, who shall assume the title of senior, . . who shall subject to himself new-comers or others, or annoy them, or shall exact money from them, even a penny, him we shall estimate altogether unfit to be a member of this academy."

The law of the University of Kiel, of 1774, is still more severe: "Any one daring to introduce or establish the infamous custom of Pennalism, condemned and proscribed by all good and wise persons, or to call together seditious assemblies, or to set up the national societies, or to annoy students lately come to the university, by the exaction of money, or entertainments, or other unjust treatment, shall be subjected to penalties, to be determined in each case, and shall be put away, as an enemy and traitor to the university."

That Pennalism still prevailed in Göttingen, appears from a rescript of Münchhausen to the university, of 1757; which directs care to be taken, "that neither shall newly arrived students, by the post or other conveyance, be made sport of; nor shall such students as use, for their own pleasure, to form the acquaintance of new-comers, and to that end to put themselves in their way, obtain them lodgings and strike up friendships with them, be permitted to practice such presumptuous means of corrupting young persons."*

Klüpfel† gives a striking sketch of the *Landsmannschaften* or Corps.

"Each Corps," he says, "is divided into regular and irregular members, *Corps-burschen*, and *Renoncen.* Only the former are full members of the association, and form its nucleus; the others, as their name indicates, are such as do not claim full members' rights, but attach themselves to the Corps for the sake of its protection and influence. In like manner the *Renoncen* are in a sort of novitiate, where every one wishing to join the Corps has to remain for a time,

* Meiners, ii. 210.

† Pp. 298-398. It must be understood that Klüpfel's description does not apply equally to all the Corps (*Landsmannschaften* National Societies), and much less to all their individual members. I know very estimable persons, and myself had excellent pupils, belonging to Corps of the better sort. But this does not impair the general correctness of his picture.

until he can claim full membership. Admission is attended with certain ceremonies, frequently with a sort of catechisation on the *Comment* and principles of the association, the attaching a ribbon, the communication of the cipher of the association, and the kiss of brotherhood. At the head of the organization, and chosen from among members, for one year, stands a senior, a consenior, a secretary, and a number of special committeemen (*weitere Chargirte*), proportioned to that of the members. All these together constitute the council, which resolves absolutely upon all matters connected with the Corps, attends to its connections abroad, presides at its regular festivals, and to which the unconditional obedience of every member is due. Each Corps has, besides, minor distinctive peculiarities, to which it is a point of importance to adhere without variation. The various Corps are connected together by their common object of maintaining the *Comment*,* and of keeping up their fantastic and brilliant phase of student-life. The co-operation necessary for these purposes is kept up by the convention of seniors, and the convention of committeemen. These hold the place of supreme authority among the students, and seek to maintain their position by means of the rule, that every student who would have a voice in public matters must belong to an association and act through his Senior; that the Convention of Seniors alone shall give laws, direct festivals, and put forth decisions; and that any one opposing its determinations or disobeying its decisions on points of honor, &c., shall, by so doing, incur the condemnation of infamy.

"From these societies, and among them, there grew into existence a kind of student-life, social among its members, and jovial to others. Their members had frequently been friends at the inferior schools; each upheld all, and all each: the consciousness of belonging to an organization gave a certain confidence and freedom to their manners; prominent and favorite persons, such as every Corps contained, planted and cherished a cheerful and bold spirit. At the same time, each society strove to outdo the rest in the splendor and solemnity of their society and anniversary feasts; and there was always a magnificent display when whole Corps, with all their dependents, met at some festival, and the society colors vied with each other in display.

"But dangerous and grievous harms began to show themselves, derived from the Corps organization.

"The *Circuli Fratrum*, or circles of brothers, were intended to be societies of intellectually educated young men, of an age most susceptible to lofty ideas, and who were summoned to mental growth in an atmosphere such as, when kept in motion by the flights of genius, will stimulate the noblest powers. But these circles became too exclusively mere open convivial societies of good-fellows, aiming chiefly at pleasure, and very often at exceedingly material pleasures, without any higher purpose, or broad and inspiriting beliefs. This emptiness and insipidity must, of course, very soon become irksome to intellects and spirits of the higher class. These would not suffer themselves to be hidden under showy externals and pompous public appearances. The brotherhood among the brethren of the societies, which was held up as one of the chief aims of the organization, was not always that true friendship so delightful to the hearts of the young, which forms a basis for lifelong associations, although the Corps-statutes expressly prescribe such; for the real basis of friendship was frequently wanting, namely, true respect, arising from noble aims and goodness of character. The Corps was altogether unfit to be a school for such virtues; the system of subordination to the seniors was opposed to noble impulses. The ambition of becoming one of that number perverted and destroyed friendship. The less the interest felt in intellectual things, so much the greater was the power of sensual influences; and the principle adopted by the Corps, that the private life of a member was no concern of the whole body, as long as he did not endanger what the *Comment* held as their honor, inclined towards a tolerance in respect to morals, which was only too well adapted shamefully to pervert the moral perceptions of a young man, and to lead him off into a vicious course of sensual and dissolute indulgence in which many have been ruined, but from which the Corps, as such, never saved one.

"The state of feeling within these societies may be judged of from the pro-

* A sort of constitution.

visions in the statutes and the Comment, which require that any member having a venereal disease shall notify the fact at the beer-house (*Kneipe*), and shall suffer a penalty if he fight a duel while ill. It is demonstrable, also, that the Corps-festival often ended in mere orgies; and many unfortunate and perverted youth were first induced to procure membership and standing in societies for the sake of their vicious indulgences. At Tübingen, it has happened that a whole Corps has become corrupted. This same low condition of morals is indicated more and more by the meetings at the *Kneipe*, where the beer-laws (*Bier-Comment*) were so easily made an instrument of vulgar drunkenness, and where the abilities of honor, as well of individual members of the same Corps, as of the different Corps themselves, was determined by the standard of their capacity for drinking, whose highest grade, that of Beer-king, was given for the ability to dispose of eighty pints (*schoppen*).

"With this coarseness and even vulgarity of tone, which soon prevailed in the Corps, was connected the misuse of the Comment as a stimulus to dueling, and the bullying (*pauksucht*) and 'renowning' which were its consequences. No one was thought honorable except such as were ready to give satisfaction on the dueling-ground; and he was a jolly respectable Bursch, and the pride of his society was such a one as had already fought many duels, and was known as a keen and powerful swordsman. To become such was the aim of their ambition. Quarreling, insults, provoking conduct, a touchiness carried so far as to be ridiculous, and innumerable duels were the consequence. To make up the full number of a hundred duels was the only ambition of many students; and while learned studies suffered in this state of things, social life was an unpleasant existence upon a continual war-footing, in which those unacquainted with weapons were entirely defenseless. Indeed, to behave toward these last in a manner usually reckoned utterly dishonorable, was no prejudice to the honor of a *Bursch*, and to break one's word of honor to a *Philister* was only a matter of sport. The societies were also in a state of constant excitement and irritation against each other. The privilege of changing freely from one Corps to another availed nothing; for any one who had insulted one, was obliged, before he could enter another, to fight duels all round with the former; nor could a new Corps establish itself on a received footing except by fighting itself into recognition. A continual rivalry, also, gave abundance of occasion for constant quarrels, which ended in duels for the honor of each man's country; in which every member of the Corps, as the lot or the decision of the senior should determine, was obliged to fight for the honor of the society. In this manner it came to pass, lastly, that the whole body of students were, by means of the Corps, only divided into larger parties; and that much the largest number had to submit to be tyrannized over by a minority of the members of the Corps, and even by a still smaller number, namely, the Convention of Seniors, which, as we have seen, was constituted by no means of the most respectable, but only of the most bullying of the students."

With this description of Klüpfel's may be compared the Comments of two of the Corps, given in the Appendix, and agreeing entirely with him.* The Comment treats chiefly of honor, how it may be preserved, attacked, and regained when lost. The sword is the talisman of honor. Accordingly, much of the Comment discusses the duel, and how it may be occasioned and fought. Nothing is said of good morals; and, on the contrary, more than one paragraph betrays how low was the condition of the Corps in this respect, and proves only too clearly the truth of Klüpfel's description.

This author cites, in another place, the technical terms of the societies. The Comment defines the names Fox, Brandfox, Young Bursch, Old

* See Appendix III.

Bursch, Mossy Head.* "Every student not a member of a society is a renouncer." One not holding himself subject to the Comment was a "savage" or a "finch," and on such, when opportunity offered, punishment was inflicted with a whip or a stick.

"The Comment," observes Klüpfel, "was probably modeled upon the ceremonial of the later chivalry and court life, as developed at the court of Louis XIV. Most of the French technical terms used in it are from this source."† Such words, in part in distorted forms, are numerous; including *Comment, Comment suspendu, Satisfaction, Avantage, Touche, Secundieren, Renommieren, Renonce, Maltraitionen, Chargierte,* &c.‡ According to Klüpfel, the rapier with the plate-shaped guard came also from France.§

After the period of the dominion, and indeed tyranny, of the *Landsmannschaften,* in the German universities, dating from the sixteenth century, there arose against them, in succession, two violent adversaries; first the Students' Orders, and afterwards the Burschenschaft. The latter, as we have seen, definitely put an end to Pennalism.

B. Students' Orders.

These arose about the middle of the eighteenth century. The first prohibition of them appeared at Göttingen, in 1748, and was repeated in 1760 and 1762.‖ In the latter year appears the first trace of the same at Erlangen,¶ in 1765** at Tübingen; in the same year, 1765, appeared the first prohibition of them at Jena, and another in 1767.†† A third came out in 1795, in connection with an imperial edict against secret societies; and a similar one was then issued in the Prussian universities and at Altdorf.‡‡ In 1802, Meiners announces, with satisfaction, of Göttingen,§§ that "it is now some years since the strictest inquiry could detect any of the orders at our university;" although he naïvely adds, in a note, that "within a very short period traces of an order have been discovered." An accident, as I myself remember, led to this discovery. A student was drowned, and in sealing up his

* Comment (App. III.), § 16–22. For Fox, was used, in the seventeenth century, Feux. Schöttgen's very full list of nicknames of Pennals contains no other now used. The name Schorists, for students who have passed through their Pennal year, has also gone out of use.

† Klüpfel, 182. ‡ Butmann would even derive *Verschiss* (dishonor), from *verfus.*

§ Klüpfel, 184. The opinion of those who find, in the present students' duels, a trace of the mediæval German chivalry, is contradicted by Klüpfel's view, which is certainly correct, of their French origin. There is a difference as wide as the heavens between a *chevalier* of the time of Louis XIV. and a German *Ritter* of the time of Hohenstaufen; and as much between a duel upon a point of honor and a decision of God by means of a joust.

‖ Meiners, "*Constitution and Administration of the German Universities,*" ii. 296.

¶ Englehardt, 177. ** Klüpfel, 279. †† Meiners, "*History,*" &c., iv. 169.

‡‡ Ibid., 174. §§ Meiners, "*Constitution,*" &c., ii. 302.

effects, a list was found of names of members (*Konstantisten*). Thus the orders lasted until the first years of the nineteenth century. At the time of the rise of the *Burschenschaft* (1816), they seem to have disappeared. I find no record of any contest of the *Burschenschaft* with the orders, but only against the *Landsmannschaften.*

What distinction existed between these Orders and the *Landsmannschaften* or *Nations?* There must have been one, because they were always at enmity. Meiners says that they had much in common in their organization, and that the orders differed from the *Landsmannschaften* "only in that they admitted members without regard to their nationality." This was, it is true, one distinction, but not the only one; a second was, the adoption by the orders of symbols analogous to those of the Free Masons. Thus, there were found, in 1765, "traces of a lodge of Free Masons among the students at Tübingen." Klüpfel says, "most of the orders in the universities were off-shoots of Free Masonry."* In like manner, Englehardt says† that the Order of the Cross, founded in 1762, was organized throughout in the forms of Free Masonry. "In the place of assembly of the order, there was a basin with water, whose symbolic meaning was explained to those initiated; a statue of friendship, and one of virtue, skulls, a cross of the order, with sun, moon, and stars, and a crucifix." The university senate reported, in 1767, that it had taken away some insignia of an order from some students, and that the orders, in spite of prohibitions, were universal, both in Erlangen and the other German universities, and that scarcely a student could be found who did not belong to an order.

In 1770 the Order of Coopers was discovered, which held lodges, had degrees, and had a destructive influence.‡ The Black Order, or Order of Harmony, arose in 1771, at Erlangen, and had members in Nuremberg and Coburg. Its grand lodge was in Brunswick. In 1797 were found in the papers of this order catechisms of the first, second, and third grades, with symbols having an ethical signification. "The ceremonies of admission were adopted from the Free Masons, with whom the Black Order seems to have maintained very friendly relations. The statutes of this order named Pythagoras as their first known master." So much will serve to describe this order as such; and it also appears that they were not confined to the universities, nor to students. The same was the case with the Constantists, who existed at Halle in 1786, and had afterward (about 1798), members in civil and military stations at Berlin. Their laws seem to have included

* Klüpfel, 280. † Englehardt, 178. ‡ Ib., 180, 183, 184.

the reckless jacobinical religious and political opinions; and the Prussian ministry believed "that the revolutionists sought to make use of the students in their designs."*

From the foregoing, it seems that the orders were especially active in the second half of the eighteenth century, and only lasted into the first years of the nineteenth century; that they were entirely distinct from the *Landsmannschaften*, having no regard for nationality, as the latter did; having also symbols and degrees, and being in connection with orders outside the universities; neither of which was the case with the *Landsmannschaften*. Considering the existence of so essential differences, it is not to be wondered at that the two organizations were in a state of bitter enmity.

VII. History of the Universities in the Nineteenth Century.

Introduction.—My own Academical Experience.

From the description of the *Landsmannschaft* and orders, I might pass at once to the Burschenschaft. But the question might justly be asked, Were there not, in these earlier times, some students who did not belong to these orders; or would it not be worth while to consider them? There certainly were many such; but it is difficult to find much information about them, for the very reason that they did not swear to any standards or emblems, nor were organized as an associated body, under common statutes. They did not, however, live in entire isolation, but in friendly circles; and they were united by a friendship which needed no statutes. These circles, moreover, had a very definite character: a common ideal, common labor, endeavors after a common purpose.

I have known several such circles, and have belonged to them. It appeared to me that a simple description of my own student-life will afford a more lively picture of such a circle, than to give an abstract characterization of them.

But the idea carried me further. Why should I, I asked, confine myself to my experience as a student? Why not add that of my life as a professor?

I entered the university in the first year of this century, 1801, and from that time to 1854, with comparatively small intervals, I have lived in the German universities. Having been a professor since 1811, I have, as such, stood in close personal relations with the students, and have taken sincere and active interest in their weal and woe.

I give, therefore, after ripe consideration, an account of all that was

* The Jena ordinance against the Orders, in 1767, names the Orders of Hope (Esperance), that of Concord or of the Cross, the Coopers', and that of the Lilies.

important in my academical life and experience, in chronological order; having had excellent opportunities of consulting the best oral and written sources, and testimony on the spot, as to matters at a distance, and having observed the influence of whatever happened, upon the university where I might happen to be at the time.

A. Going to Halle, in 1799.

Preliminary View.

Fifty-five years have passed since my first glance into university-life. I had left the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, at Berlin, and was going to visit my elder brother, Friederick, then a student at Halle. He, and other previous school-fellows, took me with them to the lectures. There I heard, for the first time, F. A. Wolf, whose lecture-room was crowded full, and who made a profound impression upon me. I thought it very singular, during the lectures of Master Güte on Isaiah, to hear the poor old man every moment interrupted by "Pst!" on which, according to the custom, he was obliged to repeat what he had been saying. I also visited the fighting-rooms, where I was introduced to the greatest fighter and bully for the time being. He was a great stout *Bursch*, in very simple costume—shirt, drawers, monstrous pantaloons, and on his head a lofty *stürmer*, i. e., a three-cornered hat, with one corner brought forward to protect his eyes. This ogre made such an impression upon me, that I was at the trouble, some years afterward, of inquiring what had become of him. I found that he had become tutor in the family of a miller, where he had every thing free, and a fixed daily allowance of nine pots of beer. There could scarcely be a greater contrast than after this visit to the fighting-room, an excursion which I took on the Saale by moonlight, in listening to the melancholy notes of the French-horn at a distance. This short visit to Halle was a foretaste, indeed, of all the pleasures and sorrows which I experienced there some years later.

B. Göttingen.

Easter, 1801, *to Easter*, 1803.

I left the Gymnasium at Easter, 1801, and went, in company with my friend, now Privy Councillor of Finance, Sotzmann, to Göttingen, by way of Thuringia.

We passed through Weimar. How glorified, to my youthful imagination, did every thing appear in this home of the greatest genius of Germany! I watched everywhere for Goethe, Schiller, and Herder. I had, however, only the pleasure of becoming acquainted with the latter, my father having given me a letter of introduction to him. He

received me in a very friendly manner, and invited me to supper, where I found Consistory-Councillor Günther. It may be imagined how I hung upon every word from Herder. Fifty-three years have passed since that evening, but I can yet hear his observations on the idea of character. As he was in the habit of doing in his writings, he did orally; beginning with the word itself, as derived from χαρασσειν, &c. From various remarks of Herder and Günther, I saw, with sorrow, that there was a division among the heroes of Weimar; a division with which I afterward became acquainted from Goethe's "Truth and Poetry from my Life." As I write this title, I lose all courage to give a more detailed account of Herder, in thinking of Goethe's incredibly correct and most masterly description of him.

On arriving at Göttingen, I took lodgings in the house of an instrument-maker named Krämer, which I mention for a reason that will soon appear.

My father intended me for a jurist. I commenced my studies by attending lectures on the Institutions, from Councillor Waldeck, taking notes industriously. At the same time I procured a book then universally used, Höpfner's Institutions, and made use of it in studying, along with my notes on Waldeck's lectures. To my astonishment, I found such an entire agreement between the book and my notes, that I gave up taking notes at all, but took Höpfner to lectures, to follow along in it. Unfortunately, I sat pretty near the lecturer's chair, and Waldeck espying my book, his keen eyes recognized it. To do this, and to break out into the most violent and pitiless attacks upon Höpfner, were the work of the same moment. My situation was not the most comfortable, as I had not the remotest intention of provoking old Waldeck. He did not, however, lay it up against me, but was very friendly, when I attended his lectures on the Pandects, in the winter term, and afterward gave me an excellent testimonial, earned, however, with infinite discomfort. He lectured on the Pandects three hours daily!

He belonged entirely to the old school of jurists; his edition of Heineccius' Compendium of the Institutes is now used only at Coimbra.

In the summer term of 1802, I attended the lectures on civil law of one who prepared the way for the subsequent school of Savigny—namely, Hugo. His lectures, in connection with which we had questions in jurisprudence to solve, were marked by critical acumen; and his relentless controversial powers, not seldom directed against Waldeck as a representative of the old school, did not at all displease us. Hugo also wrote the sharpest reviews in the Göttingen papers, otherwise chiefly of a neutral character. I remember one such, an

attack on Malblanc's Pandects, under which a reader had written "*Hunc tu Romane caveto.*"*

In my fourth term I turned my attention, with my father's consent, to political economy, attended Sartorius' lectures on politics, and studied for myself, Smith's celebrated work on the Wealth of Nations. These, my professional studies at Göttingen, I pursued, in truth, not with much love of them, but still constrained myself to a considerable degree of industry.

In each term I attended one or two courses not juridical. Thus, for two terms I attended the valuable mathematical lectures of Thibaut, brother of the celebrated jurist; and applied myself with the greatest assiduity to algebra, in which my friend Sotzmann gave me the most faithful and patient assistance.

At another time I attended Blumenbach's lectures on natural history. Most of his hearers cared little for any knowledge of the subject, but attended for the amusement of the entertaining accounts—of shaved bears, earth-eating Otomaks, &c.—which he used to narrate with superabundant humor. After the lecture we often went to Pütter's house, where we were entertained with a quartette, in which he himself played first violin. The excellent old man used to be pleased to have us for an audience.

I also attended Blumenbach's lectures on mineralogy, without having the remotest idea that I should ever myself become a professor of natural history and mineralogy.

A course by Fiorillo, on the history of art, was very instructive, although he did not speak German very correctly. Thus he would say, that "in this century there arose a fury for spires;"† meaning a passion for building them. His principal subject was the history of painting. He described the various schools of painting, and the most celebrated artists of each; mentioned the localities of the chief works of each master, and exhibited copper-plates of the most remarkable. In connection with Fiorillo's course, I made excursions to Cassel, only five miles distant. Tischbein, director of the valuable collection of paintings there, was very kind in giving access to them. I became quite intimate with Hummel, from Naples, a shrewd and agreeable man.‡ In Göttingen I made the acquaintance of Riepenhausen, the engraver on copper. His two sons, both known as artists, and of whom one is

* Savigny has given an excellent account of Hugo.

† The mispronunciation cannot be transferred to English.—[*Trans.*]

‡ Napoleon had the Cassel gallery carried to France, and its finest pictures, such as Claude Lorraine's Four Hours of the Day, were made over to the Empress Josephine, at Malmaison, and afterward were taken to St. Petersburg by Alexander.

yet living at Rome, were my friends. Among the works of the father are his widely known copies of Hogarth's pictures, to which Lichtenberg wrote an explanation. Riepenhausen possessed a treasure of Dürer's engravings, from copper and wood, then valued only by a very few amateurs, and consequently not so costly a luxury as at present. The oftener I examined these, the more I liked them; and now I cannot look enough at the St. Jerome, the Hubert, the Melancholy, and many others.

My elder brother, a student before me in Göttingen, was well known to Music-director Forkel. I inherited the acquaintance, and the more easily, as he and I lived in the same house. At this time he stood quite alone in the musical world. A scholar of Emanuel Bach, of Hamburg, he had an unbounded reverence for Emanuel's father, the great Sebastian Bach, and played his compositions for piano-forte and organ in a masterly style, after the manner which had descended from him.* Almost all other music was strange and unpleasant to him, and his over-severe criticism upon the celebrated and splendid overture to Gluck's Iphigenia in Aulis, gave dissatisfaction to many, and with good reason. This criticism would, of course, be unfair, because Forkel judged of all music, even Gluck's, by the pattern of that of Sebastian Bach. One who should take Palladio for the normal architect, or Michael Angelo for the normal painter, would judge wrongly of the Strasburg Minster, and of Correggio. Thus, as Forkel disliked all the universally liked modern music, the friends of it disliked him; and many left him, also, because they were entirely unable to comprehend Sebastian Bach's compositions. By means of my brother, I took piano-forte lessons of Forkel. He made me begin, not on his grand piano, but on a common Silbermann's instrument, with learning the touch, and the production of a pure tone, and then proceeded to exercises, and thence to the "Inventions" which Bach wrote for the piano.

I studied, also, modern languages. I took French lessons of a French abbé, who, with undoubting self-sufficiency, considered French literature elevated high above that of all other nations. He hardly knew what to say when I praised Shakspeare—that "*monstre*." I remember how, once, he was almost beside himself at my translating to him a passage from Lessing's "Dramaturgy," beginning with the words, "Let any one name to me a composition of the great Corneille which I cannot improve. What will you bet?" "Who is this Monsieur

* Forkel published several collections of Sebastian Bach's compositions for the piano. But the works of this profound master were not valued by the public at large, until Mendelssohn, in 1828, summoned to life some of them, which had slept as silent as death, in manuscript, for a hundred years.

Lessing," he asked, "who dares to come out in this way against the great Corneille?" And the explanations which Lessing added could not satisfy him at all.

I learned Spanish with the theologian Tychsen, who was long employed in the Escurial; and with the friendly and thorough Beneke, I read Shakspeare.

With my love of art was connected also love of nature. In every vacation I used to take journeys. At Whitsuntide, 1801, with Meckel, the anatomist; Luden, the historian; and some other friends, I visited the Hartz. There was collected on the Brocken a cheerful company of some forty students from different universities.

In the Michaelmas vacation of 1801 I went to Hamburg; at Easter, 1802, to Berlin; at Michaelmas, 1802, to Switzerland, and down the Rhine, from Basle to Coblentz. As appears—or ought to—my journeys were mostly on foot; as, fortunately, the seductive railway was not in existence;—fortunately, I mean, in reference to the journeys of students. Not that I would have them, as I did in my youth, plod through the sandy deserts of the Mark, Pomerania, and Luneburg, on foot; although even those routes have their enjoyment when traveled with congenial and cheerful friends, who, in spite of wind and weather, bad roads, and worse inns, remain courageous and cheerful, and never despair as long as the money lasts. But I heartily pity those students who go from Frankfort to Basle by railway, and see all the magnificence of the Rhine and its beautiful mountains, with their castles, and strong old towns, flit swiftly past their eyes without leaving one single fixed and clear picture.

The custom of students' journeys began first to obtain, as far as I know, in the beginning of this century; especially long ones. When, in the Michaelmas vacation of 1802, I went from Göttingen to Stuttgart, with four acquaintances, and challenged them there to proceed with me to Switzerland, the thing seemed to them impossible. They were so far from accepting my proposal, that one of them made a wager with me that I would not enter Switzerland. I won the wager.

Traveling is of the greatest value to students. How otherwise could they use their vacations? Most of them go home. The more indolent of them are often an annoyance at home, and even to the whole neighborhood, by their foolish tricks, and return, tired out, to the university, having learned nothing in the vacation, but forgotten much. And even to the industrious, the season is not one of active exertion. They probably do not desire to be entirely at leisure, and often fall into an unfortunate way of half working and half not, in which their heart is only half in what they do. So they return to the

university without being either satisfied or refreshed with their vacation.

The case is far otherwise with students who spend their vacation in traveling. To begin with a very obvious remark, it is a good thing that the money which others often waste so uselessly, should be spent in a pleasure so elevating as that of traveling.

Traveling—that is, of industrious students—makes a pause in their studies, so that they do not work, year in and year out, like soulless machines wound up and set going. This pause, moreover, is not a useless, wearisome, and enervating idleness; on the contrary, traveling necessarily excites a most vivid activity of mind; for the traveler cannot be satiated with examining all the beauty which appears everywhere, in nature and art. I shall never forget how overpowering was my first impression upon seeing the Alps, the Rhine country, the ocean; and the Strasburg Minster, the cathedral of Cologne, and many other such things. All such things are deeply impressed on the mind of the youth, and he collects in his memory a treasure of splendid pictures which he can recall with pleasure in after years, perhaps when unable to leave home. How he will learn, also, in such journeys, to know his beautiful German fatherland, and to love it with youthful affection! But enough of traveling, the pleasure of my youth, and by the memory of it, of my old age.

Having sketched the bright side of life at the University of Göttingen, I must not hide the dark side.

Whoever has read, with attention, Meiners' "Organization and Management of the German Universities," has found an account of this dark side in the former days of Göttingen. The book appeared in 1802, when the author was prorector there. His description throws the strongest light upon the traits of the University of Göttingen; and how does he begin? What does he say, for instance, of the students? He speaks especially of those from leading families; who, he thinks, give tone and character to the university. As at that time such young men "of condition" studied almost nothing but jurisprudence, this fact seems to have been the cause of Meiners' statement, that in Germany jurisprudence "undeniably held the highest place, medicine the second, theology the third."

Meiners discusses the duel like a pedant trying to appear a man of the world, and therefore quite unable to "touch the honor" of those of high condition; and, indeed, having more consideration for that than for his own duty as *magnificus*. He repeatedly uses the term "a young man of condition," in speaking of challenges and duels by such persons.

His tone is very different in speaking of the poor students of his

third faculty, the theological. "At our university," he says, "the period seems to me not far distant, when it will be universally considered not only punishable, but ridiculous, for future teachers of Christ's religion to be demanding satisfaction with the sword for insults received." These future teachers of Christ's religion, then, were at that time never persons "of condition."*

Among other objections to the examinations at Göttingen, Meiners cites this: that the wealthy would go to other universities to escape them; and that they would occasion "still fewer well-born and wealthy young men to devote themselves to the sciences than heretofore." But he says nothing against the half-yearly examinations of the poor beneficiaries (mostly theological students). While he is very tender of all considerations which might restrain the wealthy and well-born from studying at Göttingen,† he gives advice, on the other hand, for preventing the poor from attending the university. "Even a moderate number of industrious young persons," he says, "with whom no fault can be found, who cannot support themselves through the course, are a great evil."

Meiners' remarks on gaming, as follows, are also characteristic:

"Playing hazard will never be stopped at universities where many wealthy young men of family are gathered together. . . . Sons hear and see it going on from their earliest childhood, and imitate their fathers in it as early as possible. . . . A few years since, certain persons convicted of playing hazard, declared before the court that they had played the game from their childhood in their parents' houses, that they thought it justifiable, that they knew no other game, and that they should continue, when they had leisure, to play it; and they were content to suffer the legal penalty for it when discovered. Even tutors believe it to be a good plan to play hazard under proper oversight—on the principle of acquainting young people with such games, and of teaching them early to play with moderation."‡

Every count sat, at lecture, at his own table—the "count's table;" they were addressed separately, at the beginning of the lecture, by the title of "High and well-born lord count," and paid a double fee.§

These quotations sufficiently show that, when I came to Göttingen, students from high families did actually give tone and character to the university. This shows why Meiners laid so extraordinarily much stress on the behavior of the students; caring more for the varnish on their education than for the education itself. He would have the way of thinking of the high nobility prevail at the university; and hence his opinions on the duel, playing hazard, &c. In like manner he

* Meiners afterward adheres to the unanswerable judgment upon the duel, given by his colleague, the theologian Michaelis.

† Even his opinions on the duel clearly indicate this delicacy. ‡ Meiners, 280.

§ Meiners, 189. He mentions, also, other privileges of counts; such as the entering their names at coming in a separate book; having a seat before the court, &c.

expresses himself, with remarkable tenderness, in disagreement with the strictness of the Göttingen academical laws, not only against wild howling in the streets, but against singing; against cries both of *pereat* and *vivat*.

According to him, the whole university ought, like the single students, to be always careful of its manners, and never be disagreeable to any high personages passing through it.

I had, unfortunately, an opportunity to become well acquainted with the dark side of this varnished academical outside behavior, by means of a very dear school-fellow who went from the Gymnasium, a year before me, to Erlangen, and thence, the next year, to Göttingen. Through him I became acquainted with some students who, as indeed gradually became apparent to both of us, lived in a manner altogether vicious. Nothing was at first perceptible, except that they were passionate hazard-players. As to Meiners' remark, that it is not strange that the sons of good families, who have, from childhood, been used to see their fathers playing, should bring a fondness for it to the university with them, the case was exactly reversed with me. I was earnestly warned, by my parents, against dissipation; but they never thought of warning me against playing hazard, for the game never entered into their minds. Thus it happened that I was led into playing. The game did not seem to me a sin, but a matter of indifference. But what a life did it lead me into! The passion got entire possession of me, and made me indifferent to every thing which I had before loved most. It was as if my heart had frozen to ice within me. I thank God, that after a little, I had the great good fortune to have ill-fortune at play, which brought me to reflection upon this unholy and devilish occupation, and caused me to make a fixed resolution to give it up at once, and forever.

At the gaming-table I found out how terribly vicious were the lives of these men—most of them being loathsomely syphilitic. God preserved me from any dissipation in that direction, however, by means of the advice which my father had impressed strongly on me, and the fearful warnings which I saw before my eyes. And yet these men belonged to that "well-born" class who passed for refined people, who understood good manners, and who were everywhere invited to parties, and who shone in them.

My glance into this abyss of moral destruction made so profound an impression upon me that, for a time, I even shut myself up misanthropically from everybody. It still remains with me, and subsequent experience has strengthened it. It may be imagined how much pleasure I received when the *Burschenschaft* took ground earnestly and

strongly against such abominations; and how decidedly I thought it my official duty, as professor, to speak everywhere in favor of that body. To my encouragement, I found an exceedingly true friend, altogether the opposite of these *roués;* an *anima candida*, the true son of his mother, remarkably interested in his profession, that of jurisprudence, and moreover, a competent mathematician. This was the present Senior of the University of Tübingen, Chief Councillor of Justice von Schrader.

Not to conclude the account of my Göttingen experiences with a discord, I will mention an occurrence which put me into the greatest excitement. This was the coming of Goethe, who, in the summer of 1801, went to Pyrmont by way of Göttingen. Scarcely had it become known that he had taken lodgings at the Crown Inn, when we, his enthusiastic admirers, determined to give him a *vivat*, at the risk of being taken up by the catch-poles.

We agreed to meet in the evening, before the Crown—Achim Arnim,* Kestner,† Blumenbach's son, with others, being the most active. We were all punctual at the moment. Arnim commenced the *vivat*, and we all joined in right heartily, but thought best instantly to scatter in every direction.‡

On his return from Pyrmont, Goethe spent a longer time in Göttingen, lodging at Krämer's house, where I myself lodged. Though this delighted me much, I was still too diffident to approach him, though I saw him often. One evening he took supper with some professors and students, at a club, presided over by Bouterwek and Reinhard,§ and which had been sportively named the Improvement Club. Some pedantic, stiff professors gave us to understand that it did not correspond with this name, that we gave Goethe's health, with cheers, at table, although it was done with great enthusiasm.‖

* In the summer term of 1801 I was much with Arnim and Brentano; both had been my friends at school.

† This, I believe, was the same who died at Rome two years ago, universally lamented. We called him Lottiadee, for a reason which appears from his mother's correspondence, the publication of which, by my dear friend, Councillor R. Wagner, was so much disliked by many persons.

‡ I was much pleased to find this *vivat* mentioned by Goethe (*Works*, 1840, part 27, p. 81). He says, "Putting up at the Crown, in Göttingen, I observed, as twilight came on, a movement in the street; students came and went, disappeared in side streets, and appeared again in groups. At last there arose, all at once, a friendly *vivat!* and in a twinkling every thing was silent. I was informed that such demonstrations were prohibited, and was the more pleased because they had only dared to greet me from the street, in passing by." So little did the *curator perpetuus* of the University of Jena sympathize with this over-scrupulous prohibition!

§ Editor of Bürger's Poems.

‖ Goethe's Works, xxvii. 92. He gives a very ludicrous account of a night-scene at Krämer's house, when, between the barking of dogs and Miss Krämer's practicing trills, he fell almost into despair. I have often heard the singer, my fellow-lodger.

C.—Halle.

At Easter, 1803, I left Göttingen and went to Halle, the reputation of which was then very high, on account of the celebrated physician, Reil, and F. A. Wolf. I had labored excessively at Göttingen. The library, access to which was made very easy to me through Beneke's friendly interposition, had betrayed me into an immoderate amount of reading. Some recreation was absolutely necessary for me. This I found, by hiring a summer lodging along with friends, among whom were some previous school-fellows. We fixed ourselves in the house known as The Bunch of Grapes, beautifully situated, between Halle and Giebichenstein, whose garden looked down from a height upon the Saale. We occupied ourselves mostly with reading some of the great poets. We formed a society, which we called by the somewhat doubtful name of the Æsthetic Society; whose members applied themselves in part to philosophical studies, and in part to poetry. We met weekly, and contributed in turn, manuscript articles of the most various kinds—historical, æsthetic; some poems, translations, prose and poetical. We reckoned ourselves of the school of Schlegel. With him I had previously, while at the Gymnasium, come into contact in a singular way. Kotzebue had written his "Hyperborean Ass," a satire on the brothers Schlegel. One of our teachers, who hated the brothers, committed the mistake of reading this composition to us in the class. How this should have appeared to us as it did, when our teacher was so high an authority to us, I do not know. But as we did not like it, he himself permitted us, after it, to read A. W. Schlegel's answer to it, "The Triumphal Arch of Herr von Kotzebue," and then the various writings of the romantic school, of Tieck, Wackenroder, Novalis, &c. The opinions of these writers upon the heroes of ancient and modern times had great weight with us. Dante, Shakspeare, Cervantes, &c., whom they praised enthusiastically, were read by us with eagerness; while we neglected other authors, such as Wieland, for example, who had before been earnestly recommended to us.*

In the Whitsuntide vacation of 1803 I visited Dresden and the Saxon Switzerland. The Dresden gallery of paintings, in particular, attracted me. It would carry me too far, were I here to speak of the pictures which gave me always increasing pleasure; especially the

* Wieland had previously ranked as the representative of the golden age of German literature, especially his *Agathon* and *Oberon*. It is incredible how his authority was shaken by the few lines of the *Citacio Edictalis*, in the Athenæum, ii. 340. Our eyes were first opened, at a subsequent time, to many doubtful and exceptionable views of the romantic school.

Sistine Madonna—that apparition from a higher world—of the Correggios, Holbein's Madonna, the Christ of John Bellini, Von Ruysdael's and Claude Lorraine's landscapes.

At Michaelmas, 1803, I left my summer lodging and went to Halle, where again I lodged in the house with dear friends. One was the excellent Winterfeld, who was even then living entirely in the element of music. Unfortunately, we had some other fellow-lodgers, who lived in so shamefully debauched a manner, that at Easter, 1804, I gave up my boarding-place, and procured one in the house of the well-known eclectic philosopher, the aged Eberhard. He had formerly been a preacher at Charlottenburg, near Berlin, and was thence invited to become professor of philosophy at Halle. His bearing was that of a polished and educated Frenchman; such as used to be that of many educated Berliners. He belonged to the circle of Nicolai, that of the Universal German Library (*Allegemeine Deutscher Bibliothek*), which so long wielded the critical scepter of the German literary world. Hamann and F. H. Jacobi, at an earlier period, and afterward Fichte, Goethe, Schiller, and the romantic school, attacked the intellectual despotism of that periodical, and it is now obsolete.

I listened with the greatest interest to Wolf; attending all his lectures, from Easter, 1803, to September, 1804, except his course on Matthew, which I designedly omitted, not wishing to become familiar with his views in that direction. Those which I did attend were on the History of Greek Literature, the Satires and Epistles of Horace, the Menon of Plato, the Iliad, and the Clouds of Aristophanes. As I have, in the second part of this work, attempted to describe Wolf's character, I will here only mention with gratitude that he assisted me in a friendly manner, with advice and books.

A companion and dear friend at the university, Immanuel Bekker, was at that time my most faithful, pains-taking, reliable teacher. He will remember how, in the summer of 1804, we read Greek, with little intermission, from early in the day until late at night, often in the open air, in the most beautiful spot of the lofty bank of the Saale, at Giebichenstein. At the end of fifty years, his old scholar would once more offer him hearty thanks.

In the summer of 1804 Goethe came to Halle, and lodged, not as previously at Göttingen, in the same house with me, but opposite me, at Wolf's house. The street was not very wide, and I could, therefore, see him often, especially when he sat at the window with Wolf. But I did not speak to him even this time; not until the year 1808, when I was introduced to him in Carlsbad, as a pupil of Werner, from Freiberg. Goethe's deep interest in geognosy, especially in Werner's

system, made him put himself on very friendly terms with me, and he questioned me very fully about life and instruction in Freiberg.

The baths of Lauchstedt are two miles from Halle. The Weimar stage company came thither every summer for several years. Goethe's biography tells how much he was interested in the artistic training of this troupe, and how much pains he took to substitute classical plays for the usual miserable ones. It may be imagined how much delight this theater afforded us. They represented Julius Cæsar, Othello, The Natural Daughter, The Bride of Messina, William Tell, and Jery and Bätely. When Friedrich Schlegel's Alarcos was produced, we thought it our duty to support the tragedy against the anti-Schlegelian party, although our admiration, being founded on principle, was somewhat cool. Wallenstein's Camp was excellently given. The numerous persons, notwithstanding the apparently confused and pell-mell movements of the piece, represented in a manner so wonderfully good, one artistic group after another, that we seemed to have before our eyes, in the little theater, the whole of the rude and troubled life of the Thirty Years' War. This picture of restless, homeless warfare, in the constant face of death, made a profoundly tragic impression upon the spectators.

Schiller came to Lauchstedt, being then near the end of his life. While Goethe, in the beauty and power of full health, wore an imperial geniality of aspect, Schiller had nothing extraordinary or imposing in his appearance, but seemed modest, reflective, and withdrawn within himself. We approached the great poet as much as civility permitted, and ate at the public table with him, where I had the good fortune to sit nearly opposite him. In the evening we gave him a *vivat*, with music. The wretched band of music had been directed to play melodies to songs by Schiller; but they only knew that threadbare and almost vulgarized one of "Pleasures, rays of beauteous gods." But the kind-hearted poet did not shame our good-will, and thanked us most heartily.

At Michaelmas, 1804, I had to leave the university and go from Halle to remain in my father's house at Dessau. This parting from the university was very painful to me. I had to give up so much in which my whole soul was interested, to lose sight of aims in life just coming into view, to resign all my wishes and hopes, and to enter a prosaic every-day life among law-papers.* While in this uncomfortable state of mind, I received a letter from an intimate friend at Halle. "You must," he said, "positively come back to Halle for one half-year. Steffens is come; only become acquainted with him; he is exactly

* Such was, with myself and many other of my student friends, the opposition of the ide of student-life and Philister-life.

the man for you." This letter only expressed my own ardent desires, and I earnestly besought my father to permit me to return once more to Halle. Although my joy was great at his consent, still I had no idea how profound an influence that consent was to have upon my whole after-life.

To return to my university life.

Having returned to Halle, I attended Steffens' lectures on the internal history of the earth. These had a very remarkable influence upon me. Above all, I was impressed with Steffens' great idea that the earth has a history. This idea was neither brought out as an apparition of earth-giants, so as to prevent bold investigations by mere men, nor as a mere accident, without connection or basis. I learned, for the first time, that Werner had based a history of the development of the earth upon observations made at the present day; how the oldest mountains contain no traces of fossil animals and plants; how these are gradually found in the younger mountain formations, and stand out individually from the general mass of the stone. Man, according to Steffens, was the most individualized and independent creature; the crown and key-stone of the earthly creation.

Steffens' "*Contributions to the Internal History of Nature*," so full of genius, were the basis of his lectures. He himself considered these views as the masterpiece of his life. He wrote them at Freiberg, in 1801, under the inspiration of Werner's explanation of the epochs of mountain formations, but had based more deeply and developed more widely the views of his master. This he did in one treatise in them, entitled, "Proof that nitrogen and carbon are the representatives of magnetism in chemical processes." A second treatise is entitled, "Nature, by its whole organization, seeks only the most individual development." Here Steffens steps behind Werner's scientific circle, and characterizes, in sketches full of genius, the development of the classes of animals, from the lowest to the highest, as one graded individualization. He closes with the words, "He whom nature permits to find her harmonies within himself, who finds a whole infinite world within himself, is the most individualized creation; and is the consecrated priest of nature."

Goethe and Schelling had the greatest influence upon Steffens, he having become acquainted with them while a young man, in 1799. This occasioned the dedication of his contributions to Goethe; and the work itself shows a close adherence to Schelling.

But how thoroughly is Steffens' work forgotten! It is sad to see how eagerly, and with what restless haste the present generation drives forward, looking and aspiring forward only, without looking back at

all upon the past. And yet very much could be learned from our predecessors. They did not divide and lose themselves in an infinite number of single things; indeed, compared with ourselves, they possessed but a small treasure of knowledge. But they were faithful in a few things, and put their money at usury; holding their intellectual powers compactly together, and living in great presentiments. They drew the sketches for mighty edifices. And even though they had not building materials enough to complete them, and sometimes used bad ones, still their successors cannot exalt themselves over them for it, merely on the ground of having had access to the richer and better materials which, in the course of time, have accumulated. Indeed, they have even the stronger claim to rank as masters, because, with such materials, they built in a firm, symmetrical, and workmanlike manner.

Before very long I came in closer contact with my beloved teacher, and visited him daily. He introduced me to the family of his father-in-law, Kapellmeister Reichardt in Giebichenstein, whose hospitable dwelling was visited, for longer or shorter periods, by the most eminent men, such as Goethe, Jean Paul, Voss, Fichte, Schelling, brothers Schlegel, Tieck, Novalis, Arnim, &c. The most prominent members of the University of Halle were also to be seen in the family circle of the Reichardts. Thus, Wolf was often at Giebichenstein. But the most intimate member of the circle was Schleiermacher, who had been invited to Halle together with Steffens, and was his most intimate friend. Their mutual relations will elucidate what Goethe says of his connection with Schiller. That is, they were of the most entirely opposite nature and character, and, for that very reason, were supplementary and attracted to each other. Steffens, then thirty-one years old, was a handsome, intellectual man, very lively, easily excited, often flying into a great passion, though of the utmost goodness of heart, imaginative, truly eloquent; indeed a born orator, hurried on by the fullness of his own feelings, and therefore carrying away his hearers by his enthusiastic speech. His lectures, in which, as in the ancient natural philosophy, science rose upon the wings of poetry, absorbed us wonderfully. His oration for war, delivered at Breslau, in February, 1813, had a most powerful influence; and a second, against the French, at the market in Marburg, in October, 1815, to the people gathered about him, so excited them that such partisans of the French as happened to be there were scarcely rescued from their hands by being locked up in the common prison.

Schleiermacher was entirely different from Steffens; being a small, quiet, and thoroughly discreet man. In society he never fell into

harangues. He attended closely to what others said, understood it clearly, and agreed or opposed, with his well-known and peculiar dialectic keenness and skill. He never was seen excited into a passion; and even when his anger was aroused, he expressed it powerfully, but always calmly, and not without measure. He maintained constant control over himself, enough to enable him to fix his attention upon things for the full comprehension of which he had no gift; and thus always appeared judicious, even in respect to matters not familiar to him. The almost tyrannical dominion which he had and exerted over himself, was shown, even most strikingly, in little things. In a controversy, for example, whether the Low German pronunciation of sp, st., &c., was more correct and euphonious than the South German, which would say schp, scht, as in *schpitz* for *spitz*, he declared for the former. But, it was answered, why do you not pronounce accordingly in the desk? Instead of alleging in reply his habitude from youth up, he said "I will, beginning with next Sunday;" and I have been assured that he never afterward violated the promise.

Many students became followers of Steffens and Schleiermacher. These were divided according to their preferences for science or theory, or for the lectures of one or the other. But this never grew into the distinct development of two opposing schools, or even parties. As the two teachers were friends, who promoted each the good of the other, so the same was true of the pupils of each. It was also a characteristic fact that neither Steffens nor Schleiermacher was jealous of the pupils of the other. I never attended one lecture of Schleiermacher, and yet he was, in every respect, as friendly to me as he could have been to his most faithful and punctual hearer. He saw how profoundly I was interested in the results of geological investigations, and thought it entirely a matter of course that I should adhere especially to Steffens. I once had the confidence to say, in the presence of Steffens and Schleiermacher, that I was no friend to dialectical talking backward and forward, of long circuits about the truth, but that I preferred profound and compact aphorisms, which bring the truth directly before the eye, are simple in form, and need no such paraphrases. With the greatest reverence and love for our teachers, such was the freedom with which we might express ourselves before them. Accordingly, my presumptuous self-confidence in this case was wisely answered, and they gave me examples in Socratic dialectics, with friendly irony; but this without any the least disturbance of my relations with Schleiermacher.

It may, perhaps, be thought that the conversations and discussions in our circle were too exclusively on scientific subjects. But this was

not at all the case. The most eager zeal of our scientific conversations was relieved by the participation of ladies in them; and the talking ceased whenever their very excellent singing commenced. They executed with pure and beautiful voices, and in a pure style, the best music from Palestrina, Leonardo Leo, Durante, Handel, and others.

This side of our academical life I felt obliged to glance at; indeed no one could omit it who should desire to characterize the influence of Steffens and Schleiermacher at that important period.*

I was so fortunate as to spend, also, the summer term of 1805 at the university.† In that summer Gall visited Halle, and lectured on his theory of the brain, which was then making a great excitement. According to him, definite local protuberances of the skull indicate definite endowments; organs of good and bad qualities. Thus, he found an organ for religion, and one for murder, and another for theft. Gall had more remarkable hearers in Halle than anywhere else; eminent men with eminent skulls, which we, the other hearers, during the lectures, used diligently for models. Above all, there was Goethe's magnificent head, whose lofty, mighty forehead showed no particular prominent organ; thus indicating a great, symmetrical, all-sided, calm organization. Near him sat Wolf, whose forehead, by the prominence over the eyes and at the root of the nose, indicated critical tendencies. Steffens, Schleiermacher, and Reil were also among the audience.

At the end of Gall's lectures, Steffens made known that he should come out against them. The new osteological theory of predestination had displeased him; and doubly, because it threatened to interfere with established things to an incredible extent. He delivered three lectures, which have appeared in print.

A faithful teacher should be interested, not only in his own special

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* Steffens' *Autobiography*, Varnhagen's *Recollections* (vol. ii.), and Schleiermacher's letters of the period, all agree with me in this. But this is not the place to describe fully the pleasant garden life of Giebichenstein, or the never to be forgotten evenings with Steffens.

† In the beginning of the spring a very dear friend, Bartholin, and I, accompanied Steffens and Schleiermacher to the Petersberg, where we staid from Friday to early Sunday morning. On Saturday we saw a most beautiful sunset, whose silence was broken only by the sound of the bells of innumerable villages, ringing from the plain below us. We sat until after midnight, enjoying a most lively conversation between our teachers. This, however, ended early Sunday morning, for Schleiermacher was to preach the sermon on the death of the late queen dowager of Prussia, at nine o'clock, in Halle. In order to meditate the better, he walked twenty or thirty steps in advance of us. We arrived at Halle so late that he had barely time to dress in the utmost haste and ascend the pulpit; yet no one could see in the sermon any marks of his almost sleepless night and journey on foot; so clear and thoughtful was it. I felt obliged to mention this pleasure excursion, as it had so important an influence upon the mutual understanding, recognition, and friendship of Schleiermacher and Steffens; as appears from Steffens' account, and from a letter of Schleiermacher to Frau Herz. In one point I quite agree with Schleiermacher; namely, in his statement that he and Steffens were accompanied by two students.

followers, but in every thing which may promote the development of the individual gifts of each of his hearers. Such a faithful teacher was Steffens; who urged me earnestly to go to Freiberg and attend Werner's lectures.

I had been profoundly stimulated by Steffens, and even almost dazzled by his brilliant fireworks, compounded of varied pictures of nature, and vast predictions; and Werner's geognostic expositions affected me like a mild light; quieting and calming. He was not so mystical, nor poetically comprehensive as Steffens; but he gave me firmness and fixed views; and the sense of truth, founded directly upon the mountains, and comprehended by a clear and intelligent mind.

After the close of Werner's lectures I returned to Halle, remained there until September, 1816, and then returned to Freiberg. In October the terrible period of the French domination commenced. After the battle of Jena, Napoleon came to Halle and dissolved the university. Steffens returned to Denmark; and Wolf, Schleiermacher, and Reil were afterward invited to Berlin. Jerome, when king of Westphalia, re-established the university at Halle. Steffens returned, but complained, with a sad heart, of the entire destruction of the pleasant life formerly existing there. And how could it flourish and blossom under the hateful dominion of foreigners, so degrading to Germany?

Before I now take leave of Halle for many years, I will name some few of those who studied there between 1799 and 1806: Achim Arnim, Von der Hagen, Nasse, and my brother Friedrich, among the earlier ones; and later, Boeckh, Immanuel Bekker, the theologians Theremin, David Schultz, Scheibel, Strauss, Kniewel, Neander; and also Varnhagen, Winterfeld, A. Marwitz, Dahlmann, the younger Scharnhorst, Przystanowski. Most of these belonged to the circle of Steffens and Schleiermacher,* and have since become known and celebrated as authors; and many more might be named, who have not written, but who have proved themselves, and still are proving themselves, in actual life, most valuable men.

The well-known and remarkable variety of character among those just mentioned is the best proof that there was in Halle, at that time, no such uniform school as was that of Hegel afterward. In Wolf, Schleiermacher, and Steffens, we had three teachers of character so different that it was impossible to be imitating them all. This directed us the more to the noble, free spirit of all three; who cared not at all for a troop of parroting and aping scholars.

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* Part of them are described in Steffens' "*Autobiography*," vol. v.; and by Varnhagen, in his "*Recollections*."

It was asked whether, in a history of the German Universities, there would be nothing to be said of any students except such as belonged to the societies—*Landsmannschaften* and Orders? And the answer was, there were many students who belonged to no such society, but formed circles of friends, without any statutes whatever, but yet with a very definite character, with common ideals, a common work, and an endeavor after a common purpose. I said that I had known such circles, and had been a member of them.

It seemed to me very difficult, and indeed impossible to describe these circles by any abstract representations; and I therefore resolved to give, instead, some account of my own student life.

If any reader is dissatisfied at my giving so many details of my own pursuits, I may reply that this has served the purpose of exhibiting a picture of my own variously directed industry. Many others, of like views with myself, labored in like manner. Even in Göttingen, and much more strongly in Halle, we had, firmly fixed before us, a noble ideal of mental development, which we labored after with the most persevering effort.

In order to fill up the chasm between my student life and my academical professorship, I may mention briefly that I studied from 1806 to 1808 at Freiberg; made some geognostical journeys in company with a dear friend, State Councilor Von Engelhardt, lately deceased, in Dorpat; lived in Paris from September, 1808, to June, 1809;* went in October, 1809, to Pestalozzi, at Yverdun, remained there to the end of April, 1810; wrote my first book in the summer of 1810, at Nuremberg, at the house of my beloved friend Schubert, then went to Berlin, and there received an official appointment, in December of the same year.

D.—Breslau. (1810–1817.)

In December, 1810, I was appointed private secretary to Chief Mining Superintendant Gerhard, who was at the head of the Prussian department of mines. I accompanied him on his official journeys, and thus came to Breslau, in May, 1811. Here he directed me to make out instructions for a geologist who was to be sent to investigate the Silesian mountains. These, as I drew them, required a great deal from the geologist. When I handed them to the superintendent, he returned them to me, much to my astonishment. "The instructions are for yourself;" said he, "you are to make the examination."

I left immediately, and although it was in the heat of summer,

* An account of my life and studies at Freiberg and Paris is given in my "*Miscellaneous Works*," part ii. pp. 1–35.

made my trip through the mountains with great zeal. At this time the University of Breslau was organized. The appointees might be divided into three classes. The first were accomplished Catholic professors, some of them having formerly been Jesuits, and all having belonged to the Catholic University at Breslau, founded in 1708. The second were Protestant professors, members of the University of Frankfort, dissolved in 1810. Among these were the lexicographer and philologist, Schneider; the theologian, David Schultz; the physician, Berends, &c. In the third class were men invited from very various places: as Link, Steffens, Von der Hagen; the mathematician, Brandes; the old Sprickmann, formerly a member of the Göttingen Society; Passow, my brother Friedrich and myself; and, a little later, Wachler. My appointment was that of Professor of Mountain Mineralogy.

Having come to Breslau, I received, for use in my lectures on oryctognosy, an exceedingly meager collection of minerals. They came originally from the minister, Count Reden; but unfortunately, Chief Mining Superintendent Karsten had already selected out the best part of them for the Berlin collection. I was placed in a most uncomfortable condition, for the specimens given me were not sufficient for my use in teaching; and were, besides, so dirty that I had my hands full in cleaning them during the winter term of 1811–12.

Under these circumstances, I was almost glad to serve two masters—for besides my professorship, I was appointed Mining Councilor in the mining department of Breslau. In this capacity I continued my investigations of the Silesian mountains during the summer of 1812.

Teaching mineralogy, in the absence of the necessary means, could not, of course, give me much pleasure. I was in the case of a professor of exegesis without a Bible, a professor of the Roman law without the Pandects, an anatomist without a subject. I had, nevertheless, in the winter term of 1812–13, five hearers; who, as I very soon saw, imbibed a general impression that mineralogy could be taught without minerals.

I cannot tell how painful these lectures were to me, and how I tormented myself in trying to do what was impossible. The spring of 1813 freed me from my comfortless position. Of Napoleon's army, smitten by God, only a remnant returned from Russia. The time for freeing Germany was come; the King of Prussia had, by his proclamation of February, summoned volunteers to Breslau, where he himself, Blücher, Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, and the best blood of his people were gathered. Crowds of youth, gathering to the call of their king, burned with zeal to be led against the French, and to free their fatherland from the tyranny of Napoleon. But the king hesitated

long before declaring war. Steffens, without waiting for this declaration, delivered that remarkable and enthusiastic oration to the students, in which he called upon them to take up arms for their country. This was a torch thrown upon powder; Steffens had spoken out what had long been in the hearts of the youths. All offered themselves for service, except those for whom it was an absolute impossibility. The academical lectures were discontinued at once; military drills took their place, and all Breslau was one great encampment.

Steffens was placed in the guard; and has himself related his experience during the war. I entered the Silesian militia, and was afterward appointed on Blücher's general staff. I have described my life, during that extraordinary period, in a little work entitled "*Recollections of the years* 1813 *and* 1814."

In June, 1814, I returned from Paris to Breslau. The university was still in disorder, and I had leisure to complete my researches in the mountains. During the winter of 1814–15, its members gradually reassembled. Having labored unremittingly, almost four years, to procure the purchase of a collection of minerals, I at last succeeded in having purchased the collection of the deceased mineralogist, Meuder; which was considered the best in Freiberg, after that of Werner.

My thoughts were now fully occupied with the hope of thenceforth fulfilling effectually my vocation as a teacher, when suddenly the news came, "He is out again—Napoleon has escaped from Elba;" and soon, "He is in Paris." Most of the volunteer youth were still with their standards; older volunteers agreed to serve again in case of need; although this did not appear to exist, all the allied forces being yet in readiness for immediate service.

The battle of Belle Alliance and the second taking of Paris brought the war to a close. While the thoughts of all had hitherto only extended to the rescue of Germany from the French tyranny, they now included the purpose of freeing and purifying her from evils which were in part ancient and deep-rooted, and in part only the consequence of the poisonous French influence.

The younger portion of Germany, especially, was seized with a noble enthusiasm. The influence of the war of freedom upon the universities was immeasurable. The young men, who at the summons of the king had entered the army by thousands, and had fought honorably in its great battles, returned to the universities in 1815 and 1816, to continue the studies which the war had interrupted. In the short space of three years, in which Europe lived through more than in three centuries before, was our youth metamorphosed. Enchanted, as it were, previously, in the chains of ignoble and even vulgar academi-

cal habits, they now felt themselves released, by the most lofty experiences. Thus they were delivered from the tyranny of false honor, and saw the *Comment* in its true form, as did Titania her beloved, when freed from her delusion. True honor and courage, devoted to the cause of their country alone, were substituted in the place of that imp, the frantic "point of honor," which was, by an unnatural, sickly sensibility, finding itself wounded everywhere, and seeking duels about nothing at all.* These contemptible customs, partly derived from the French, must have appeared in a sufficiently disgraceful light to young men who had fought at Dennewitz and Leipzig.

As in relation to honor, so, in the place of the former foolish academical looseness of morals, were substituted, in the students who returned from the war, purer moral ideas and principles. The reality of life and death had appeared to them, and had made an impression upon them. Many of the volunteers had been Turners before the war; and they returned to those exercises after it, with redoubled zeal.

The student songs, partly *renommist* and obscene, partly absurdly sentimental, were replaced by others, pure and powerful; and especially by patriotic ones.

The love of country, awakened and strengthened in the volunteers by the war, longed after the unity and unanimity of Germany. The *Landsmannschaften*, at enmity among themselves, appeared to them enemies of that unity and unanimity.

Together with patriotism was awakened in them a respect for Christianity; a feeling, though indistinct and undeveloped, that Germany, without Christianity, is helpless and lost. Their motto in the war was, "With God, for king and fatherland."

It is not to be wondered at that youths, who had fought like men for their country, should after the war have conceived the idea that that country, freed and consecrated by the blood of the martyrs who fell in battle, should now go forward, purified and renewed.

All these elements, springing from the war of freedom, found their expression in the Burschenschaft, which was intimately connected with the Turners. Of these we shall now proceed to speak.

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* Most of the previous duels in Halle had originated "on account of the broad stone." If two students met upon this, neither would turn out; or if he did, he made just as little room as possible, so as not to appear a coward. If they touched, even in the least, the rule was that a challenge followed. This "broad stone" was the summit stone of a somewhat arched pavement. In order to put an end to these pitiful duels, the pavement was altered so that the "broad stone" disappeared. It is referred to in the somewhat vulgar student-song, "O Jerum, Jerum, Jerum.

system, made him put himself on very friendly terms with me, and he questioned me very fully about life and instruction in Freiberg.

The baths of Lauchstedt are two miles from Halle. The Weimar stage company came thither every summer for several years. Goethe's biography tells how much he was interested in the artistic training of this troupe, and how much pains he took to substitute classical plays for the usual miserable ones. It may be imagined how much delight this theater afforded us. They represented Julius Cæsar, Othello, The Natural Daughter, The Bride of Messina, William Tell, and Jery and Bätely. When Friedrich Schlegel's Alarcos was produced, we thought it our duty to support the tragedy against the anti-Schlegelian party, although our admiration, being founded on principle, was somewhat cool. Wallenstein's Camp was excellently given. The numerous persons, notwithstanding the apparently confused and pell-mell movements of the piece, represented in a manner so wonderfully good, one artistic group after another, that we seemed to have before our eyes, in the little theater, the whole of the rude and troubled life of the Thirty Years' War. This picture of restless, homeless warfare, in the constant face of death, made a profoundly tragic impression upon the spectators.

Schiller came to Lauchstedt, being then near the end of his life. While Goethe, in the beauty and power of full health, wore an imperial geniality of aspect, Schiller had nothing extraordinary or imposing in his appearance, but seemed modest, reflective, and withdrawn within himself. We approached the great poet as much as civility permitted, and ate at the public table with him, where I had the good fortune to sit nearly opposite him. In the evening we gave him a *vivat*, with music. The wretched band of music had been directed to play melodies to songs by Schiller; but they only knew that threadbare and almost vulgarized one of "Pleasures, rays of beauteous gods." But the kind-hearted poet did not shame our good-will, and thanked us most heartily.

At Michaelmas, 1804, I had to leave the university and go from Halle to remain in my father's house at Dessau. This parting from the university was very painful to me. I had to give up so much in which my whole soul was interested, to lose sight of aims in life just coming into view, to resign all my wishes and hopes, and to enter a prosaic every-day life among law-papers.* While in this uncomfortable state of mind, I received a letter from an intimate friend at Halle. "You must," he said, "positively come back to Halle for one half-year. Steffens is come; only become acquainted with him; he is exactly

* Such was, with myself and many other of my student friends, the opposition of the ide of student-life and Philister-life.

the man for you." This letter only expressed my own ardent desires, and I earnestly besought my father to permit me to return once more to Halle. Although my joy was great at his consent, still I had no idea how profound an influence that consent was to have upon my whole after-life.

To return to my university life.

Having returned to Halle, I attended Steffens' lectures on the internal history of the earth. These had a very remarkable influence upon me. Above all, I was impressed with Steffens' great idea that the earth has a history. This idea was neither brought out as an apparition of earth-giants, so as to prevent bold investigations by mere men, nor as a mere accident, without connection or basis. I learned, for the first time, that Werner had based a history of the development of the earth upon observations made at the present day; how the oldest mountains contain no traces of fossil animals and plants; how these are gradually found in the younger mountain formations, and stand out individually from the general mass of the stone. Man, according to Steffens, was the most individualized and independent creature; the crown and key-stone of the earthly creation.

Steffens' "*Contributions to the Internal History of Nature*," so full of genius, were the basis of his lectures. He himself considered these views as the masterpiece of his life. He wrote them at Freiberg, in 1801, under the inspiration of Werner's explanation of the epochs of mountain formations, but had based more deeply and developed more widely the views of his master. This he did in one treatise in them, entitled, "Proof that nitrogen and carbon are the representatives of magnetism in chemical processes." A second treatise is entitled, "Nature, by its whole organization, seeks only the most individual development." Here Steffens steps behind Werner's scientific circle, and characterizes, in sketches full of genius, the development of the classes of animals, from the lowest to the highest, as one graded individualization. He closes with the words, "He whom nature permits to find her harmonies within himself, who finds a whole infinite world within himself, is the most individualized creation; and is the consecrated priest of nature."

Goethe and Schelling had the greatest influence upon Steffens, he having become acquainted with them while a young man, in 1799. This occasioned the dedication of his contributions to Goethe; and the work itself shows a close adherence to Schelling.

But how thoroughly is Steffens' work forgotten! It is sad to see how eagerly, and with what restless haste the present generation drives forward, looking and aspiring forward only, without looking back at

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following in serious silence the waving banner, which was planted at the right of the desk. The managers of the procession, with drawn swords and covered heads, formed a half-circle before the desk, and the remainder of the audience took their places in the body of the hall.

"After a brief, silent prayer, the singing-leader, Dürr, a student of theology at Jena, commenced, with a powerful voice, the chosen festival hymn, 'Our God is a strong tower,' which was sung by the whole assembly, to commence divine service. Afterward came forward the orator of the day, Riemann, of Ratzeburg, a student of theology at Jena, and knight of the Iron Cross, a distinction which he had gained on the bloody day of victory at Belle Alliance, and ascended the desk. In a well-arranged address, he began by greeting with modesty the highly respectable assembly; turning to the purpose of the festival, he then referred to the chief occurrences of those remarkable times to the memory of which the festival was devoted. He then developed the needs of the present time; showed that the young men, mindful of the past and the future, must hold fast to the good already attained, of German freedom; and finally, in rising enthusiasm, invoking the shade of Luther, and of all the noble heroes who have fallen in the contest for freedom and right, to be invisible witnesses, he offered, with sacred zeal, in the name of the assembly, this vow: 'That which we have acknowledged we will maintain, as long as a drop of blood runs in our veins. The spirit which has gathered us hither—the spirit of truth and justice—shall so lead us through our whole life, that we, all brothers, all sons of one and the same fatherland, shall form a brazen wall against every outer and inner enemy of that fatherland; that the roaring death of open battle shall not terrify us from standing in the heat of the fight, when the invader threatens; that the splendor of the monarch's throne shall not dazzle us from speaking the strong, free word, when truth and right demand it; that we will never pause in the endeavor after every human and patriotic virtue.' He ended with a simple but ardent prayer for the presence and blessing of the Most High. Sacred stillness pervaded the assembly.

"After this followed the hymn 'Now all thank God,' sung by the whole assembly. During the singing, Court Councilor Fries was besought, by some of his pupils, to make an address; and, ascending the desk, he spoke, with deep feeling, a few heart-felt words.

"Singing-leader Dürr then invoked the divine blessing: 'The Lord bless us, and protect us! The Lord let His countenance shine upon us, and be gracious unto us! The Lord lift up His countenance upon us, and grant us His peace! Amen!' And thus, in deep devotion and feeling, ended this portion of the festival, intended especially in remembrance of the Reformation."*

"A flourish of trumpets from the summit of the castle called to dinner at 12. Three rows of tables were set in the Minnesinger's Hall, and others in the adjoining rooms, at which the assembly took their places, the professors from Jena, invited for their friendly sympathy, in the midst. Gay songs enlivened still more the company, already inclined to pleasure; and above all, the festive healths, given toward the end of the meal, by the managers of the ceremony, were received and repeated, as expressing the inmost feelings of their hearts, with endless acclamations, by the whole assembly. They were as follows:

"'The jewel of our lives, German freedom.'
"'The man of God, Doctor Martin Luther.'
"'The noble Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar and Eisenach, the protector of the day.'
"'The victors at Leipzig.'
"'All the German Universities and their *Burschen*.'

"Then were given by the professors present:

"By Court Councilor Kieser.—'The United German Burschenschaft, and the noble spirit which has united it.'
"By Privy Court Councilor Schweizer.—'To the joyful return of this anniversary.'
"By Court Councilor Fries.—'The volunteers of 1813; a model for you, German *Burschen*.

"Many more healths followed, given by various individuals, as they were suggested by the enthusiasm of the banquet, or the occurrences, relations, or memories of the time; and the dinner ended after 2 P. M.

"Thus was concluded this dinner of about six hundred persons, who had

* Kieser, pp. 24–27.

assembled here, under the protection of a noble prince, in memory of a great occasion."*

"The *Burschen* had proposed to precede by a public festival divine service in the city church of Eisenach; and an invitation from General Superintendent Nebe having confirmed their intention, the procession now, accordingly, took its way to the church. It would, naturally, seem a delicate matter to introduce to the house of God a company of lively youths, excited by a joyous meal, the clink of glasses, and music, as well as by the festivities of the day. But how profoundly the deep significance of the festival had penetrated the minds of all, was shown by the fact that even here, in the last part of the Wartburg festival, not the least disturbance interfered with the order and quiet of the day.

The procession, in the same order as at the beginning of the festival, descending the mountain, approached the church, in order to make room for the Eisenach militia, then just entering the church. Then the Burschenschaft followed, taking the places allotted to them, while their standard was placed next that of the militia, in the choir, and the managers placed themselves in brotherly-wise, together with the officers of the militia, within the choir. After church music, the clerical orator, General Superintendent Nebe, delivered an impressive address, appropriate to the day, filling with feeling, not only, as usual, the hearts of his congregation, but those of the students of the German Universities.

"As every happy juncture inspires happy thoughts, so here, also, did the festive union of the militia with the united *Burschenschaft*, in the temple of the Lord. After a brief consultation between the officers of the former and the managers of the latter, both, at the end of the service, repaired to the market-place, one in one half-circle and the other in the opposite one, with the standards and leaders in the middle. Such inhabitants of Eisenach as were unable to find admittance into the limited space of the Wartburg, were thus enabled to take part in the ceremonies. A hymn, written for the occasion, by General Superintendent Nebe, was distributed, in print, and sung to a full accompaniment, and the ceremony ended with cheers for various names proposed, of which the last from the militia, by their leader, Col. Von Egloffstein, was, 'Our beloved guests, the visitors;' and from the *Burschenschaft*, 'The militia and the noble citizens of Eisenach, the friendly hosts of the day.'

"The time until twilight, when the torchlight procession began to ascend the Wartenberg, was occupied with gymnastics, in the market-place, chiefly by the *Turners* of Jena and Berlin."†

The Jena professors remained until this time. "So far," says Kieser, "as concerns us, the academical instructors who were eye-witnesses and participants in the festival, I here give, in the name of my colleagues, our public testimony to what has already been said by the council and citizens of the city of Eisenach, as well as even the highest government authorities of the country, in various publications: That there was not one movement, not one expression or action, to which the most evil imagination could attribute a bad significance, or could be blamed by the strictest censor."‡

It might charitably be wished that the festival had ended here.

But in the evening, the students, with torches, went up to the Wartenberg, which is opposite the Wartburg, where they were received by the Eisenach militia. A song was sung, and the student Rödiger delivered an address, after which other songs were sung, and a collection made for the poor.

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* Kieser, pp. 28, 29. † Ib. pp. 30, 31. ‡ Ib., p. 32.

But there now followed a proceeding not in itself to be excused, and still more lamentable on account of its consequences:

"Some *Burschen*, with a great basket full of books in their arms, a pitchfork in hand, and with great black tickets, on which were printed, in staring letters, the names of the condemned books, appeared by the most fiercely blazing of the wood-piles. This new and unexpected appearance attracted a multitude, who formed a compact ring around the actors. After a short address, in which Luther's burning of the papal bull, at Wittenberg, in 1520, was cited as an example, and the un-German sentiments of the authors condemned, the titles on the tickets were read aloud, and then, with the books, taken out of the basket, a few at a time, with the pitchfork, and committed to the flames.

"It was natural enough that the assembled crowd should applaud the act, if only from the suddenness of the show, and because un-German sentiments were being punished; although most of the books were unknown to them.

"There were put into the fire:

"1. F. Ancillon—On Sovereignty and Organization of States.
"2. Fr. Von Cölln—Confidential Letters.
"3. " " Candid Pages.
"4. Crome—Germany's Crisis and Rescue.
"5. Dabelow—The 13th Article of the Act of the German Union.
"6. K. L. Von Haller—Restoration of Political Science; or, Theory of the Natural Social Condition, opposed to the Chimæra of the Artificial-civic.
"7. The German Red and Black Mantles.
"8. J. P. Harl—On the Universally harmful Consequences of the Neglect of a Police corresponding to the Necessities of the Times, especially in University Towns, and particularly for the Supervision of the Students.
"9. Immerman—A Word of Encouragement.
"10. Janke—The Constitution-shrieking of the New Preachers of Freedom.
"11. Von Kotzebue—History of the German Empire, from its original to its destruction.
"12. L. Theob. Kosegarten—Address on Napoleon's day, 1809.
"13. Same—History of my 15th year.
"14. Same—Patriotic Songs.
"15. K. A. Von Kamptz—Code of Gensd'armerie.
"16. W. Reinhard—The Acts of the Union upon Whether, When, and How, German Deputies.
"17. Schmalz—Correction of a passage in the Bredow-Venturinian Chronicle for 1808.
"18, 19. Two later works of the same, on the same subject.
"20. Saul Ascher—Germanomania.
"21. Chr. Von Benzel-Sternau—Jason; a periodical.
"22. Zach. Werner—The Consecration of Power.
"23. " " The Sons of Thales.
"24. K. Von Wangenheim—The Idea of Constitutions; with reference to the ancient Constitution of Würtemberg.
"25. The Code Napoleon, and Zachariä upon it.
"26. Wadzeck, Scherer, and others, against the *Turners*.
"27. The Statutes of the Chain of Nobility.
"28. The Allemannia, and some other newspapers.

"After these books were burnt to ashes, there was added, a pair of stays, a cue of hair, and a corporal's cane.

"A song, sung by the assembly, terminated this addition to the ceremonies; and about midnight the militia and the *Burschenschaft* returned to Eisenach."*

It is incomprehensible how the founders of this *auto da fé* could have found those twenty-eight books in Eisenach. It was, therefore,

* Kieser, pp. 36–38.

believed that this burning was the execution of a measure long before resolved on; and that the books had been brought on purpose. But the riddle is very simply solved by the fact that what was burnt was a lot of imperfect sheets from an Eisenach book concern, upon which the titles of the books were superscribed.*

The students met once more at the Wartburg, on the 19th. Here consultation was had upon the relations of the *Burschenschaft* to the *Landsmannschaften*, which last found some defenders. The discussion was, at first, somewhat violent; but ended with thorough reconciliation of the contestants; they celebrated the "Brotherly League of Unity," and at noon, partook together of the holy sacrament.

On the 20th of October they separated.

The older among us can remember what an excitement the Wartburg festival made in Germany; how some were enthusiastically in favor of it, and others violently hostile. Among its adversaries was conspicuous, Privy High Government Councilor Von Kamptz, who presented to the Grand Duke of Weimar the following denunciation:†

"MOST SERENE GRAND DUKE:—Your Royal Highness is, doubtless, already informed that a crowd of unruly professors and abandoned students, on the 18th of the month, at the Wartburg, publicly burned various writings; thereby avowing their disapproval of them.

"Although true freedom of thought and of the press actually and successfully exists in your Royal Highness' states, yet it is certainly not consistent with a censure enforced with fire and dungforks by visionaries and minors, and a terrorist proceeding against the same freedom in other states. And it will always remain an enigma in history, how, under your Royal Highness' government, that classical fortress, from which, under your most noble ancestors, German freedom of thought and toleration proceeded;—how the day of the festival for German liberty regained;—how the memory of that great and tolerant man;—how, indeed, our century, and German soil, could be so deeply dishonored and profaned by such a characteristic act of the vandalism of demagogical intolerance. It will not become me, most gracious sir, to enlarge upon the necessary consequences of such an outrage. Your Royal Highness' wisdom will clearly discern them; even if the history of France did not teach us that the fire, which at last consumed the throne, proceeded from the funeral-piles which pardoned demagogues had before erected for writings in defense of that throne.

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* I was so informed by one of the incendiaries; and the statement is confirmed in the "German Youth" (*Teutscher Jugend*), pp. 16, 17; where it is said, "The intention of injuring could hardly have existed, since scarcely one of those present knew either the names of the authors or the contents of their works." This is a principal fault of the burning. Among the books burned was one by the present Minister of Würtemberg, Von Wangenheim. This gentleman related to me, that he once met a young man in a public conveyance, who looked closely at him for a time, and then inquired if he were the author of the "Idea of Constitutions?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, the young man said that he had to accuse himself of having committed a great injustice toward Von Wangenheim. The latter replied, "But I do not know you, sir; how can you be chargeable with such an injustice?" "I burned your book," was the answer, "at the Wartburg festival." "If you did that," answered Von Wangenheim, "you are entitled to my heartiest thanks. I used, previously, to be charged with being a demagogue. But your burning my book relieved me so entirely from that charge that I have not since been obliged to answer it." But so much the more reason had the young man to blame himself. He had richly expiated his fault, however. † Kieser, p. 185.

"It is the honor which was granted to one of my own works, of bearing a part in this *auto da fé*, the first in Germany, and thus far the only one in your Royal Highness' states, which is, as it ought to be, the single subject to which I shall confine myself, at least on this occasion.

"Among the books by the burning of which these heroes of the Wartburg have so well and distinctly proclaimed what freedom of the press it is that they and their adherents desire, was the *Code of Gensd'armerie*, published by me a few years ago, of which I most humbly present your Royal Highness a copy herewith.

"Condescend to observe, from it, that it is nothing more nor less than a mere collection of the laws of various princes, including also your Royal Highness' self, on the subject of gensd'armes: to which end will your Royal Highness condescend to read the published law on that subject, as printed in full by yourself, pp. 359 to 369; and by your most noble and noble relatives, pp. 277 to 401.

"This Code contains, nowhere, my own thoughts, nor my own principles; and therefore, to my lively regret, I have not the honor of the disapproval of the collected unripe Solons of the Wartburg.

"But it was the laws and subscriptions of kings, and other princes, and also your Royal Highness' own laws, which have been publicly burnt in your Royal Highness' own states, by your Royal Highness' own servants and subjects; and which, in the intention of these censors by fire, were publicly insulted and disgraced.

"If I were not the subject and servant of a German prince—if I were not a German citizen—the honor and peace of Germany could not be important to me; I could see, with entire personal indifference, such a demagogical outrage; and indeed, merely as author of the Code of Gensd'armerie, I could only be pleased to see the urgent necessity of the institution whose laws I had collected, demonstrated, and confirmed.

"My supposition that in the court-martial of censors at the Wartburg, there were many to whom the peace and good order of our country was a great grief, and who would much prefer it to be in Germany as in Italy, where honest citizens have to buy safety from robbers, is fully confirmed by the fact that in the incendiary letters written from the Wartburg, insulting the police systems established in all the German states, and first in those of your Royal Highness, the reason alleged is, that no police is necessary in Germany.

"But is such a proceeding consistent with the respect for foreign powers, and for their laws, publicly proclaimed this very year? Is it an evidence of real freedom of thought, toleration, and public spirit? In what terms will history, particularly the history of German civilization, distinguish this outrage in her annals? What advantage will arise from it to culture, science, and social order? The most profound respect, which I feel I owe to your Royal Highness, forbids me from answering these and many other questions.

"It is proper for me to confine myself to the collection published by me, of the laws of your Royal Highness, and other princes; and inasmuch as I may not flatter myself that that collection is known to your Royal Highness, I venture to present it, accompanied with these most respectful observations, with the same unbounded respect in which I shall die.

"Your Royal Highness' most humble subject,

"KARL ALBERT VON KAMPTZ,

"Royal Acting Privy High Government Councilor and Chamberlain.

"BERLIN, 9th Nov., 1817."

The tone of this denunciation is such as to violate all respect due to the Grand Duke; and the more, as this prince had shown so favorable and friendly a disposition toward the festival. This was doubly unjust; for the burning of the books, as we have seen, was only an unfortunate accident, due to a few, and the rest did not even know of it. Herr Von Kamptz, however, holds all those present at the festival alike re-

sponsible for the excess of a few; and, it might be said, indirectly, the Grand Duke himself.

In opposition to this denunciation, and many other attacks upon the Wartburg festival, stands a dignified, earnest, and kind report from the Weimar Ministry of State, from which Kieser* gives the following extract:

"The assembly of our students from the various German Universities, at the Wartburg, on the 18th of October, for the celebration of that day, as well as for the jubilee festival for the Reformation, is the subject of so many uneasinesses, and of such various constructions, that a thorough acquaintance with the proceedings, the origin, and the spirit and significance of this assembly is unquestionably desirable and necessary. The undersigned considered it his bounden duty to collect the fullest information upon the occurrence, and to lay it before your Royal Highness. Your Royal Highness will be able to convince yourself, from it, that as this festival proceeded from an idea laudable in itself, and free from any political intention; it was, it is true, undertaken and carried out with youthful enthusiasm; but that whatever seems blamable in it was only accidental, and is to be charged only upon a few individuals. There has been no occasion so well calculated to remind the various German nationalities of the necessity of unity to their common welfare, as that of the 18th of October. From separation proceeded the wretched domination of Napoleon, whose grievous consequences, in the distracted condition of every country, almost every family has felt; and it was the re-establishment of their unity which glorified the victory whose recollection can never be lost from any German breast. All the German Universities yet have among their students youths who took an active part in that glorious victory. Some of these believed the festival of the 18th of October a most suitable occasion for removing also from the universities the divisions which had always been originated and maintained, during centuries, and in spite of numerous prohibitions by the various states and by the empire, by the *Landsmannschaften*, Orders, and other such societies; and which had been the sources of innumerable and unhappy divisions, not seldom extending to the states in whose service the youths afterward held public positions. With this view, and in this sense, the festival in memory of the great reformer, and in commemoration of the union of people and princes, on the 18th of October, at the Wartburg, was proposed to be used as a general *Burschen*-festival, and invitations were accordingly sent from Jena to all the universities. A short time before your Royal Highness' return from a journey, and a few weeks before the fulfillment of this before unknown design, the first information of it came here. It was clearly too late to prevent it, and it therefore only remained to prevent, as far as possible, all disorders and excesses. And, indeed, no good reason existed for opposing this praiseworthy beginning of the work of destroying the long-prohibited *Landsmannschaften* and Orders. With the permission of your Royal Highness, the police authorities of Eisenach were, for this purpose, advised of the expected coming of a number of students, and directed to take measures for their accommodation. It was believed the surest method of preserving good order and quiet, to place confidence in the honorable feelings and expressed intention of the young people, and to let them, themselves, take charge for that purpose. This confidence was not abused. All the eye-witnesses, including the higher authorities of the circle of Eisenach, testify to the religious solemnity, the dignified bearing, and the feeling, with which, on the whole, the festival of the 18th of October was celebrated. It is certainly not a blameworthy spirit which is expressed in the whole order of exercises; for the festival of October 18th, at the Wartburg, afterward in the church, at the second assembly, on the 19th, at the Wartburg, and at the partaking together of the Lord's Supper, the young men vowed to each other brotherly love and unity, and removal of all divisions and orders among themselves; and, as an immediate consequence of

* Kieser, p. 138.

this agreement, there now prevails among the students at Jena a grade of morality, and a strict observance of the laws of the land, the enforcement of which has heretofore been vainly striven for by the authorities. While this praiseworthy design, and the inspiring idea of a beautiful unbroken unity influenced the body of the assembly, it could not but happen that there would be some present who would fail to comprehend the true significance of the occasion, and who, not controlled by their more intelligent fellows, would be guilty of wanton acts. And thus it did, in fact, happen, that in the latter part of the evening, when the minds of all the young people were excited by the flames of the festival bonfire, that a few strangers, apparently not all of them students, were guilty of the wanton act of burning certain books, with many unseemly expressions. It is certain that but very few of the students had any previous knowledge of this *auto da fé*, so called; and that most of the books burned were unknown to them, from which facts many misconceptions arose, which spread rapidly, and as usual, have become much magnified. It is altogether false that the Acts of the Congress of Vienna, and of the Holy Alliance were among the works burnt. It must be confessed, with concern, that Professor Court Councilor Fries has printed an address to the students, which, although his personal character forbids any suspicion of wrong intentions, by its entire want of good taste, as well as by its unseasonable mystical ambiguities, is reprehensible, and has deserved the disapprobation of your Royal Highness; and that the same gentleman, carried away by love of his pupils, and intending to oppose a damaging calumny, has expressed himself, in the public papers, upon the occurrence, with less than the proper calmness and dignity. He has well expiated the hastiness of his unwise proceedings, by having received an intimation of your Royal Highness' displeasure, and by having been subjected, from various quarters, to the lash of satire. The statement is, however, due to him and to the other instructors who were at Eisenach, that they were not present at the bonfire on the mountain; an unfortunate occurrence, for it may be added that their presence would, perhaps, have restrained the petulance of the young people. This was the plain course of the affair, which, through misunderstandings and lack of official accounts, which have only now been received of a reliable character, has been much distorted, and represented in the public papers as of importance. Your Royal Highness will herefrom be enabled to conclude that the anxieties which have sprung up are without a foundation; and it remains with your Royal Highness' wisdom to determine, whether, besides the investigation already ordered for the originators and participants in the burning of Von Kamptz' collection of police ordinances, the prohibition already issued against the proposed *Burschen* Gazette, and the renewed severe admonition to the editors of the Opposition paper and the People's Friend, any further measures to prevent ill consequences are needed. As several of those present at the ceremony at the Wartburg were from Berlin and the Royal Prussian States, and were not students, it would not be improper to request the co-operation of the Royal Prussian Government, so far as is compatible with the Constitution of the Duchy, as fixed and guaranteed by the guarantee of the German Union.

"KARL WILHELM, BARON VON FRITZ.

"WEIMAR, Nov. 10, 1817."

However bad these immediate consequences of the festival, the storm was appeased by the publication of this dignified and truthful report, as is more especially evident from the following circular, of December 19, 1817, issued by Count Von Edling, to all the residents and agents of the Grand Duke:

"I hasten to inform you that his Highness the Prince Von Hardenberg and his Excellency Count Von Zichy have been here, and have performed the commission intrusted to them. As I desire to anticipate all false conjectures, I have the honor of sending you the details of the same, of which I beg you will make immediate use. The Prince Von Hardenberg and the Count Von Zichy presented to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke the letters of their respective

sovereigns. These letters have, throughout, called for the grateful acknowledgments of his Royal Highness, as giving him indubitable proofs of the confidence and good wishes with which he is honored by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and his Majesty the King of Prussia. The request that he will adhere to the measures which may be taken at the Diet of the Union, for the purpose of establishing a just and liberal freedom of the press, entirely coincides with the wishes of his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, who has always considered that a general regulation of this matter was necessary and indispensable for the maintenance of order, and the commercial weal in Germany.

"As Count Von Zichy desired to convince himself, personally, of the spirit prevailing in Jena, I had the pleasure of accompanying him thither; and although the writings of a few extravagant individuals, in reference to the festival of the 18th October, have with justice attracted the animadversions of the better part of Germany, yet, on the other hand, the order, discipline, and good feeling which prevail among the students at Jena, and particularly among the subjects of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria there, have convinced his excellency that matters are not there as they have been reported.

"This result must be gratifying to all those who take a lively interest in the occurrence; and we may congratulate ourselves that the affair was intrusted to the experience and wisdom of Prince Von Hardenberg, and the well-known rectitude of Count Von Zichy. Their mission must, if possible, knit still more closely the bonds which have so long united his Royal Highness with their sovereigns.

"With the assurances of my distinguished consideration, &c., &c."

This paper shows both how much excitement was caused by the Wartburg festival, and how important it appeared to the governments of Prussia and Austria.

b. *Founding of the General German Burschenschaft.*

On the anniversary of the Wartburg festival, October 18, 1818, delegates from fourteen universities met at Jena,* and founded the General German Burschenschaft, whose statutes are given in the Appendix.†

They determined (§ 2), upon equality of right and duties, in all *Burschen*, and that their purpose was, "Christian German education of every mental and bodily faculty for the service of the fatherland." No duels were to be fought between members of the *Burschenschaft* (§ 20). Foreigners could not become voting members.

The Constitution of the Jena *Burschenschaft* goes more fully into principles and details.‡ It gives full definitions of the executive and legislative powers, for each separate office in the Burschenschaft, and for the order of business in their meetings. The place of exercising (*Turnplatz*), is taken under their protection (§§ 15 and 229). Those admitted into the *Burschenschaft* must be Christians, Germans, and honorable (§ 168). The *Burschenschaft* is called "Christian German."

No difference of birth is recognized among the members of the *Burschenschaft*, and they call each other "thou" (§§ 194, 195). Only "greater or less experience" is a basis of distinction (§ 197); and it is on this principle only that students are eligible to the committee after their second term at the university, and to the managing board

* Haupt, p. 52. † Ib., p. 257. Appendix IV.—(A.) ‡ Ib., p. 264. Appendix IV.—(B.)

after their third (§ 198). "But these distinctions shall not occasion any younger member to be reckoned inferior to an older; for it is only individual excellence, not years' standing which can be alleged in favor of members" (§ 199). This paragraph is a most distinct declaration against Pennalism, which, as we have seen, extended down to our own times.

The statutes* of the General Burschenschaft, and of that of Jena, seem to have been drafted by students at law, and with a judgment and breadth almost unyouthful. But any one who knew the youths who, in the first innocent period of the Burschenschaft, lived in freedom and unrestrained vigorous exercises within the limits of these laws, will make no objections to this characteristic. And if any person is disposed to criticise them sharply, and find them too mature and strict, he will, upon a comparison of them with the Comment (also in the Appendix), find reason to change his opinion, and to look favorably upon them.

E.—Breslau. (1817–1819.)

The influence of the Wartburg festival and of the foundation of the Burschenschaft spread like wildfire to all the Protestant universities of Germany, and to Breslau among the rest. Here, the members of the Burschenschaft were also the most active Turners.† The history of the Breslau Turning-ground, already given, is actually that of the *Burschenschaft* of that place, except that the former, as recognized by the government, comes more into the foreground. The opponents of the Burschenschaft, and of the Turning system, accused the young men, especially, of premature and ill-regulated political action. The reader will learn the nature of the various accusations made from the following dialogue, in which I endeavored to delineate them :‡

Turning and the State. (Otto—Georg.)

O. Dear Turners'-defender, will you answer me again to-day?

G. It will be sure to be once more "Complaints, nothing but complaints!"

O. What we are to become very fond of, a profound writer says, we have first to fight stoutly against.

G. A beautiful sentiment! You will give me good hopes that you will become a true adherent of the Turning system. But what are your new objections?

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* As found in Haupt. I do not know that they have been printed elsewhere.

† Gymnasta.

‡ This dialogue first appeared in 1818, in the Silesian Provincial Gazette. I reprint it *verbatim*, as a contribution to a picture of the patriotic ideas, aspirations, and struggles of the period.

O. One man said to me that the system was only a coarse system of bodily exercise, which neglected the mind. Are children to be made tumblers and rope-dancers? And a little afterward, another complained that the Turning was well enough, if it were only confined to bodily exercises; but that all manner of mental instruction was connected with these; a useless plan. What is your answer to these?

G. As an advocate, I ought not to have to make any answer at all to two objections so diametrically opposite; but I will endeavor to illustrate the point to which both relate. Jahn by no means confined himself to a comprehensive description of and instruction in the various bodily exercises, their mutual relations, and influence in the development of the body. He felt, very clearly, that what the ordinary masters of fencing, swinging, riding, &c., had taught, as matters of bodily application only, must be illustrated by an intellectual element.

O. Can you not describe this element more fully?

G. It is difficult, at the beginning of a great development, to fix upon the germ of a powerful principle which is to live and work in manifold forms and deeds for coming centuries. It can only be imagined. Its efficiency through Jahn and others was not its only efficiency. Its most marked development was in the recent Turners, in whose hearts it dwelt and worked, chaining them to the Turning-ground with an attraction more powerful than could have been that of merely bodily exercises.

O. But its adversaries say that this was a revolutionary spirit.

G. As was Luther's; as are all to whose renovating power humanity owes eternal youth.

O. That is not what they mean. They refer to a Jacobinical revolutionary spirit.

G. Many things may be misunderstood. But this misunderstanding could not happen to any one earnestly seeking to comprehend the Turning system or the future of Germany. But for this is necessary the unprejudiced reading of works on Turning and related subjects; and still more, thorough observation of the system itself, friendly intercourse with the Turners, and, most of all, a comprehension of the errors and sins of the times, and a heartfelt desire to help them.

O. Can you, then, really disprove this accusation of Jacobinism?

G. Jacobinism! These opponents should consider what words they use. Even if they believed that the friends of Turning were in an error, they would have to do them the justice of admitting that they meant honorably. And they compare them with the Jacobins, those most abominable productions of hell that ever appeared in human form!

O. But the Turners must have given some occasion for the charge?

G. I have never heard any expressions at the Turning-ground which would bear, even remotely, such a construction. But, lest you should believe it, I will refer you to matter in Jahn's "German Nationality," and "German Gymnastics."

O. Let us hear.

G. Take the Turners' motto, "Bold, free, gay, and pious."* Is that a Jacobinical motto?

O. No, indeed.

G. Or this appeal:† "German people, let not discouragement lead you into contempt for the ancient houses of your princes; open the history of the world, and seek for better." Is that Jacobinical?

O. Certainly not.

G. Or Jahn's remarks, that‡ "It is an injustice to old families, as old as the state, and often among its first founders, to permit the dogma of a moment to have as much influence as the hard labor of whole centuries. If every Jack can, by the prefix *von*, do as much as the traditions of early deeds, then can a mortal syllable (which will be no creative word in eternity), do as much as the long-ripening fruits of time. An ancient oak of a thousand years, and still green, is honorable; and so is an old man who has lived usefully. We remember how many things they have lived through and endured; to how many wanderers they have given shade and coolness. No one stands long before a mushroom," &c. Is this Jacobinical?

O. Most completely the opposite.

G. Or when he says that§ "Political revolutions have seldom done good, and what little they have was but the companion of an army of miseries;" or that,‖ "Even in the worst time of the French period, love to king and fatherland was instilled into the hearts of the Turners." Is all that Jacobinical?

O. His opponents must certainly never have read Jahn's works.

G. And they contradict each other, too; for they sometimes make the charge of Jacobinism, and sometimes find fault with Jahn and his friends, the advocates of Turning, for desiring a constitution. When did these anarchical king-murderers desire a constitution?

O. But I have heard it said that Jahn and his friends did not, themselves, know what they meant by a constitution.

G. But that is what both everybody and nobody knows. Every one that is, desires security in his sphere of life, undisturbed from without,

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* *Frisch, frei, fröhlich und fromm.* Gymnastics, p. 233. † Nationality, p. 232.

‡ Ib., p. 286. § Ib., p. 283. ‖ Gymnastics, p. 234.

and entire freedom within it; and by a constitution he means an instrument which will secure this to himself and to all; which will leave to the authorities the utmost freedom for good, but will restrain them from evil. But how such a one can be obtained, certainly very few and perhaps none can show.

O. That may be. But I imagine it might be for the best if our youth were not troubled with any civic concerns whatever.

G. Would you have it so now? The Turning system was organized in 1811. And not only did it contemplate the training of youth to general acquirements, but the misery in which the German fatherland was sunk was at hand, to be held up before their eyes as a consequence of civic dissensions and intestine quarrels. It was necessary to train them promptly to maturity as citizens, for the prompt salvation of their fatherland was necessary. The war of its rescue is ended; and what wonder is it that its first sounds are yet echoing?

O. I am pleased to see that you think an excuse necessary here.

G. Not too fast. The sounds uttered then shall re-echo through all time.

O. What sounds?

G. "One Germany!"

O. That is your chief point, then? But is it not clear that the greatness of Germany consists in the very multitude of its nations and princes, and that its very life is aimed at by these preachers of unity?

G. You unreasonable man! If you were advocating One Prussia, or One Austria, or One Bavaria, would you be in favor of compressing together all Germany into that one? If yea, you are right. But who has any such design? The One Germany which is desired is, free and friendly confederate existence of all the German nationalities, in all their numerous individualities, in mutual recognition, respect, and love; and, when necessary, in united strength against external enemies. For centuries the Germans have been lamenting over the grievous internal divisions of their fatherland; and now, when the first serious intention of healing them is shown, a howl goes up, from all sides, as if the utmost danger were at hand.

O. But the preaching of hatred to the French, long after the end of the war, is certainly most useless!

G. Useless? That is as you take it. I know of nothing more unworthy than insults to a subdued enemy. Has it not been repeated, even to weariness, yet not often enough for some people, that French influence remains successfully operative in the inmost mind and heart of numberless Germans; that even yet, a French education in manners and language is the highest ambition with an innumerable number;

especially with a large part of the German nobility, who ought to set a better example. The war is yet active against this French power within the limits of Germany.

O. But contempt for foreigners, such stringent restriction to the national and popular, seems to me entirely unnatural to Germans, and entirely opposed to their cosmopolitan character.

G. Your charges stand in each other's light.

O. How so?

G. If you had just now expressed apprehensions lest Saxony, Prussia, or Hesse, should, by strictly limiting themselves to what is national, or relates to their national descent, lose their general German character, this last charge of yours would seem an extension of the former. But you expressed an apprehension precisely opposite; lest the individuality of the German races should be lost in a general characterless Germanization; as a consequence of which you must naturally fear lest the German traits should be lost in an entirely characterless cosmopolitanism. And this would be a much better grounded fear than that of its opposite, from too strict a limitation of Germany within itself.

O. I must admit that you are right.

G. No one imagines that, in order to live a life of entire devotion to his country, a good citizen must have no house of his own; nor should it be supposed necessary that a German, in order to live for the good of all nations, must have no fatherland. Is it meant that the devil should play on the Germans, as those fools do on the violin who take so much pains to imitate all manner of instruments on it, but cannot bring out the real proper violin tone? A skillful leader would ask such a player, What is the use of that poor and incompetent imitation of the flute and the hautboy, when we have the flute and the hautboy themselves? Do you expect, with your ape-fiddling, to surpass the originals? You ought to be ashamed for so dishonoring your noble instrument, which ought to lead all the rest of the orchestra!

O. Your application is clear; that an imitator of all the world is by no means a cosmopolitan.

G. Precisely; just there is the misunderstanding. "The devil is the imitator of God;" said the Jesuits, who were good judges of such a case. A few great and gifted Germans, like Goethe and Tieck, for instance, have profoundly penetrated and lived in the spirit of foreign nations, with love and sympathy. They were trained for this by understanding and loving the glory of their own country. And with these great minds are confounded those who become Frenchified apes, because they are too God-forgottenly strengthless to become German

men. It is imagined to be one and the same thing, whether a great merchant become rich at home, by honest trade, invests capital at the ends of the earth, or whether a bankrupt peddler, with no home anywhere, borrows wherever he goes and makes a great display with the money!

O. But I should fear that this preaching to Germans against becoming Gallicized, might be unintelligently perverted into a truly unchristian hate of the French.

G. If you put the matter upon conscientious grounds you shall be answered accordingly. What German is ready to love the French? If he is a Prussian, let him love the Austrians and Bavarians first; if a Bavarian, the Prussians. Will one who does not love his child, love a stranger? Do you suppose that the Good Samaritan loved strangers only, and had no love for his wife and child and his fellow-Samaritans? Shall these empty cosmopolitans boast of their Christian perfections and their love of universal humanity, while they show themselves heartlessly indifferent to fellow citizens and countrymen within the narrow sphere of their own actual lives? No. Only the German who loves all Germans with a comprehensive, heartfelt love, is ripe for the love of foreigners; and as long as he retains one spark of hatred against any German nationality, let him not claim credit for the greater until he has fulfilled the less.

O. You may be right. But I must return to a previous inquiry, which you did not answer; that is, where is the good of orations, about civic affairs, at the Turning-ground?

G. I said before, that the pressing period of 1811 demanded a stringent education. But have you lately heard any such orations?

O. You know that I have never been upon the Turning-ground.

G. I have been there, and have heard no such; still less have I delivered any. And I agree with you entirely; they are no place for such. As the Turning exercises contemplate the development of the human body, not civil training for a definite future occupation, for smiths, carpenters, or miners; so, in like manner, the mind should not be trained in a civic direction, but in a general development—to truth, faith, candor, moderation, chastity, hatred of lies and deceit, of drunkenness and licentiousness. Let such a mind be implanted in the Turners, and it will of itself develop, in the after relations of life, into the civil virtues, without any artificial direction toward them, or any untimely hot-house forcing, which seeks to anticipate the natural time of ripening.

O. But this does not seem to me consistent with the premature instruction of the Turners, on all occasions, in love of country.

G. But do you consider the fatherland a civic organization? In order to love it, must one first have received the privilege of German burghership? Do you not believe that a German country—a German heaven—bind even the youngest German hearts with a thousand bonds of love before they ever hear the words "German State,"—and that it is this very love which is the very heart of all the later civic virtues?

O. "German heaven—German country;" how do these enchain the child and the youth? His place of abode, his immediate neighborhood, enchain him. "Germany" is only an idea, which he is not even able to comprehend!

G. How your charges refute each other! At one time you say the German fatherland is far too narrow and confined for the cosmopolitan tendencies of the Germans. And this is believed by thousands, not only of German men, but of children; and the sphere of observation of infants is to be enlarged beyond the limits of Germany, by instruction in foreign tongues, and knowledge of foreign lands and history. And these very same men who think this kind of instruction quite natural, because it is usual, are displeased to have love of country impressed upon the hearts of youth, as if it were something beyond their capacity.

O. But only tell me this: What shall our youth understand by the term "German fatherland?"

G. Understand? Our pious forefathers made their children pray, and taught them edifying texts and hymns. The childish heart found in devotion the life of its life; the deep impression never perished, but consecrated their whole existence, to their death. Illuminati asked, What can a child understand by the names of God and Christ? and prayer, Bible, and hymns were thrown away. This was worse than church sacrilege; it was sacrilege of the inward inborn holiness of the heart. Shall we, in like manner, rob our children of the name of fatherland, to preserve it until their understanding is ripened? The name will make no impression upon men—they will not understand it—unless they have loved it instinctively from their earliest youth; unless, in the clod of earth on which they are born, they love, symbolically, their whole country. And fathers and teachers who would impress upon the young a love of country, must love it sincerely themselves.

O. And also, at least, incline to revolution.

G. I think I have thoroughly refuted the charge of Jacobinism made against the Turners. But if you should hear an expression which has a revolutionary sound, reflect that it is an echo of 1813, the year when all Prussia, from king to peasant, rose up; and remember

those who then uttered such words. That period of violence is, thank God, past; and what is now needed is quiet and peaceful development. But the argument has another side, also. Every germinating truth is revolutionary against prevailing errors; every germinating virtue, revolutionary against prevailing vices opposed to it. And, therefore, there is always an outcry at the rising up of new youthful truths and virtues. The current errors and vices scent the coming of a powerful enemy, and the end of their power.

O. But you surely do not mean that errors and vices should be rooted out in the bloody French revolutionary fashion?

G. How can you ask so foolish a question? Most people have learned enough by the French revolution, not to believe decapitation a sure remedy for disorders in the head. Heaven protect us against such a casting out of the devils through a Beelzebub as that, where the evil spirit would return with seven others worse than himself! But in Prussia there is no call for any remedy of the kind.

O. And what protects Prussia herself against a reformation?

G. If a government opposes the development of the divinely ordained spirit of the times, and persists in forcibly maintaining antiquated and obsolete forms, in propping a rotten house with rotten timbers, it has no business to be surprised if the roof tumbles down on its head. But the course of the Prussian government is directly the opposite. It attentively observes, follows, and promotes the development of that spirit;* and thus will a renovation be peacefully accomplished, for the sake of which, in France, millions of bloody sacrifices were offered. Consider the extinction of the convents, of many of the privileges of the nobility, of the guild-restrictions; the institution of the militia.

O. Against all those steps I have heard much outcry, especially of late.

G. And no wonder. I have cried out against them myself. Every process of renovation causes, for a time, an uncomfortable state of affairs; like that when one removes from an old and failing house, but in which he has lived happily, into a new one, handsomer, but not yet put in order. The old house is empty and waste; and in the new one every thing is in confusion; if we would sit, there are no chairs, and if we would lie down, no bed. We may, naturally, be a little impatient; but who would lament as if he had no house at all, and return

* "The spirit of the times" has, unfortunately, come to mean a wicked spirit, opposed to the eternal kingdom of God. The divine—rather the God-fearing—spirit of the times is the very opposite of this, inasmuch as it is observant of, and obedient to, the indications from above. (Remark in 1854.)

to the beloved old ruin in which he had lived so many years? He should rather be quiet, and help set things in order.

O. Exactly such desires to return to past times have I heard from many sources; and particular praises were given to the strict forms of Friedrich II.

G. They would be just as harmful now as they were valuable then. The great task for our present government seems to me to be, so to loosen up all relations that each and every germ of development can grow freely and unrepressed; and yet, notwithstanding this freedom, to hold all surely together.*

O. But what is to be the result of all this?

G. The government will discontinue what discontinues itself, by not possessing inward force enough to maintain itself. This is the principle of the Prussian *suum cuique*, that great principle of justice which asks not, When were you established? but, Are you what you claim to be? Every wicked clergyman must be displaced who believes that his office shall consecrate him; every nobleman who thinks that his rank will raise him, when he is ignoble, both in thought and deed; every artisan, who is untrained and unskillful, but still would keep himself from being dismissed out of the company of skillful masters, by means of guild privileges. The man is himself, is the new maxim; the man is no longer to be consecrated by his station; but desecrated stations are to be consecrated and restored to their place by the men who shall fill them. Every man must be fit for his position in the nation; and the consciousness of this fitness must give him inward peace and outward safety. Thus will justice abide in the earth.†

O. But, my dear friend, is your paradise to develop itself by nothing except mere negation of what is obsolete? Do you mean that your equality will be secured, after the leaving and pulling down of the old house, by a new one, which shall build itself? If you do, things can not be in a more promising condition than they are in France; for the pulling down business has never been more thoroughly done than there.

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* By this is not, of course, meant the dismal and devastating labor of moles, who root and undermine the most beautiful meadows in such a manner that not a blade of grass can be seen; but the benignant influence of the spring sun, which warms and stirs up the earth, gray and stiffened with frost, until all the seeds, resting in their death-like winter sleep, awaken and spring up, and adorn the fields and meadows with their youthful greenness. (1854.)

† Office and social station lay upon men a responsibility to God, which not even the best completely discharge. (Luke xvii. 10.) But we refer, not to conscientious workers and champions but to those who, so far from striving to fulfill the duties imposed upon them, even go in the opposite direction, and are, morally, minus quantities. In reference to clergymen particularly, church authorities are to replace, as far as possible, such as are manifestly unworthy. As far as possible, I say; for that a complete purification of the church is not possible is acknowledged by the eighth article of the Augsburg Confession; with a wise view to the consolation of congregations afflicted with unworthy pastors. (1854.)

G. Do not think me so foolish. It is true that Prussia has peacefully pulled down, where France did it with violence and blood; but, God be praised, she has done more than to pull down. Parallel with that process, there went one of building up, of which no one in France even thought; and which gloriously distinguishes the Germans from the French.

O. To what do you refer?

G. To education. What Frenchman thought of that in the time of the Revolution? The schools were dispersed, the best clergymen were banished, and the youth sank into barbarism. But woe to the revolution whose actors forget posterity! What is the disuse of old forms and the introduction of new? If the men, and especially youth, are not renovated, the new forms are, and remain, empty delusions. Such a hopeless revolution was never laid to the charge of Germany, and could only happen to short-sighted and most degraded people. Remember what Luther, whom the Germans may cite to the shame of the French revolutionists, did for schools; how he made them even a chief object of attention. In like manner, the Germans, even in the most perilous period, from 1806 to 1813, in that time of trial, when a divine revolution in their minds strengthened them for a new birth, never lost sight of education. The abandoned French revolutionists, drunk with victory, went to the opposite extreme, and forgot their own times, thinking only of posterity. I read, not without feeling, a little while since, Fichte's remarks on this subject, in his Address to the German Nation, in 1808: "Every one sees what is clearly before our eyes, that we can make no active resistance. How can we, therefore, vindicate our title to continual existence, forfeited by this fact, against the charge of cowardice and an unworthy love of life? No otherwise than by determining not to live for ourselves; and to prove this determination by planting seeds of honor for our posterity, and patiently enduring until this object shall have been safely accomplished."

O. It is in accordance with these excellent sentiments that the government, during that evil time, founded two universities.

G. It did more than that—not of so obvious a kind, however.

O. To what do you refer?

G. I spoke of the ancient forms which they discontinued. They were not under obligations to proceed in the same manner in respect to the many antiquated educational forms in the schools and universities. Only raving French revolutionists would "throw away the child with the bathing-tub,"—would exterminate the schools entirely. The necessary process was a renewal, slow and imperceptible—a renewal which could not be forced, but such as comes to pass of itself, when

the spirit of the age causes to be born men with new needs, new loves, and new talents.

O. Among whom you doubtless include Pestalozzi and Jahn.

G. Undoubtedly. The government has, up to this time, so ordered affairs that the old and new elements have not come into opposition. The classical schools and universities have, on the whole, adhered to the ancient principles; Pestalozzi rules in the teachers' seminaries and lower schools, and the Turning-grounds, again, stand by themselves, in contrast with all. The new elements are thus enabled to develop themselves symmetrically and appropriately; and already the beginning may be seen of a mutual influence and strengthening between the old and the new.

Old principles become definite in an existence of centuries, modify crude and ill-adapted novelties, and are in turn reinvigorated and rejuvenated by them. Blessing and grace may be hoped for, when all are bent only upon the good of the young; when none believes himself alone to be possessed of the truth, but allows others to correct and warn him, and lovingly does the like for them; when all, as the noble Fichte said, determine "not to live for themselves alone, and to prove their determination by planting the seeds of honor for their posterity,"—a posterity, I may add, whose growth, and development in the divine spirit of the age, the German fatherland will protect against all revolutions.

The contest between the Burschenschaft and the Turners came to such a height, in Breslau, as to cause an entire separation into friends and opponents of the latter. The account of the Wartburg festival gave additional vigor to this contest. But it reached its height in March, 1819. I cannot forget the fearful impression made upon me when my late friend Passow, quite out of his senses, came to me with the words, "What do you think! A student has murdered Kotzebue!" It was as if the foresight of all the evil consequences of this wicked and most unfortunate deed, had terrified me, all at the moment.

We gradually learned all the particulars. The excitement caused by Sand's crime, not only among members of the university, but among all classes, was excessive, and was stimulated by the falsest reports. It was said that a great and wide-extended conspiracy had been discovered, to which Sand belonged, and that the duty of murdering Kotzebue had fallen to him by lot; that a list of the names of sixty-six persons had been found, who were yet to be stabbed by members of this association. This made many opponents of the Burscher-

schaft uneasy, as their names might also be upon the list, and this naturally made their enmity more bitter, and caused their attacks to assume a character of self-defense against these imaginary dangers. Opponents of the Burschenschaft among the students put forth a statement, in which they expressed their disapproval of Sand's crime; whether this was put into the hands of the authorities, I do not know. We who were friends of the Burschenschaft were placed in a very uncomfortable position. As we—*i. e.*, Passow, Harnich, the younger Schneider, Schaub, and others—were going to the public Turning-ground, we were recognized, and it would be remarked that we belonged to the conspiracy. This excitement was increased by a set public educational address, by Adolf Menzel, against the Turning system, and by the report that, in Berlin, various persons, and especially Jahn himself, had been imprisoned.

But enough of the results of Sand's act at Breslau. Let us proceed to an account of Sand himself, based chiefly upon his own diary.

a.—Sand.

Karl Ludwig Sand* was born at Wunsiedel, 5th October, 1795. He was the youngest son of Councilor Justice Sand. A dangerous attack of smallpox and a severe fever impeded his studies, and he could receive no instruction until his eighth year. His teacher, Rector Saalfrank, removed, in 1810, from Wunsiedel to Hof; and thence, in 1812, to the Gymnasium at Ratisbon, to both of which places Sand followed him.

From his teachers at Ratisbon he received a testimonial of mental endowments, expressed in high terms. "If he continues in the same course," it said, "he will one day exercise a happy and powerful influence for the good of his fellow-men, both by thorough learning and moral excellence." (!) In like manner, his graduating certificate at Ratisbon, of September 10, 1814, praises his mental gifts and natural traits, his industry and progress in "philosophical and philological subjects;" and it was only in mathematics that he was somewhat deficient.

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* "Karl Ludwig Sand, described from his diaries and letters from his friends. Altenberg, 1831." I have also made use of the following works:

"Complete Account of the Proceedings against C. L. Sand for Assassination. By State Councilor Von Hohnhorst, presiding member of the communion appointed for that purpose. Tübingen, Cotta, 1820."

"C. L. Sand, by Jarcke. Berlin, Dümmler, 1830." A new edition, enlarged from unpublished sources. This appeared first in the 11th, 12th, and 13th parts of Hitzig's "Annals of Criminal Law."

"The German Youth in the late Burschenschafts and Turning Associations. Magdeburg, Heinrichshofen, 1828."

I have received much oral information respecting Sand from credible persons.

In November, 1814, he was matriculated at Tübingen; and in April, 1815, he enlisted, at Mannheim, as a volunteer in the corps of Jügers of the Rezat; which step he announced to his parents in a letter full of fiery patriotism. The account of the battle of Belle Alliance arrived while the Jügers were still in Hamburg. They, however, marched into France as far as to Auxerre, and on the 2d December, 1815, returned to Ansbach. On the 15th of the same month, Sand was matriculated at Erlangen.

Before going further, we must consider the influence of Sand's mother upon him, which was a most powerful one throughout his life.

In a letter to her, May 26, 1818, he says: "Yes, dear mother, all the love which I have in my heart for religion, for truth, for my country, for beneficent actions, was, for the most part, excited in me by you; and however I consider myself, you have been all to me, in almost every respect." (p. 159.)*

Thus it becomes important to know the mother who had such an influence upon the son. Their correspondence affords the necessary materials, and I give the following extracts from her letters as especially characteristic.

While he was a student at the Gymnasium, and only sixteen, she writes him:

"There are three sorts of education for man. The first is that which he receives from his parents; the second, that which is derived from circumstances; and the third, that which the individual gives himself."†

These extracts, and another, hereafter to be given, leave scarcely a doubt that she had read Rousseau's "*Emile*."

"Man," she writes, in another letter, "can, of himself, be very much, and almost any thing, if only he *will*." This is in a more detailed statement of the third kind of education.

"May the Ruler of heaven and earth let his spirit rest upon you." (p. 108.)

"Though it be a part of Christian duty, and necessary for living happily, to consider men as having been good when they came from the Creator's hand,‡ yet every man is his own nearest neighbor; and if one daily endeavors to be-

* This and subsequent references in the text are to Sand's diary.

† See *Emile*, Book I. "This education we derive from nature, or from men, or from things. But of these three different educations, that of nature does not depend upon us at all; that of things depends only upon certain relations; and that of men is the only one of which we are really masters." "Men" were mainly represented by Rousseau, who sets parents aside, by tutors; but the mother naturally says, instead, "parents." For "things," she writes, perhaps after a German translation, "circumstances;" and for the education of nature not depending on us, she says, "the education which the individual gives himself;" placing the will, with Fichte, in authority over the natural endowments.

‡ "All is good when it comes from the hands of the Maker of all things; all degenerates in the hands of man." Thus begins Rousseau's "*Emile*." For "base human goodness," Rousseau says "the rabble."

come better, and to rank with the best and selectest men, the lofty worth that pertains to such a character will, of itself, save him from the low snares of a base human goodness." (p. 105.)

Frau Sand had enjoyed the religious instruction of the excellent pastor Esper;* and many beautiful Christian expressions in her letters remind us of him. These are, however, predominated over by others, proceeding from want of self-knowledge and the excess of proud self-esteem thence arising. Her ideal, and that of her son, is moral development by individual power and effort—moral pre-eminence. Christian holiness is but seldom alluded to.

As a means toward moral perfection, Sand practiced a painful and morbid self-observation and self-education. This appears in his diary, where he entered moral observations, discussions, and conclusions. The book reminds us, in part, of Franklin's diary, in its moral account-keeping and entries of debit and credit of one and another virtue; it is only occasionally that a spirit or sentiment truly Christian appears.† And, accordingly, there appears throughout Sand's life, a struggle between Christian elements and those unchristian, or pseudo-Christian. We shall see how doubtful it was, during his studies at Erlangen, which way the victory would incline; at Jena he was in perplexity about Christianity, which prevented him from controversies with its adversaries; and at last he came under the influence of a man who had formed for himself a higher pseudo-Christian morality, which proudly overlooked the simple morality of the catechism. He thus followed a will-o'-the-wisp instead of the true light which truly enlightens all men, and followed it until, at Mannheim, it led him into the path to death.

To return to the history of his life. He was matriculated, as we have seen, at Erlangen, December 15, 1815. Here he soon found friends, with whom he had much intercourse upon morality, Christianity, the country, and academical life.

From his diary and letters we become acquainted with the varying tendencies of his moral efforts, and with his dogmatic views. In 1813 he had written to his mother:

"I shall now recommence my diary, and thus daily seek to investigate myself. Oh, how happy must he be, who gives up to the control of his divine guide, Reason, all his inclinations, desires, impulses, powers, appetites, and dislikes; and who has so far attained as not to have the least thought of that

* For Esper, see Schubert's "*Old and New*," vol. ii. pp. 155–164.

† Sand's diary extends to the last of December, 1818, and contains entries made every evening, of "what he had done well or ill." One of Gellert's hymns may have suggested both this self-examination and the diary. It is entitled "Evening Examination," and begins, "The day is gone again, another part of life; how have I employed it? is it gone in vain?" In some respects it may have been imitated, also, from Lavater's well-known diary.

(evil?) by means of which he may confirm the authority of his conscience." (p. 21.)

"The All-good will indicate the means and the way by which I may, perhaps, very soon maintain a glorious strife, as a young moral hero, against external dangers." (p. 20.)

And in the letter already quoted, from Tübingen, April 22, 1815, announcing to his parents his intention of serving against the French, he writes: "With the help of God, I shall pass safely through the many trials to which I am exposed in this new situation, pure, and at peace with myself."

The likeness of the morality of the son with that of his mother, above described, is only too clear; and it is also clear, that in the quotations given, no reference is made to *Christian* morality.

During his life at Erlangen, there is, indeed, to be found the recognition of the divinity of Christianity; but very seldom any obedience to the Christian commandments, if they stand in the way of his views or his actions. Such recognition is to be found in the following extracts. After having read the inspired praises of love in the thirteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians, Sand writes:

"Ah! we must confess that we feel ourselves impressed and inspired with a new life by these divine lessons; and that our own merely human minds would never, of themselves, have arrived at these teachings of revelation." (p. 39.)

Upon a sermon of Church Councillor Vogel, he remarks: "Vogel is not ashamed of the pure Gospel; he believes in Christ, who alone is able to free us from our great guilt, to strengthen us, and make us upright. Ah, gracious God! let me, in like manner, penetrate thy word and thy spirit; grant me the unending bliss of being soon able, with like power, to preach all thy sanctifying truth; and grant me, also, what he prays for, thy blessing and holiness." (p. 86.)

May 30, 1817, before communion: "Awaken me, to-day, O gracious God! to just self-inspection; awaken me to the lofty pleasure of being permitted to partake of thy holy supper. In order to close my account with thee up to this time, nothing is more necessary for me than with an honest heart to pray for thy grace, and that, for the sake of the death of thy son Jesus, thou wilt forgive my many secret and open sins, and put me at peace with thee, and with my fellow-men." (p. 90.)

September 15, 1817, he writes: "I have never felt and believed so strongly that it is Christ alone that justifies, and that man possesses a safe foundation for goodness, only through him, and through humble acknowledgment of him." (p. 110.)

With these expressions of Christian morality are mingled others, showing a strange confusion of Christian and unchristian sentiments. Thus, he writes, "Thy paternal love, O God! *O Absolute!* is promised me by thy son Jesus; and I will, and do believe in it." (p. 53.)

On the 28th April, 1816, Sand partook of the communion. He writes: "Eternal power sustains all, through eternal love; to which system, (?) however, we could only be raised by Christ and his sacrificial death. Oh, what a happy occasion, when man lives with God and thee, Christ! Could I not, at this moment, even give myself to death

for noble purposes?" "In the evening" (of the same day), "I attended, at the Harmony Theater, the representation of Kotzebue's '*Silver Age*,' a very beautiful thing. It inspired me with not contemptible thoughts." (p. 48.)

July 23, 1817, while waiting for an antagonist with whom he was about to fight a duel, he prays: "I believe wholly in thee; and implore thee, for the sake of thy son Jesus, to be gracious unto me, and permit me, at this time, to be at peace with thy holy spirit, and to receive what shall happen to me with the true spirit of the one strong and powerful love, and with the courage and face of truth."

To these words he adds, at evening, "We waited two hours, but the rascal N. did not come." (p. 115.)

He offered a similar prayer before a duel which was in contemplation on the 18th of August, 1817.

"Shouldst thou, eternal Judge, summon me before thy throne, I know that I have deserved eternal punishment; but, O Lord! I build not upon my own merits, but those of Jesus, and hope in thy paternal love, because he, thy Son, has suffered for me also." (p. 117.)

And on the same day when he wrote this, he preached his first sermon, in the Neustadt church, at Erlangen.

It is easy to observe, in these extracts, how the conscience of poor Sand was already clouded, and how he was beginning to be surrounded with the perplexities of dangerous fantasies.

To his painstaking endeavors after his own moral perfection, was added a second undertaking, viz.: the purification of the body of students at Erlangen from vice. He and a number of friends established, for this purpose, in 1817, the Erlangen Burschenschaft, and they imposed upon him the task of drawing up "Ideas for the organization of the future Burschenschaft." They had scarcely organized, before, as at other universities, they made vain endeavors to connect the *Landsmannschaften* with themselves. This ill success led to bitter quarrels.*

On the first evening of the year 1817, Sand prays God for more power of self-observation. "Strengthen the decisions of my reason, and strengthen my will, so that it may rule my flesh and bridle my fancy; so that it may not sink below the sphere of holiness, and may drive away the devil." (p. 77.) And afterward (September 4, 1817), he writes: "Strengthen me, O God! with thy Spirit, that I may begin right powerfully to contend against the assaults of the devil, against

* The references to these quarrels in the diary are too scattered to make it possible to construct a connected account from them.

every insidious attack, from the very beginning, in thy justifying name, O Jesus!"

Before the Wartburg festival, Sand composed a short paper, which he distributed there. It agreed, substantially, with the statutes of the General and Jena Burschenschaft. Virtue, learning, fatherland, is its motto, and freedom its chief object. "In pious simplicity and strength, with upright courage, let us follow in the traces of the holy revelation of God." Every effort is to be consecrated to the German fatherland. A General Burschenschaft, but without any oath of association. Such were some of its leading thoughts.

The chief idea of the Wartburg festival was, "We are all, by baptism, consecrated to the priesthood. (1 Peter, ii. 9: 'Ye are a royal priesthood, a holy nation.') That is, through our high consecration, by baptism, gospel, and faith, we are all placed in the ministerial office; and so long as we are consecrated to our divine Master as valiant and active servants, there is no other distinction among us than that of our offices and labors; we are all spiritually free and equal." (pp. 126–132.)

We have seen that Sand was on the committee of management of the Wartburg festival. From that place he went to the university of Jena.

Here his inward strifes came to an end. The theologian would call them strifes between nature and grace; for man cannot serve both—one master must be supreme.

These struggles, though ending, ended in a very sad manner. The diary shows clearly his gradual circumvention and conquest by evil. Gradually—for at first, the rude and reckless unchristian life, which he had not before encountered, seems rather to have strengthened than weakened his faith. At first he is only surprised. "Jena," he writes, November 9th, "has its wise men." He found friends who contended, with much zeal, "against the understanding of the Bible maintained by the orthodox theologians." November 16, he writes:

"I heard from N. a stupid, malicious sermon. . . . He spoke so shamefully against the awakened faith of late grown up, and in favor of a cold rationalism, that I was enraged." (p. 185.)

In the same month he writes intelligently to a friend,* "You seem to me . . . . to have departed from your former plain, and pious, and powerful faith, and to have taken up, instead of it, the sentimental and credulous opinions, if I may so describe them, of the priests. Do you not, yourself, find that you vary more and more from the firm and strong beliefs which were those of our Luther, and are gliding into this unchristian pietist way, who neglect that dearest of all earthly objects, our country, and who scoff at *German* Christians, including us in our country? I pray you, do not, on this point, believe any longer the 'inner voice' that you profess to have, if it is to withdraw you from

* Von Plehwe, a captain in the Prussian service.

the powerful faith which makes us free, and which our Luther possessed. Try this voice, whether it is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; for the devil seeks to rob us entirely of the kingdom of heaven; and most, when we are susceptible of believing." (pp. 136–138.)

A comparison of these sentiments, so lucid, and so modest, in the best sense of the term, with many of those previously quoted, so confused, and visionary in the worst sense, leaves us to the belief that scarcely any young man can be cited of such inconsistent views.

It seems as if poor Sand, in the last words just quoted, had expressed a presentiment of the evil that threatened him; although it came upon him from a direction opposite to pietism. He writes again, on the 18th of November: "The devil knows how he would despoil me again of my *Christianity*." (p. 139.)

On the 31st December, Sand prays:

"O gracious God! permit me to begin this year with prayer. At the end of the last year I was more thoughtless and out of temper than before. On looking back, I find myself, to my sorrow, not to have become better or more perfect, but have only lived through so much more time, and had so much more experience. O Lord! thou wert always with me, even while I was not with thee! It almost seems as if thou hadst, during the storms of these latter years of the spring of my life, changed all my previous love to faith; at least, in all my needs, I feel Jesus Christ right near to me, and build upon him; and he alone is to me always a sufficient and constant encouragement, a place of refuge for my fears, and a central point for free and powerful efforts. Through him I feel myself, above all things, made right free; and I have learned to know freedom as the highest good of humanity, of nations, and of my father land; and I shall hold fast to it." (p. 144.)

At the beginning of the year 1818, he prays, again, "O God! let me hold fast to thy salvation of the human race through Jesus Christ; let me be a German Christian, and let me, through Jesus, become free, peaceful, confident, and also persevering and strong." (p. 147.)

But, at the same time, he writes: "It is all over with devotees. What is needed now is action."

A letter of the end of March, 1818, to Cl——, indicates a still greater departure from Christian simplicity. In this he says:

"I cannot charge myself with being a doubter. It would be to me the most fearful of all things, to be feeble or indeterminate.

"And yet there is one thing which distresses me; which has, for a long time, had power to cool my warmth, and with which you must be made acquainted; in regard to which I may, perhaps, receive from you an impulse toward a more fixed belief.

"During last summer I attained a real fixity in my convictions upon the subjects of highest importance to us. My faith became more firmly grounded; I desired, even if I could do nothing more, at least to be a real Christian and a real German. Trusting confidently, in all things, to the grace of Our Father, I was free in my belief, always courageous, and could go with firm steps in the road which my will and my reason had chosen. Love excited me to action, prevented me from becoming stupefied, and rendered me decided, firm, and peaceful in all matters that concerned me. Thus I experienced, in reality, the blessedness of faith, expressed it in my sermons, and could, with truthfulness, encourage others to faith.

"Since my coming hither, into a world wider, and quite different in all its

peculiarities and chief traits; since I have seen, in many whom I love, too much of the northern modesty, and have heard the sphere of my own beliefs described as visionary by others, who yet discourse upon faith; and since, besides other books, I have, chiefly by your means, become acquainted with Herder's views, it has gradually come to be with me otherwise than before. At first, my attention was excited only; after, what I heard was repugnant to me; sometimes I was confused within myself, and on the whole, I am at least colder and less courageous than heretofore.

"In truth, so much is my firm determination; that reason shall be my supreme rule; I would possess not a visionary, but a pure and sound faith; and even if I hold to my former beliefs, I must be able to make them out as clearly sure and sound. I have always reverenced in Jesus the highest and most beautiful picture of our manhood; but to consider him a mere ordinary man, seems to me, now, too desolate and harsh.

"I will not willingly renounce reason and understanding; but it makes me cheerful and happy, and certainly does not impede me in action, to reverence in the great Teacher of the eternal God, a constant helper, a divine brother, who kindly makes up for the deficiencies of the world and humanity, who raises us above a system of legality. Did he now die for himself alone, a hero for the sake only of his own opinion? Did he merely bear witness to the truth of his instruction, without intending to purchase a great benefit for men?" (p. 148.)

In a second letter to the same friend, he says: "But you know that, by little and little, my whole system of beliefs grew continually darker, and that I was almost entirely fallen into a blind dependence upon ancient formulas of belief, giving up my own independent faith; and you know how I have come into this condition mainly by your means." (p. 154.)

But on the 5th of May, the unhappy fruit of the refinements which drew him further and further from a pure Christianity, comes clearly out in these words of his diary: "Lord, to-day again this so miserable unhappiness has sometimes attacked me; but a steady will and steady occupation solves all, and helps through all, and the fatherland becomes a source of pleasure and virtue. Our God-man Christ, our Lord, is a picture of humanity that must always remain beautiful and peaceful. When I reflect, I often think that some one, courageous beyond himself, will undertake to drive a sword into the vitals of Kotzebue, or some other such traitor to the country." (p. 150.)

In the same month of May, 1818, Sand became acquainted with one K——r, a pupil of Hegel, who made a deep impression on him by his cunning frenzy, and carried him quite beyond control. To understand this K——r, and his influence on Sand, it will be abundantly sufficient to quote what the latter writes in his diary, October 20, 1818:

"K——r came in in the evening, and was healthy, noble, and free, clear and firm, immovable, and consistent in his views. He told me how he had formerly had such misgivings, but how he was now completely free from them, and how he was consistent and clear on the question of religion. Heaven must be boldly taken by storm; all stain of sin, all distinction of good and evil, must completely disappear from before the soul, as an empty and false show; and then will the soul vanquish men, earth, and the mansions of heaven! Only in unity is there blessedness, to him, in equal and everlasting rest. But he respects every brother as near himself, and recognizes him, as a complement of himself. Yet he is free above freedom, and has another home besides the fatherland. He knows how to seek it, and is firmly determined to do so. I seem to him pious, as well as near to him, and recognized as such; I was pious in the sight of God, and would remain so; and I desire to be holy only in comparison with the world; not in my own eyes. If he can seem holy in his

own eyes, let him do so—I must remain behind. But he vowed freely that he would undertake to maintain such a character continually, or that he would disappear, a wretched mass of dross. Thus he acts not for himself, but for all of us, since we are all one spirit,—a pure spirit. And all this he said so clearly, so loftily, with a peacefulness so powerful as I never saw. I lost all feeling of strangeness, and was drawn to him as a brother in freedom. God help!" (pp. 168, 169.)

The contrast between Sand and K——r comes out more strongly in the following important extract from his diary:

"November 2. Victory, unending victory! To will to live according to my own convictions, in my own way, with an unrestricted will, beyond which nothing in the world pertains to me before God; to maintain, with life and death, among the people a state of pure uprightness (that is, the only condition consistent with God's commands), against all human sentiments; to desire to introduce, by preaching and dying, a pure humanity among my German nation. This seems to me altogether another thing from living in renunciation of the people. I thank thee, O God! for thy grace. What infinite power and blessing do I discover in my own will; I doubt no more! This is the condition of true likeness to God." (p. 170.)

A letter to his mother contains expressions quite similar. In this he says:

"K——r, as you correctly judge, seems to me an acute and powerful mind; for he has deep and firm convictions, and an individualized and powerful will; and thus has the impress upon him which we derive from God. But his conviction is a distinct disgust at every thing that exists; at all being, life, and effort; he endeavors boldly to destroy the form of every thing, and even himself, as he now exists; he has no pleasure in his existence, in the world, or in his nation. Humanity, which should be to him a pure and holy picture, such as we know it to be displayed in Jesus, our Saviour, counts with him for nothing; is to him nothing but a delay in individuality—in evil.

"And therefore, dear mother, I must say to you, that among our people I know bolder and nobler heroes: and that in the path in which K——r thrusts me backward, and kills me, I feel myself drawn toward them with inexpressible power. Like him, they recognize no human attainment more holy than the good of the highest divine grace, likeness to God; the possession, by man, of an individual conviction and will for himself. In this belief they are wholly without doubt, and as strong in their wills as K——r; but their convictions look toward active life and pleasure in striving; and if they could have their own way, they would insist on introducing among our German people that pure condition of humanity in which every one can train himself to every thing for which God has ordained him; they would glorify humanity in our nation! And since they have attained to this condition, not one doubt has assaulted their souls; they have not even trembled.

"Of this mental pleasure, and this victory, I experience some indications; and therefore I quite give up K——r. My inherited feelings had already disinclined me to his views; but now I possess a faith, the loftiest belief upon this earth; and this alone I will enjoy." (pp. 171, 172.)

Who were these bolder heroes to whom Sand felt himself attracted with such inexpressible power, and from whom he expected such transcendent benefits to his fatherland?

Late researches, and especially a work entitled "*The German Youth in the Late Burschenschafts and Turning Societies*," indicate, with the utmost clearness, that Sand alluded to Karl Follenius and his followers.

The author of the above-named work (Robert Wesselhöft), thus describes his first visit to Follenius:

"He received us like old acquaintances. We called each other *thou;* he was hearty and easy, open and confiding, without requiring that any one should at once unconditionally reciprocate all this. But there was in his demeanor, his attitude, the tone of his voice, his emotions, and looks, in short, in the whole man, something noble; peace, power, clearness, a seriousness almost proud; an individuality, which insensibly secured a remarkable degree of respect from all near him. And in his morals he was as strict, as pure, and as chaste as in his language; and we have found no one like him, or certainly no one equal to him, in purity and vigor of morals and manners."*

Follenius lectured on the Pandects. His "philosophy was, throughout, practical. He required all that is recognized by the human reason as good, beautiful, and true, to be accomplished by means of the moral will. . . . The State must be organized correspondently with the reason of the members of it."†

In this manner, proceeds our author, Follenius developed a degree of self-consciousness that was astonishing:

"He was bold enough to assert that his own life was such as reason required. With an indescribable expression of contempt in his features, he accused those of cowardice and weakness who imagine that the knowledge of truth and beauty, and especially of their highest ideals, could be disjoined from living them out, practicing them, realizing them in their widest extent. For he asserted that man's knowledge of good and right never exceeds his power and his will; and that the latter are limited only by the former.

"It will be readily understood that these proud sentiments gave the more offense in proportion as Follenius' own life furnished fewer opportunities for disputing his positions. All that could be alleged against him amounted to the charge, that he was deficient in a certain humility and modesty. But this accusation could not provoke, from one who saw his superiority recognized, any thing more than a compassionate laugh, which said, clearly enough, 'Ye weaklings! Your envious vanity and vile weaknesses are remarkably shrewd!'"‡

Follenius required unconditional acquiescence in, or difference from his views.

"While in Giessen, he had driven his opponents to this position, and maintained his own ascendency, because he had control of the existence of the Giessen Friends known by the title of Black. But at Jena he had not this control."§

"As soon as Follenius defined this unconditionality in its whole extent, all seemed to bow before the boldness of his conceptions. The conviction that showed itself so profoundly and strongly, commanded respect, but it was felt that it was respected only as it existed in Follenius, and could not be separated from him. But his hearers did not yet understand themselves thoroughly enough to be able at once to be clear in this feeling. But they were sensible of some opposition of thoughts within themselves which prevented them from resisting, with Follenius, all history, and all things, both past and future, and from asserting, with him, that whatever had happened had been brought about by men, and that it might just as well have been otherwise, had men followed a better knowledge, and been willing to put the reason in possession of all its rights. But Follenius claimed that he possessed this better knowledge. Politically, he was purely republican; for he would construct the State as it should be, from the individual man as he should be; and he thought himself competent to represent the latter, and, therefore, authorized to require as much from others. And this he required unconditionally; concluding that any one who would accept this unconditionally, would also accept unconditionally the republican frame of government. Any one accepting his system became 'uncon-

* "*German Youth*," &c., p. 65. † Ib., p. 71. ‡ Ib., p. 72. § Ib., p. 73.

ditioned.' As his whole system had a practical purpose, and looked to the realization of its principles, thus the receiving of his views—*i. e.*, 'unconditionality'—was really a very serious matter; and it can readily and clearly be apprehended that the unconditional recipients of Follenius' opinions were as earnest in them as he, from the moment of their accepting them.

"Fortunately for the world, of about thirty Friends who formed the narrow circle around Dr. Follenius, only three were entirely 'unconditional,' and there were about five more in a doubtful state. One of these three was Sand. All the rest were in favor of moderate views; many were only seeking instruction and interchange of ideas in their circle, and were neutral; and a few desired Follenius' conversion. It was supposed that Court Councilor Fries would best accomplish this work of information and conversion, and shortly the whole society met once a week with him, and disputed vigorously. But as both Fries and Follenius had a fixed and completed system, this led to no result. Neither convinced the other."*

But among the students there was no thought of an agreement, and in March, 1819, the whole society was broken up into a completely inimical separation, only three adhering to Follenius, among whom, as we have said, was Sand. Our author goes into some detail as to the reasons why Follenius was not acceptable to the other students. He says: "All authoritative proceedings were much hated at Jena; the students only loved their teachers and valued their intellects. Follenius, with his moral-political ideas, could not succeed in Jena. People had learned and received too much from previous teachers to give it up for what Follenius offered. They criticised him, and advised others to do so—why should Follenius not be criticised? The harshness with which he would have propagated his beliefs and opinions, and with which he asserted that only cowardice and weakness refrained from adhering to them, and carrying them into practice, drove his friends into such an opposition as made it out of the question for his instructions to have any influence on the students. Even those who could not refuse their respect to Follenius, opposed him strenuously at the same time; asserting that no one, unless he were Christ, was entitled to claim that he was possessed of the truth. Only Christ held that position; and in him intellectual freedom is to be enjoyed. In a moral and religious sense, there is a Saviour; but nobody is going to believe in a moral-political Messiah."†

This reference to Christ relates to a hymn which Follenius wrote for the communion. It began:

"A Christ thou must become."‡

The last stanza is:

"The man is flown away;
A Christ canst thou become.
Like thee, a child on earth
Was he, the Son of man.

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* "*German Youth*," &c., pp. 74-76. † Ib., p. 83. ‡ Ib., p. 84.

Within thy being nothing is destroyed.
God guideth thee as thou dost guide thyself.
Through thee, by love, God doth become
A man, that he may still be end and aim into us."*

Another poem of Follenius', a turbulent summons to insurrection, Sand had printed and distributed as widely as possible. It begins:

"Human crowd, O thou great human desert!
Who of late the mental spring-time greetedst,
Break at last—crash up, O ancient ice!"†

As an additional description of Follenius, I add the following:

"When we asked him if he believed that his system could be put into practice without blood, he answered, calmly, 'No. In the worst event, all must be sacrificed who entertain different opinions.' And when we replied that our feelings revolted at such a terrorism, and that, as Christians and men, we thought it wrong to murder men, otherwise, perhaps, good and upright, because they ventured to think and believe differently from us; and even that we did not claim the right of condemning the moral convictions of others, he answered that 'the feelings have nothing to do with this case, but necessity. And if you have the conviction in you that your beliefs are true, the feeling of the necessity of acting out this truth cannot be strange to you, unless by reason of cowardice. The means are not to be considered when the case is one of moral necessity.'

"When we observed, that this was the Jesuitical principle, that the end sanctifies the means, he calmly replied, that 'a moral necessity is not an end at all; and in reference to that, all means are alike.'

"Fortunately, we could find no such moral necessity within us; and had to admit that we did not believe it existed, except in him.

"'Good;' he answered 'that is enough, however.'"

We shall, hereafter, refer once more to Follenius; and, therefore, shall only describe him so far as is necessary to show how predominant an influence he exercised upon Sand. Although this is plain, from many of Sand's expressions, already quoted, it appears still more clearly in portions of the latter part of his diary. He writes, on 5th December, 1818:

"I will have but one grace—the everlasting grace of God—which, therefore, can never turn back from me, but is inwoven with the rudiments of my being. I renounce the feeble belief in the occasional interposition of God's hand behind the scenes of the play of nature and humanity, and proportionably more shall I, on the other hand, elevate my own spirit, and praise thy primeval grace, O God! by my whole active existence and life. And these immediate relations with thee, O God! my soul shall never mistake, nor destroy, nor forget. Here, thy grace shall endure forever, with every day—here, in thy love. I will rightly understand my will, the loftiest gift of God, the only real possession; and with it will possess all the infinity of material which thou hast placed about me for trial and for self-creation. I reject all grace which I do not acquire from myself; such undesired grace is none at all for me; it destroys itself. Not to live distinctly up to one's convictions, to vary from them for fear and human opinions, not to be willing to die for them, is brutal—is the vileness of millions for thousands of years. Flee, with circumspection, the snares of Satan." (p. 178.)

On the 31st of December, he writes: "Thus I celebrate the last day of this year, 1818, seriously and joyfully, and am sure that the last Christmas is past which I shall have kept. If any thing is to come of our efforts; if humanity

* Hohnhorst, vol. i. p. 50. † Ib., vol. ii. p. 198.

is to prosper in our fatherland; if, at this important time, all is not to be forgotten again, and enthusiasm to perish out of the land, that wretch, that traitor, that corrupter of youth, A. v. K., must go down—that I see. Until I have accomplished this I shall have no rest; and what shall console me until I know that, with honorable boldness, I have set my life upon the deed? God, I ask nothing of thee, except upright purity and courage of soul, lest, in that most lofty hour, I may lose my life." (p. 174.)

Sand carried about with him this firm resolve upon murder for months. Nevertheless, his friends report that there was observable in him no change, no disquiet, no uneasy abstraction. He even attended lectures most regularly, as if preparing himself for many future years of life.

But in this unhappy and fearful silence the scheme of murder was becoming riper and more fixed.

* On the 9th of March, 1819, he left Jena and went to the Wartburg, where he wrote in the book at the inn:

"Into the true heart strike the lance,
A road for German freedom!"

On the 17th he reached Frankfort, and thence proceeded, by Darmstadt, to Mannheim, where he arrived at half-past nine A. M.

His first step was to call on Kotzebue, who was not at home; but he was admitted to see him about five in the afternoon. After some little conversation, Sand drew his dagger and struck down the "whimpering" Kotzebue, with the words, "Here, thou traitor to the fatherland!" He stabbed him three times, though the first blow was fatal, having severed the main artery of the lungs. Kotzebue died in a few minutes. Sand then rushed out of the house and cried, with a loud voice, to the gathering crowd, "Long live my German fatherland, and all of the German people—all who strive to better the condition of pure humanity!" Then, kneeling down, he prayed, "God, I thank thee for this victory;" thrust a short sword into his left breast until it stuck fast, and fell down.

He was brought into the hospital at six P. M. He lay there, "stretched out on his back, his face deadly pale, his lips blue, his hands and feet cold and stiff, scarcely breathing, his pulse hardly perceptible." He was revived by warm wine, so that at half-past seven the question could be put to him, whether he had murdered Kotzebue. He raised his head, opened his eyes, and nodded quickly and strongly. He then asked for paper, and wrote, in pencil, "A. v. Kotzebue is the corrupter of our youth, the defamer of our national history, and the Russian spy upon our fatherland."

During the night he caused the account of the battle of Sempach to be read to him, from Kohlrausch's History of Germany.

* The following account is from Hohnhorst, vol. i. pp. 48–82.

His wounds healed after fourteen days, but an extravasation in the cavity of the left chest made a painful operation necessary. This left a wound which remained open some months, and the dressing twice a day, and the constant position on his back, caused him, often, the severest pain. On the 5th of April he was removed from the hospital to prison.

"His demeanor, during his whole imprisonment, was praiseworthy; without making demands, he thankfully received whatever was done for alleviating his sufferings; and toward the members of the commission of investigation he was mostly obedient and modest. But this did not prevent him from purposely endeavoring to delay the investigation by numerous untruths."*

The result of a long investigation was, that the high court of justice in Mannheim decreed, on the 5th May, 1820, that Sand, "having been guilty of the murder of Imperial Russian State Councilor Von Kotzebue, and having confessed the same, should, therefore, for his own punishment, and for the example and warning of others, be put to death with the sword."

This decision was approved by the Grand Duke on the 12th of May.

On the 17th of May, at half-past ten A. M., in the presence of two witnesses, the sentence of death, confirmed by the supreme authority, was read to Sand, who, by permission, dictated the following paper:

"This hour, and the honorable judge, with the final sentence, are welcome to him; he will strengthen himself in the strength of his God; since he has often and clearly proclaimed, that of human miseries, none seem to him equal to that of living without being able to live for the fatherland, and for the highest purposes of humanity; that he dies willingly, where he cannot labor, according to his love, for his ideas; where he cannot be free.

"Thus he approaches the gate of eternity with free courage; and since he has ever been inwardly oppressed by the fact, that, on earth, true good only comes out in the strife of opposed miseries; that any one who desires to work for the highest, the divine, must be leader and member of a party. . . .† He cherishes the hope of satisfying, by his death, those who hate him; and, likewise, those with whom he sympathizes, and whose love is one with his earthly happiness. Death is welcome to him, for he feels himself to possess the requisite strength, with the help of God, as a man should."

The 20th of May was the day of execution; and until that time the officers of the prison were ordered to admit proper persons into it, on the requisition of the prisoner, especially Protestant clergymen, and to comply with all his reasonable wishes.

During the period up to the execution, the commissary in charge of the arrangements visited the criminal at various times, and observed, in a report of May 19th, that at all these visits Sand maintained the

* This testimony is from the chief of the investigating commission.

† Something, says Hohnhorst, seems wanting here.

same steadiness of demeanor as at the time of hearing his sentence. On the same day, Sand requested that he might be allowed to go to the place of execution without any clergyman, alleging, as a reason, that such attendance was a dishonor to the clergyman and to religion. The last must exist in the heart; and cannot come in from without, certainly not during the excitement of such an occasion. As all exhortations, even of the clergymen in attendance, had been fruitless, there was no hesitation in granting this request.

On the 20th of May, at five in the morning, Sand was placed in a low, open carriage, within the closed doors of the prison, having with him the head-jailer, who was, by his request, to support him, and to conduct him to the place of execution; and two under-jailers were appointed to walk behind the carriage. He wore a dark green overcoat (not an old-German black coat, as various papers stated), linen pantaloons, and laced boots, without any covering on his head. The carriage and its personal attendants were received, before the prison, by a squadron of cavalry, drawn up in readiness. The procession advanced to a meadow, lying not far from the city gate, where was the scaffold, surrounded with a square of infantry. Sand was lifted from the wagon, and mounted the scaffold himself, leaning on the shoulders of the two under-jailers. Having arrived at the top, he turned himself about, with rolling eyes, threw quickly down upon the ground a handkerchief which he carried in his hand, lifted up his right hand, as if pronouncing an oath, lifting his eyes to heaven at the same time, and then permitted himself to be led to the block, where he remained standing, by his express desire, until the time of preparing for execution. The sentence of death was now read aloud by an actuary, and the hands and body of the prisoner bound fast to the block, Sand saying, to the executioner's servant, in a low voice, "Do not tie me too tight, or you will hurt me." His eyes having been bound up, the execution was finished, the head being severed from the shoulders with one blow.

The execution was conducted with the utmost order, and in the deepest silence on the part of the spectators, except, at the moment of the decapitation, some expressions of sympathy were heard.

A little before the stroke, he said, in an audible voice, "God gives me much pleasure in my death—it is finished—I die in the grace of my God."

He died, with much firmness, and entire presence of mind, about half-past five. His body and the separated head were soon placed in a coffin, which was in readiness, and which was immediately fastened down. The military escorted the body back to the prison.

At eleven o'clock on the following night, Sand's body was buried in the Lutheran church, near the prison.

It remains to add, from the documents relating to the trial, as given by Hohnhorst, some matter which may serve to fill out the sketch of Sand's character, and to explain his connection with the society of the "Blacks," and with the *Burschenschaft*, and with particular reference to the murder.

His expressions as to religion, patriotism, politics, are quite consistent with those in his diary and his letters, and remarkably with the views of Karl Follenius.

On Christianity, Sand expressed himself thus:

"1. The divine laws are not so much positive commands as an advisory code, by which man may govern his actions according to his own convictions.

"2. The man who endeavors to seek the divine, so far as is within his power, who never finds pleasure in evil, but seeks to keep it as distant from him as possible; and, on the other hand, adheres, to the utmost of his ability, to what is good,—he represents the image of God upon earth.

"3. But this knowledge proceeds only from the man himself; it consists in his determination that, as soon as he has recognized any thing as true and clear, he will openly confess it for the good of all. When a man has, according to his powers, so recognized a truth, that he can say, before God, 'This is true,' it is a truth also when he *does* it. When one can comprehend his whole being, and can then say, before God, 'This is true,' he easily becomes concordant with himself. For whither would it lead, if men should assume to see, investigate, and condemn, as to be rejected, their own endowments? Every one must stand for himself before God.

"4. But one who seeks to repress the divine in man, is trebly deserving of murder and the stroke of death.

"5. Any one not of this opinion, or who would apply texts of the Bible to the actions of a criminal, is a theological blockhead."*

For such did Sand pronounce the author of a letter to him from an unknown hand, otherwise a very well-meant letter, as he himself said, in which he was admonished to receive a sense of his crime, with a reference to various places in the Scriptures.

He prayed God, daily, for knowledge and enlightenment. If he should learn, by divine suggestion, that his act was wrong, he would repent it from that hour; but, so far, this has not happened.

As to the laws of the State, and the State itself, he said: "A reasonable faith, properly based upon the understanding, is to me a law. I must live according to my free will; and that which my convictions have determined, I must live up to. In case of collision with earthly laws, no man should be restrained by these, if any thing is to be done for the fatherland." In a true human state, every man must be able

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* Hohnhorst, vol. i. pp. 109–111.

to govern himself as far as is possible. Germany must be free, and under one government.

"The logical result of these views," says Hohnhorst, correctly, "seems to be this: My own conviction is my law; I do right when I follow it; it is, for me, above human or divine precepts."

With an incredible inconsistency with these views, Sand took a New Testament with him on his journey to Mannheim, and strengthened and edified himself, particularly by reading the Gospel of John.* But he also took with him Follenius' hymn, "A Christ must thou become!"

"*The end sanctifies the means.* This principle found in Sand a strenuous supporter. It was, he said, neither dangerous nor shameful; for it was made abominable by the Jesuits only because they applied their means to shameful ends. All means for a good end must always be good."† His adherence to this frightful principle explains only too well Sand's constant and hateful lying at his trial, which stood in the strongest contrast with his proud endeavors after moral perfection and moral heroism.

Nearly all Sand's sentiments agree entirely with those of Follenius, above quoted; and show, obviously, that the latter had completely got control of poor Sand, who had, intellectually, come to be quite near him; had, in truth, unconditionally enslaved him to whom free and self-confirmed conviction was to be the highest law of all action. There is only One who makes truly free those who give themselves unconditionally to him.

The question has often been asked, What was the reason of Sand's murder of Kotzebue? Sand gave the answer, the night after the murder, as I have given it. Whether Sand was acquainted with the details of Kotzebue's life and writings, cannot be certainly ascertained.‡

After all the matter which I have quoted from and relating to Sand, no one will wonder that the most various judgments were formed upon his deed.

Such persons as based their opinions upon a strict subjection to the Holy Scriptures, saw nothing except a positive violation of the divine command, Thou shalt not kill; and no defense, however subtle and sophistical, could drive them from this belief. And yet even the

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* "In the world," says Sand (Hohnhorst, i. 127), "men have sorrow, wherever they go." He had applied to himself, as will appear from his letter to his parents, the words of Christ, "In this world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." John, xvi. 33.

† Hohnhorst, i. 119.

‡ Those not informed as to Kotzebue's character are referred to Appendix VI. for a passage on his work, "*Bahrdt with the iron forehead*," from the General German Library, vol. cxii. pt. 1, p. 213, &c.

simplest Christian felt that this murder was not similar to murders by criminals whose motives were personal revenge, robbery, and the like. Thus, a profound sympathy with Sand was united with the fullest condemnation of his crime.

This connection of sentiments was the basis of De Wette's much-quoted letter to Sand's mother;* which, it must always be remembered, was written only eight days after the murder. A copy of this letter, which was sent to the King of Prussia, occasioned De Wette's dismission. In the beginning of this letter he says: "The deed which he has committed is, it is true, not only unlawful, and punishable by earthly judges, but also, speaking universally, is immoral, and contrary to the moral code. No right can be established by wrong, fraud, or violence; and a good end does not sanctify wrong means. As a teacher of morals, I cannot countenance such actions; and should advise that evil is not to be overcome by evil, but only by good." (Romans xii. 21.) De Wette wrote with confidence to the Berlin theological faculty, "The foregoing general moral principles laid down in the letter, according to which I declare the act a wrong one, will be found unblamable by the faculty; they are those of the Gospel." He afterward said to the same faculty, "Only within the narrow circle of those who knew and loved him (Sand) well, and to his relatives, can it be pointed out, that there should be accorded to him a large measure of excuse; not an unconditional justification. It was within this circle that I wrote the letter of comfort to the mother; I did not obtrude myself for the purpose, but circumstances drew me into it."† . . . "It would never have occurred to me to publish that letter in that form."‡ And accordingly, De Wette writes to the mother, that he was writing to her a "defense" of her son; and this is so true, that his letter corresponds, in many respects, to the defense made for Sand by the counsel appointed for him by the court.

The double character of Sand's action, and the consequent two views to be taken of it, appear most clearly in the following extract of De Wette's letter to the theological faculty. "Calixtus says, correctly, 'Even a mistaken conscience is binding; and one who acts contrary

* "*Collection of documents upon the dismission of Professor Dr. De Wette, published by himself.*" Leipzig, 1820. Vogel.

† De Wette had met Sand in Jena, on the 15th of August, 1818, and had been hospitably received, at Wunsiedel, by his parents. ("*C. L. Sand*," p. 164.)

‡ De Wette refers to this extract from Luther: "There is a great difference between a private and a public letter; and he who publishes a private letter, against the will and wish of its writer, falsifies not four or five words of it, but the whole letter; so that it is no longer the same letter, and does not convey its right meaning; because the complexion and character of the whole letter, and the meaning of the writer, are completely perverted and altered" "This," says De Wette, "bears strongly upon my case."

to his mistaken conscience, sins.' The corresponding proposition," continues De Wette, "is true, that one who obeys his mistaken conscience acts conscientiously, and therefore does right. By his truth to himself he maintains his own internal consistency, and therefore fulfills, within his sphere, the law of the moral world. Nevertheless, however, it certainly remains true that he does wrong when he thus errs."*

This opinion of Calixtus would justify all the crimes of such fanatics as Clement and Ravaillac. But the question is, Has not this mistaken conscience always a definite sin at the root of it? The prophet says: "It is told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee; to obey the word of God, to love thy neighbor, and to be humble before thy God." And St. Paul refers to "those who say, 'Let us do evil that good may come:' whose condemnation is just."

Thus the apostle most distinctly rejects the Jesuitical principle upheld by Sand, that the end sanctifies the means; and the prophet requires, simply and unmistakably, that we obey God's word and be humble before God. Sand having lost this humility, his aims became perverted by persons who acted only after their own choice. Them he followed, and in pride and delusion imagined that his subjective, godless ideal of moral perfection stood high above all which real Christians recognize as a holy and undoubted duty. He was like a shipmaster who should hoist a light at his masthead, and steer his course by that instead of the unvarying polar star in the heavens. To realize his distorted ideal, at whatever cost, appeared to him the loftiest moral heroism. Betrayed by his pride, and his conscience deluded, he fell, in violation of the clearest command of God, into a great crime.

The preacher says: "God made man upright, but he found out many inventions." He therefore gave him a right conscience; but by his many inventions—by the sophistry of his pride—man is resolved to free himself from his obligations to obey God and his word, and to establish his own righteousness. Thus he becomes deaf to the voice of God within him, at last drives away his good angel, and incurs the penalties of delusion and hardness of heart. In this delusion Sand remained, even to the scaffold.

But it is not my task to discuss further the question of conscience and conscientiousness. If what I have said seems too harsh, reason may

* De Wette, p. 28. Even the strongest opponent of Sand's moral principles, Jarcke, says, "Sand was one of those deep and uncommon natures who are not merely superficially influenced by an idea, a theory, or an opinion; but who, subjecting their whole wills to it, make it the highest and only rule for their life." Thus we admire the bravery even of foemen; and only lament that they are not contending on the right side; and, on the other hand, despise a cowardly braggart. It seems to me clear that Jarcke's view coincides with that of Calixtus and De Wette.

be found to moderate it in the following letter, written by Sand to his friends before going upon his fearful errand to Mannheim:

"To all mine:—

"True and ever dear souls:—I have thought and hesitated as to writing to you, lest I should much increase your grief. For sudden information of my deed might cause your severe sorrow to pass by more easily and quickly; but the truth of love would thus be violated, and deep sorrow can only be removed by our emptying the whole full cup of affliction, and thus remaining piously subject to our friend, the true and eternal Father in heaven. Out, therefore, from the closed and unhappy breast; forth, thou long, great agony of my last words; the only proper alleviation of the grief of parting!

"This letter brings you the last greeting of your son and your brother!

"I have always said and wished much: it is time for me to leave off dreaming, and to proceed to act for the needs of our fatherland.

"This is, doubtless, the greatest sorrow of living on the earth, that God's affairs should, by our fault, come to a stand-still in their proper development; and this the most dishonorable reproach to us, that all the noble objects for which thousands have boldly striven, and thousands have gladly sacrificed themselves, should now sleep again in sad discouragement, like a dream, without lasting results; that the reformation of the old, lifeless ways should become ossified, half-way to success. Our grandchildren will have to suffer for this remissness. The beginning of the reformation of our German life was commenced with spirits encouraged by God, within the last twenty years, especially during the sacred year 1813; and our ancestral residence is shaken from the foundations. Forward! Let us rebuild it, new and beautiful, a right temple of God, such as our hearts long to see it. It is only a few who oppose themselves, like a dam, against the current of development of a higher humanity in the German people. Why should multitudes bow themselves again under the yoke of these wretches? Shall the good that was awakening for us die again?

"Many of the most reckless of these traitors are unpunished, pursuing their designs even toward the complete destruction of our people. Among these, Kotzebue is the acutest and vilest; the true mouthpiece for all evil in our day; and his voice is well fitted entirely to remove from us Germans all opposition and dislike of the most unrighteous measures, and to lull us again into the old slothful slumber. He daily practices vile treason against the fatherland, and yet stands, protected by his hypocritical speeches and flattering arts, and covered by a mantle of great poetical fame, in spite of his wickedness, an idol to half of Germany, which, deluded by him, willingly receives the poison which he administers through his periodical. If the worst misfortunes are not to come upon us—for these outposts announce the coming of something not free nor good; and which, on occasion of an outbreak, would rage among us together with the French—if the history of our times is not to be laden with eternal disgrace—he must go down!

"I have always said, if any thing beneficent is to be accomplished, we must not shrink from contests and labor; and the real freedom and enthusiasm of the German people will awaken for us only when good citizens shall dare and endeavor—when the son of his fatherland, in the struggle for right, and for the highest good, shall set aside all other love, and love only death! Who shall attack this miserable wretch—this bribed traitor? In distress and bitter tears, praying to the Highest, I have long waited for one who should go before me, and relieve me, not made for murder; who should free me from my grief, and allow me to proceed in the friendly path which I had chosen for myself. Notwithstanding all my prayers, no such person appeared; and, indeed, every one had as good a right as myself to wait for another. Delay makes our condition worse and more pitiable; and who shall relieve us of our shame, if Kotzebue shall, unpunished, leave the soil of Germany, and expend in Russia the treasures he has earned? Who shall help us, and save us from this unhappy condition, unless some person—and first of all, I, myself—shall feel called upon to administer justice, and to execute what shall be determined on for the fatherland? Therefore, courageously, forward! I will attack him with con-

fidence, trusting in God (be not frightened), and strike down the disgracer and perverter of our people, the abominable traitor, that he may cease to turn us away from God and from history, and to deliver us over into the hands of our most cunning adversaries. To this an earnest sense of duty impels me. Since I have known how lofty an object there now is for our nation to strive after, and since I have known him, the false, cowardly knave, a strong necessity lies upon me—as upon every German who considers the good of all. May I, by this national vengeance, turn all impulses, and all public spirit toward the point where falsehood and violence threaten us, and in reason direct to the right quarter the fears of all and the vigor of our youth, in order to rescue from its near and great peril our common fatherland of Germany, the divided and dishonored union of its states—may I inspire fear among the vile and cowardly, and courage among the good! Writing and speaking are inefficient—only deeds can secure this union. May I at least throw a brand which shall kindle up the present indolence, and help to maintain and increase the flame of popular feeling, the honorable endeavor of humanity after the things of God!

"Therefore am I, although frightened out of all my beautiful dreams for my future life, still peaceful, and full of confidence in God—even happy—for I know that the way lies before me, through night and death, to pay all the debt which I owe to my fatherland.

"Farewell, therefore, true souls! This sudden separation is grievous, and your expectations and my own desires are disappointed. But may this matter be a preparation, and encourage us to require, first from ourselves, what the needs of the fatherland require:—which has, with me, become an inviolable principle.

"You will ask each other: But has he, by our sacrifices, become acquainted with all of life upon this earth, the pleasures of human society, and had he learned deeply to love this land and his chosen vocation? Yes, I have. It was under your protection, by your innumerable sacrifices, that country and life became so profoundly dear to me. You introduced me to learning; I have lived in free mental activity; have examined history, and then turned again to my own nature, to twine myself firmly around the strong pillar of faith forever, and by free researches into the understanding, to attain a clear knowledge of myself, and of the greatness of things around me. I have pursued, according to my ability, the usual course of learned studies; have been put in a position to examine the field of human learning, and have discoursed upon it with friends and men; and I have, to become better fitted for actual life, examined the manners and pursuits of men in various parts of Germany.

"As a preacher of the Gospel, I could, with pleasure, live such a life; and in the future destruction of our present society and learning, God would help me, if I were true to my office, to protect myself! But shall all this prevent me from averting the imminent danger to my fatherland? Should not your inexpressible love stimulate me to risk death for the common good, and for the desires common to us all? Have so many of the Greeks of our day already fallen for the sake of rescuing their nation from the rod of the Turk, and died almost in vain, and without hope for the future; and are hundreds of them, even now, consecrating themselves for the work by education, not permitting their courage to fail, but are ready to give their lives again at once for the good of their country; and shall I hesitate to die? Shall we, whose rescue and reformation are so near to the highest good, not venture any thing for it?

"But do I undervalue your love, or am I thoughtless of it? Believe it not! What could encourage me to death, if it were not the love to you and to my fatherland, which impels me to inform you of it?

"Mother, you will say, Why have I brought up a son to adult years, whom I have loved, and who has loved me, for whom I have endured a thousand cares and constant solicitude; who, through my prayers, became capable of usefulness, and from whom I was entitled, in the last days of my weary life, to receive filial love? Why does he forsake me now? Dear mother, might not the mother of any one else say the same if he had sacrificed himself for the fatherland; and if no one should make the sacrifice, where would the fatherland remain? But complaints are far from you, and you know no such speech, noble woman! I have before received your charge; and if no one will step

forward on behalf of Germany, you would yourself send me to the contest. I have still two brothers and sisters, all honorable and noble; these remain to you;—I follow my duty; and in my stead, all young men who think honorably for their fatherland, will be true children to you.

"My vocation was for this. If I should live fifty years longer I could not live a more active or real life than that of these later years. This is our vocation; that we acknowledge the only true God, strive against evil, and praise the Father with our whole lives. In the world we have sorrow, but, like Christ, in God we can overcome it. Oh, that we could possess his peace in full measure! Left to that path alone, which I shall follow, I have no other resource but to him, my gracious Father; but in him I shall find courage and strength to vanquish the last sorrow, and man-like to complete my important task.

"To his protection, his encouragement, I recommend you; and may he keep you in a joy which no misfortunes can interrupt. Overcome your sorrow by the enduring joy which is in him; and think not of my sad farewell, but of the love which is between us, and which can never end. And remain true to the fatherland, in whatever storms. Lead your little ones, to whom I would so gladly have become a loving friend, speedily out upon our mighty mountains, and let them there, upon a lofty altar in the midst of Germany, consecrate themselves to humanity, and vow never to rest nor to lay down the sword until we, brother races, united in freedom—until all the Germans, as one people, under one free constitution, in one realm, shall be indissolubly bound together, great before God, and powerful among the surrounding nations!

"May my fatherland remain joyfully looking up to thee, O God! May thy blessing come richly upon that bold band among the German people, who, acknowledging thy great grace, are courageously determined to promote the interests of pure humanity, thine image upon earth!

"'The latest cure, the highest, is the sword!
Within the true heart drive the lance,
A road for German freedom!'

"JENA, beginning of March, 1819.

"Your son, and brother, and friend, bound to you in everlasting love,
"CARL LUDWIG SAND."

Who can read this letter without the deepest emotion—without feeling a profound sympathy for the unhappy man who, with a sore heart, turned away from the path of peace, led astray by a delusion?

His last words, before his death, were, "I die in the grace of God." May God be gracious to him, and to all of us!

b.—CONSEQUENCES OF SAND'S ACT.—INVESTIGATIONS.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNION.—DISSOLUTION OF THE BURSCHENSCHAFT.

We have been long occupied with Sand and his act, but for this will not be blamed, considering the immeasurable consequences of it to the German universities. These consequences were most unhappy. The Wartburg festival had caused a great excitement, especially the burning of the books. This extravagant execution upon works which most of the actors in it did not know, was declared to be high treason by the enemies of the Burschenschaft. But, as we have seen, by the judicious action of the government of Weimar, this excitement was quieted, and an intelligent and just estimate made of the good and evil of the festival,—even the Austrian and Prussian governments were put at ease.

But no one had any idea that one of those concerned at the festival, as if driven by an evil demon, was to break up and destroy the peace and all the quiet and beneficial developments which sprang from it.

Scarcely had Sand's deed become known, when the adversaries of the Burschenschaft arose again everywhere, and boasted that they had formed the only just judgment of the Wartburg festival. This, they said, originated with a general revolutionary conspiracy of academical students; and others would soon follow it. This time the views of these opponents prevailed. Even those favorable to the students were of opinion, that although foolish and extravagant speeches, and even fantastic actions, could be pardoned to the students, because judgment and moderation will soon come to them with years, yet, after such an action, their doings assumed an appearance so seriously criminal that all measures must be resorted to for eradicating the evil. No man believed that Sand had been entirely isolated, and had so acted without accessories and fellow-conspirators.

The evil demon who had betrayed him to the murder, and had put into his heart his abominable maxim, might seem to be laughing in scorn at the consequences of his action. This brought to pass the precise opposite of all that Sand held for most desirable, and for the attainment of which he had thought even a murder not only permissible, but sanctified. For instance, the king of Prussia, upon hearing of it, rejected, upon the spot, a plan which had been laid before him for connecting Turning-departments with the schools.

The murder also caused endless investigations. Especially, it was naturally sought to be discovered whether any others, and particularly members of the Burschenschaft, had known of Sand's design. Hohnhorst, the president of the investigating commission, states, on this point, "that the investigation discovered no trace whatever of any particular conspiracy against Kotzebue's life." And again, he says: "Besides that, the investigation found no reliable trace of any conspiracy whatever against Von Kotzebue's life; it moreover failed to discover any certain indications that there were any accessories to the act, who took either an active or passive part in it, by encouragement or concealment."

The investigation was next directed against the association of "Unconditionals" or "Blacks," at whose head Karl Follenius was considered to be. His principles, and his influence upon Sand have been described; and it has been mentioned that he had followers in Giessen, but that in Jena only three students had submitted themselves "unconditionally" to his instructions, one of them being Sand. But that, even in Giessen, Follenius' influence had not extended to a great num-

ber, appears from a letter of a Giessen student to Sand, dated May 12, 1818, in which he says, "We young men are almost alone in the fatherland; scarcely ten older persons are *unconditional* followers of the truth."

Jarcke gives some details respecting this association of the Blacks, mostly from the judicial documents. Among others is "Outlines of a future Constitution for an Empire of Germany, by the brothers Follenius;" Jarcke's opinion upon which is as follows: "This piece of patchwork is not unworthy of attention, as being the last of those paper constitutions which the revolutionary system brought forth by the dozen. At its basis, as at that of Follenius' 'Sketch of a Constitution for a German Republic,' lies a complete disregard of every existing right; the delusive notion that it is possible to develop a living constitution from an abstract theory; and lastly, the political dogma of the sovereignty of the people."

But this constitution differs from others of the same kind in an important point, namely: in that Christianity is an element in it. Thus, it says, "Every German is an elector, and may be chosen to any office, provided he has been admitted to partake of the holy sacrament." And § 10 reads:

"Since the Christian faith is free from dogmas, which restrict the growth of the human intellect, and as a faith of freedom, truth, and love, is in agreement with the whole mind of man; it is therefore adopted as the religion of the empire. Its source—to which every citizen has free access—is the New Testament, and separate sects are to be consolidated in one Christian German church. Other faiths, which are uncongenial to the aims of humanity, such as the Jewish, which is only a *form* of faith, shall not be allowed in the empire.* All take part in public worship who feel the need of it. There is no compulsory belief whatever; and family devotions are not interfered with."

By § 11, the clergy are officers of the church, and are to be models and teachers of pure Christianity.

One German Republic was aimed at, and one German Christian church; and as the first was looked for from a consolidation of all the small German states, so there was to be a consolidation of all the confessions—or sects, as they called them—into one church. So Sand wrote: "We Germans—one empire and one church."† His political views, indeed, corresponded entirely with those of Follenius.

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* This is like Rousseau, who put together the religions of the Jews, Turks, and Christians, and abstracted from them, jointly, a universal religion, adding, that if any one should teach contrary to this, he should be banished from the community, as an enemy to its fundamental laws. (See this work, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.)

† Hohnhorst, vol. i. p. 190, in Sand's composition entitled "Death Blow."

For the further description of these "Blacks," Jarcke cites poems from the "Free Voices of Bold Youth," by the brothers Follenius.*

To make this description complete, however, we must allude to a second collection of hymns, published by Adolph Follenius, with the title "Ancient Christian Hymns and Songs of the Church, in German and Latin, with an Appendix. By A. L. Follenius."

These appeared in 1819, at the same time with the "Free Voices." Their preface was as follows:

"These hymns and songs mostly date back to that mighty time when faith removed mountains; that is, when by free power of will in faith, wonders were believed, and therefore could happen, such as the weakness of our times scoffs at; when the power of the purely divine in the human mind showed itself in operating upon and moving material matter.

"The author is convinced that these hymns and songs are among the noblest fruits which have ever been gathered in the fields of poetry by any age or nation;—believing that the oak is not more beautiful than the lily.

"It is sad that, notwithstanding the recommendations of Herder, Schlegel, and others, these Christian poems are almost unknown in the Protestant German Christian congregations, are not so much known as they deserve in the Catholic German ones, and have never passed from the Latin hymn-book into German life. We unfortunately have, except of a few hymns, not even an endurable German translation; while the genial Horace and the great Virgil, with whom, as heathens tending to cultivate the mind, young Christians cannot too early be made acquainted, are spread all over the learned portion of our beloved fatherland, and lie on every table, in innumerable German versions, hexameter and others. Our ancient popular songs and Christian hymns seem nearly related to our ancient cathedrals and council-houses, both in the spirit of their construction and in their fate. In spirit,—for these poems, like the cathedrals, while most richly and artistically finished, even to the smallest particular, never lose the loftiness of belonging to their consecration as a whole; and in fate,—because the subsequent French, Italian, or Greek architecture and poetry have covered in and hidden our Christian cathedrals and Christian poetry, to such a degree, that even a sight of them can only be had after diligent tracing and scouring."

A. Follenius selected the best Latin church hymns, and translated

* A second edition of this appeared in 1820.

them, mostly in his own spirit, and with an adaptation to his own purposes.*

In this collection, church hymns and worldly political songs stand in a contrast like that of the church and the temporal republic, in the prosaic and dry scheme of Follenius' Constitution for the Empire. There is often a mingling of both elements; the political one, however, running into a frightful revolutionary extreme.

The Latin church hymns translated by A. Follenius are purely ecclesiastical; and being mostly distinctly Catholic, they are directly opposed to the one national church of his Constitution.

As an example of his politico-religious hymns, I give one of Buri's poems, placed by A. Follenius in the appendix to his "Church Hymns." It bears the singular title of "Scharnhorst's Last Prayer;" and is as follows:

"Thou call'st, O God!
Thy flaming image stands on high uprear'd
Within proud hearts that thee have never fear'd.
O sea of grace!
Thou art our place
Of strength in need; and thou our mighty tower,
Whence the alarm shall sound in needful hour.

Through want and death,
Through joy and grief, stands ever open wide
The fane of freedom. As we long have sigh'd
To see fall down
Beneath thy frown
The hold of tyranny, so let it be,
That freedom's standard we unfurl'd shall see!

O Jesus Christ!
Thy words are plain:—Freedom alike to all.
And from God's love and oneness he doth fall
Who to this word
Of grace thus heard,
And thus confess'd, doth not in heart hold fast—
For this word doth not live, and die for it at last.

My heart, how low,
Before thy God in meekness art thou flung,
Since freedom's spark for thee to flame hath sprung!
Such strength is won
By love alone;
Such doctrine did the Saviour still dispense,
And such hath long been proved the best defense.

O light of God!
How lords and knaves, in hate and envy, still
Strive after thee; while I, my faith, my will,
Proudly and bold
By thy cross hold,
Where thou thy word all-powerful, sealest sure,
Which shapes thy people o'er, for freedom pure.

* Among these hymns are, "*Quem pastores laudavere*," "*Stabat mater dolorosa*," "*Dies iræ*," &c.

My people, hear!
To thee I call, in joyful dying strife;
Thy Saviour comes! Awake anew to life!
The mockers fly!
The tyrants die!
Thy standard moves—the victor's cross before!
Onward! for open'd wide is Freedom's door!"

The same hymn is given in the "Free Voices," but remarkably altered. The title here is "Kosciusko's Prayer;" and Buri inserted, after the fifth stanza, another, which, to be sure, would not have been more inappropriately placed in the mouth of the dying Scharnhorst than the others.*

As in this poem, pride and humility,† love and hate, Christianity and revolution, the most discordant elements appear in conflict with each other; so, in like manner, especially in many of Karl Follenius' poems, the demon of revolution, entirely unchecked by Christianity, appears in his most frightful shape. An unbridled and unbounded hate of kings inspires and preaches rebellion and murder.‡ It is not to be wondered at, that after Sand's crime, such poems should no longer be endured with patience, and that the demoniac violence which inspired them, and stimulated to similar actions, should be feared.

Jarcke gives many results of the investigations which followed Sand's deed, particularly oral and written expressions by students of Giessen, Heidelberg, Freiburg, and Jena. They agree, in general, with Sand's views. On the question, whether the end justifies the means, they were not agreed; at Giessen, a majority were in the affirmative.§ It also appeared that the murder of Kotzebue was approved, and even praised, by many.

This is not the place to go further into the details of these investigations, to mention the punishments which were inflicted on some of the young men, &c. But the following four resolutions are of very great importance to the universities, which were passed by the German Union (*Bundestag*), September 20, 1819, and published in Prussia, on the 18th October, the sixth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. They are as follows:‖

"§ 1. There shall be appointed, at each university, an extraordinary royal overseer, with proper instructions, and wide authority; to be a resident at the university city, and to be either the present curator,

* There was, also, a characteristic alteration in the third stanza. Instead of the words above translated, "Freedom alike for all," were inserted, "*Freiheit, Gleichheit Allen*"—"Freedom and equality for all." Evidently the well-known *shibboleth* of the Revolution.

† Compare the first three lines of the first stanza with the same of the last.

‡ See the poem already mentioned as distributed by Sand, "Human crowd, O thou great human desert;" and the so-called "Hymn of Union of the United Netherlanders," in the "*Free Voices*." Jarcke cites others. § Jarcke, 188. ‖ See Koch, i. 15.

or some other person recognized as fit for the place by the government. The office of this overseer shall be, to provide for the fullest compliance with existing laws and disciplinary regulations; carefully to observe the spirit in which the academical teachers deliver their public and private instructions, and to exercise over them a healthful control, without immediately interfering in their scientific duties, or methods of instruction, and with reference to the future destinies of the students; and, in general, to devote his uninterrupted attention to every thing which can promote good order and external propriety among the students. The relations of this extraordinary overseer to the academical senate, and all matters connected with the details of his field of labor, and his occupations, are to be set forth, as fully as possible, in the instructions which he is to receive from his government, having reference to the circumstances which have occasioned the appointment of such overseer.

"§ 2. The governments of the German Union pledge themselves to each other, that if any teacher in a university, or other public teacher, shall be guilty of proved dereliction of duty, or transgression of the limits of his duty, by misusing his proper influence on the young, or promulgating instructions of an injurious nature, as at enmity with public order and quiet, or subversive of the principles of existing governments; and shall thus give unmistakable evidence of unfitness for the important office confided to him, they will exclude him from the universities and other public institutions for education; no impediments being by this intended to be opposed to the progress of such institutions, as long as this resolution shall remain in force, and until definite regulations shall have been made on the subject. But no such measure shall be resolved upon, except after a proposition by the government overseer of the university, thoroughly explained by him, or upon a report sent in previously by him. An instructor dismissed in this manner cannot receive an appointment in any public educational institution whatever, of any of the States of the Union.

"§ 3. The laws which have long existed against secret or unauthorized associations in the universities shall be enforced in their whole extent and significance, especially against that society established within a few years, under the name of the General Burschenschaft, and the more strictly against this society, inasmuch as it is based upon an altogether inadmissible permanent connection and correspondence between different universities. It shall be the duty of the government overseers to exercise especial watchfulness on this point. The governments agree with each other, that individuals who, after the publication of this resolution, shall be proved to have remained in, or entered a

secret or unauthorized association, shall be appointed to no public office.

"§ 4. No student who shall have been dismissed from a university by decree of a government overseer, or of a university senate, upon his motion, or who shall leave the university to avoid the result of such a decree, shall be admitted into any other; and, in general, no student shall be received from one university into another, without a satisfactory testimonial of his good standing at the former.

"Done and given at Berlin, October 18, 1819."

The third of these sections required, unconditionally, the dissolution of the General Burschenschaft.

Thus far, we have discussed only the investigations in the matter of Sand, and respecting the association of the "Blacks," or "Unconditionals," of which Sand was a member, and whose views he not only believed in, but had proposed to carry out into practice, and enlighten all by his example.

But it was not thought sufficient to punish him only who was found guilty. Evil-disposed men stirred up an incessant excitement about the vile murder of Sand, and disturbed peaceful people. By means of the phantom of an extensive revolutionary conspiracy, they were enabled to cause upright princes to execute the most unjust measures, and to disgrace the most honorable men. How unrighteous, for instance, were the measures pursued against Arndt, the truest of patriots, who has done such infinite service to Germany!*

The inquiry was now made, whether the Burschenschaft, though neither an accomplice in, nor cognizant of Sand's deed, was, nevertheless, based upon the same religious, moral, and political dreams and principles from which that action had followed. By no means.

The result of the criminal investigations showed that no member of the Burschenschaft knew of Sand's crime, nor was, in any way whatever, accessory to it.

To what we have already given, may be added the following remark of the investigating judge, who says:† "While the academical senate at Jena asseverated that the Burschenschaft there had not the least connection with Sand's act, the Mannheim investigations left no reason for doubting this, and there was no reason for claiming that Sand's relations to the Jena German Burschenschaft had even the most indirect influence upon his crime."

But what were the relations of the Burschenschaft and the society of the "Unconditionals?"

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* See Arndt's "*Forced Account of my Life.*" 1847.

† Hohnhorst, ii. 49.

By § 8 of the Jena statutes, "The Burschenschaft can exist only in a free and *public* social life suitable to students;" while that society was obliged to conceal its views and purposes, and thus assumed a character entirely opposed to that of the Burschenschaft. "The Burschenschaft rejected the character of a secret association," wrote one who knew it thoroughly.* We have seen that Karl Follenius, the leader of the "Unconditionals," had only three followers in Jena, and that among the numerous other members of the Burschenschaft he met with no success. "The Jena Burschenschaft," says another author,† "received not the least influence from all the efforts which the friends of Karl Follenius made in various ways."

Jarcke's statements, and the letters and statements of the "Unconditionals" which he gives, agree exactly on this point.

A., a student from Heidelberg, declared‡ that "The Burschenschaft had merely established a general union for the cause of Germany; but nothing more than this could be expected from an association which was at least twenty times larger than the society (of Unconditionals), for nothing judicious could come from it. For this reason, those of the Burschenschaft who trusted in each other to pursue, with earnestness and perseverance, the often contemplated plan (of a republican form of government), united themselves into a smaller association: that is, into the society."

L., a member of this smaller society at Jena, wrote, July 24, 1818, to A——, "The students in general disgust me; it is a miserable, pitiful brood; God preserve the world and the fatherland from any salvation which is to come through them! I do nothing for the Burschenschaft with pleasure and pride, but only out of duty. I have long given up the idea that our salvation is to come from the universities. There are at least nineteen rascals to one good fellow. That sounds hard, but it is true. God preserve us from such salvation as can come through such fellows!"

G., also a member of the same smaller society at Jena, wrote at or about the some time to A——, "It is out of the question to accomplish what we aim at merely through the Burschenschaft. I see, daily, that through their means alone we shall never arrive at the point at which we aim."

That this society would gladly have perverted the whole Burschenschaft to a concurrence in its own principles and foolish plans is clear; but how little was accomplished in this direction at Jena we have seen. This appears from the above letter of L., who was a member of

* "*German Youth*," &c., p. 32. † Ib., p. 83. ‡ Jarcke, p. 196.

the society at Jena, and who was profoundly in enmity with the Burschenschaft, which opposed the tendencies of the "Unconditionals." G. speaks to the same effect, but more mildly.

The Burschenschaft, therefore, came unscathed from all the investigations of 1819. But in the apprehension that they might afterward fall into error, it was not thought sufficient to punish the guilty, but the whole society was abolished. We shall see that this dissolution was the direct cause of the subsequent real faults of the Burschenschaft.

Upon the publication of the decree of dissolution to the Jena Burschenschaft, they wrote to their protector at that time, the Grand Duke of Weimar, as follows:

"MOST SERENE GRAND DUKE!

"Most Gracious Lord and Prince!—The confidence which we have learned to feel in your Royal Highness causes us to believe that we need apprehend no difficulty in expressing, once more, our feelings toward your Royal Highness, now that we are separated and torn away from the beautiful hopes which had grown up in our young hearts, in the unity and harmony of an allowed and virtuous social life.

"It was the will of your Royal Highness that the Burschenschaft should be dissolved. That will has been carried into effect. We hereby declare, solemnly and publicly, that we have paid strict obedience to the command, and have ourselves dissolved our association, as was ordered; we have torn down what we had built up after our best knowledge, upon mature experiment, with upright and blameless good faith, and with the genuine belief that we were doing a good thing. The consequences have answered our expectation, and there grew up a virtuous and free mode of life. Trustful publicity took the place of creeping secrecy; and we could, without shame, and with a good conscience, display to the eyes of the world what we had meditated in our inmost hearts, and had carried out into actual existence. The spirit of love and of uprightness led us, and the voices of the better part of the public have sanctioned our efforts down to a very late period.

"The spirit which has united us has sunk deep into the bosoms of each one of us. Each of us understands what should be the relations of one German youth to another. The right of standing by one another, in its ancient form, was discontinued. Good morals were the first and last motives of our united action. Our life was intended to be a preparatory school for future citizens. This fact has not escaped your Royal Highness; and the two searches of our papers have not, according to our best knowledge, led to any different conclusion.

"This school is now closed. Each of its members will depart with what he has learned. This he will retain, and in him it will live. What they all have recognized as true, will continue true to each. The spirit of the Burschenschaft, the spirit of virtuous freedom and equality in our student life, the spirit of justice, and of love to our common country, the highest of which man can be conscious—this spirit will dwell in each of us, and will lead him forward for good, according to his capabilities.

"These things, however, grieve us deeply: first, our influence upon those who shall come after us; and second, that our efforts have been misunderstood, and misunderstood publicly. In truth, we could not have been wounded more deeply. Only the good conscience within our bosoms can teach us that no one can destroy our own honor, and can show us the means of consolation for this injustice.

"As it regards this decree, we leave it to time to justify us, and willingly admit the belief that at least there has been a time when our efforts were not misunderstood, even by our noble prince and lord. Nothing shall change our love to him; and perhaps some better day shall, in future, permit us gratefully to prove it to him.

"With warm wishes for our fatherland, and for the prosperity of your Royal Highness, we subscribe ourselves, in unchangeable love, your Royal Highness' most faithful servants,

"THE MEMBERS OF THE LATE BURSCHENSCHAFT."

A hundred and sixty signed the document.

Binzer, one of them, composed the following song, afterward extensively sung:

"A house we had builded,
So stately and fair;
There trusting to be shielded,
In God, from storm and care.

"We lived there so gayly,
So friendly, so free;
It grieved the wicked daily,
Our true accord to see.

"That fair house may perish,
When greatest our need—
Its spirit still we cherish—
But God's our strength indeed."

Both letter and song testify to a good conscience.

After the dissolution of the Burschenschaft, the strictest measures were taken to prevent its re-establishment. These remind us of those employed in the seventeenth century to uproot the abominable system of Pennalism. Yet no two things could be more completely opposed than were Pennalism and the Burschenschaft. The latter had an

especial contest with the associations corresponding to the earlier "Nations," in which Pennalism had its home.

We have given Klüpfel's description of the Landsmannschaften, and have seen how, at the time of the War of Freedom, there had been a profound moral change and reformation in a large part of the academical youth. The same students who then followed the standards as volunteers, and fought in those ever-memorable battles, now fought a second time, as volunteers against the profound demoralization of the universities. We call them volunteers, for they did not act at the command of the authorities, nor did their movements proceed from a new code of laws; but from the young men's hearts, which God had drawn toward himself, and renewed. The advantages which followed were such as neither commands nor prohibitions had availed to secure. I will mention but a few.

"Almost all the Burschenschafts very early banished the hazard-table from their precincts."*

"Above all, the duel was disapproved for various reasons, and often altogether rejected; and this without any injury to those who adhered to this opinion. By means of the courts of honor, the disuse of the duel was carried to a point beyond all expectation. In the summer of 1815, there were once, at Jena, thirty-five duels in one day, and a hundred and forty-seven in one week, among about three hundred and fifty students. In the summer of 1819, the court of honor decided for the fighting out of eleven duels among seven hundred and fifty students; and about forty were brought before it. No duel was allowed until after reference to the court of honor. No witness, second, or surgeon, was to attend a duel without such reference; and it may be confidently asserted that no duel took place without the previous reference to the court of honor, as long as that court could inflict the penalty of exclusion from the association. The proportion of duels to those of previous periods was similar in other Burschenschafts."†

Within my own knowledge, a society had been formed in Berlin, which wholly excluded the duel, and was upheld in so doing by the Burschenschaft.

"Among the virtues of their ancestors, that of chastity was set very high. It was no longer considered witty to make sport of innocence or ignorance of play; and it was thought a shame to resort to licensed houses of ill-fame."‡

"Conscious of such an endeavor after an inward moral reform, the

* "*German Youth*," &c., p. 34. I was assured that this was the fact as to the members of the Burschenschaft at Halle. † Ib., pp. 29, 30.

‡ Ib., p. 35. The same was true at Halle, by the testimony of students there.

Burschenschaft could neither seek secrecy, nor be indifferent to a recognition of the authorities. Thus, they acquired an open, straightforward, and downright character. They endeavored, everywhere, to secure the approbation of the authorities, both by their conduct as a society, and by attempts to secure direct recognition. They had no idea that they could be considered dangerous to the state; and when this character was given to them, there crept in, with the secrecy which then obtained in their organization, an unreasonable fancy respecting it, which led them, like boys, not to fear a contest with the authorities, and even with the law itself. They could scarcely have foreseen, that with this secrecy, and this delusive opinion, the first condition of their good character—moral uprightness—would be destroyed."*

While the earlier innocent years of the Burschenschaft are truly delineated, the origin and the development of their downfall is also correctly pointed out. This will appear from the following account.

F.—Halle. (1819–1823.)

I was transferred from Breslau to Halle in the year 1819. I had passed through many severe struggles; and still severer ones lay before me.†

As to my own office as an instructor, I was, for the second time, put in charge of an academical collection of minerals, which was not nearly adequate to the purposes of thorough instruction; and I sought in vain for assistance, in this respect, during four years. I was obliged to content myself with the use of a tolerable private collection, which its proprietor very kindly allowed me to use for my lectures. I occupied myself, also, with practical instructions in geognosy, making geognostic excursions during two afternoons of the week, in which the Prussian mining students, more especially, joined. I lectured here on pedagogy, for the first time, in 1822.

I occupied, with my family, the house and garden formerly Reichardt's, at Giebichenstein, half a mile from Halle, and where I had enjoyed such happy days when a student there. A young theological student, whom I had known at Breslau, was the first who came to live with me, but others soon followed him.

The Burschenschaft was dissolved at Halle, as well as at the other universities. A singular condition of affairs was the result. The same students who had lived together as the Burschenschaft, remained at Halle. They were no longer to associate together. Let their conduct

* "*German Youth*," &c., p. 86. † See "*History of Pedagogy*," part 3, § 2, pp. 236–239.

be as honorable and open as possible, this did not avail to prevent them from becoming suspected by the authorities, and from being most incessantly watched over by them. They had, up to the publication of the decree of September—up to October 18, 1819—been not only associated together as members of the Burschenschaft, but had been, personally, the most intimate friends; and it was, therefore, a strange requirement that they should, from that day, become indifferent to each other, and that all social intercourse among them should be interdicted.

The Prussian government, agreeably to the decree of September, appointed a government overseer to each of its universities. The office of these was, not only to watch over the students, but, as section 1 of the decree requires, over the instructors also. All dignity and influence was thus taken from the academical senate; and instead of a paternal academical discipline, was introduced a completely police-like practice, which was harsher for the reason that only evil was presumed from those previously members of the Burschenschaft. And, on the other hand, even the most immoral students were countenanced and protected, because they were considered adversaries to the Burschenschaft; persons to whom the ideals of that body were only a jest.

A similar distinction was made among the professors, accordingly as they were considered partisans or opponents of the reaction which was introduced.

At Berlin, Privy High Government Councilor Schultz was appointed over the university; a harsh, self-conceited, and intensely reactionary man. "Irritated at the senate and the professors, of whom he regarded Schleiermacher and Savigny as the chief friends of the Burschenschaft, he required the senate, in January, 1820, to justify themselves in relation to their connection with the Burschenschaft."* On the 21st March, 1820, Schleiermacher wrote to Arndt, "While Schultz persecuted the Burschenschaft, he extravagantly favored the Landsmannschaften, who are eminently the destruction of the university." On the 18th of August, 1822, Schultz declared that "He was now convinced that he could no longer reckon upon truth and good faith in his dealings with the ministry; and that it is to those officials themselves that the faults of the members of the secret societies are to be imputed."†

But this dignitary had already seen how fruitless were all his stringent regulations. In a letter of October 29, 1821, he wrote, "It is astonishing to what an extent those disorders in the university, for whose removal I have now labored for two years with the greatest

* "*Correspondence between Goethe and State Councilor Schultz*," p. 76. † Ib. p. 76.

zeal, increase from day to day; and the circumstances attending my labors are such, that I see, with sorrow, the moment approaching when I must resign my post with reproach and shame, even if vexation and useless labor do not sooner entirely destroy my health and put me out of the world."*

The example of Schultz shows how much difficulty and harm may be caused by misuse of his functions, on the part of a harsh, reckless, short-sighted, and proud overseer. Vice-president of Mines Von Witzleben, appointed over the university of Halle, was diametrically the opposite of Schultz. He was mild, always benevolent, and a supporter of every thing good.† But the nature of the office which had been conferred upon him was any thing rather than mild. He was obliged to obey the orders of others. What he saw at Halle, and the results of his investigations there, was not permitted to determine his views or his actions. It was said that the proceedings at the separate universities could only be correctly judged of at the central point of the investigations; only at Mainz, the seat of the investigating commission appointed by the Union, which could overlook the whole conspiracy.

We have seen that the Burschenschaft was made to suffer for the transgressions which Sand had committed, both in word and deed, but the association of the Unconditionals in revolutionary prose and poetry.

No pains whatever were taken to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty, but the whole Burschenschaft was declared guilty, and its dissolution was as sternly followed up as if it had been judicially convicted of the accusations against it. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that a man otherwise so upright and mild as Witzleben, came to see wicked secrets and intrigues everywhere, and at last, even to think the very honestest of the students the most cunning, and utterly unworthy of any confidence.

I myself enjoyed the fullest confidence of those students at Halle who had belonged to the Burschenschaft. They complained to me that, notwithstanding their punctual obedience to the laws, they were treated

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* Schultz was upon the very point of breaking up the Altenstein ministry, and of being placed at the head of the departments of Church and Instruction; the necessary cabinet order having been made out, but never having been published. He was, at last, removed from his overseership by a cabinet order, dated July 6, 1824.

† He had shown himself such during many years' most benevolent and active service as administrator of the school at Rosleben. The able Rector Wilhelm remained at the head of this school for fifty years, notwithstanding many honorable invitations elsewhere. He said that "he could not find a Witzleben for his official superior anywhere else." ("*Golden Jubilee of Rector Wilhelm.*" Weimar, 1836; pp. 16, 17.)

as if guilty. To remove all misunderstanding and distrust, they twice handed in to the authorities fair and truly written reports of their doings. They did this voluntarily; and had no difficulty in being public in doing so, because they were conscious of no fault.

Among those who often visited me was an excellent young physician, X., whose strong character rendered him highly esteemed by his acquaintances. He induced them, on the 12th of January, 1821, to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of their Burschenschaft. This celebration was wholly unpremeditated. But the authorities saw in it, not a memorial of a suppressed association, but that very association continuing to exist. During the investigation which followed, I drew up the following testimonial for X.:

"*Testimonial for X., student of medicine, on occasion of his receiving the admonition to depart* (consilium abeundi), *from the academical senate, on account of the festival of January* 12, 1821 (*the festival of the foundation of the Burschenschaft in this place*).

"I have been acquainted with the student X. for more than a year. He has visited me once almost every week since, and even oftener; and has spoken with me frequently, and fully, respecting his own circumstances as a student, and those of the whole body of students; not as to a superior, but as to an old friend. He had no reason to deceive me in any thing, and I am firmly convinced that he would have been precisely as truthful if questioned before the most rigorous judge.

"I have, in particular, spoken often with him respecting the Burschenschaft, of which he was a member during its existence. I know distinctly, from him, that he adheres strictly to the word of honor which he gave, not to re-establish the Burschenschaft, nor to aid in so doing. He, and many of like views, it is true, lament that unhappy political occurrences should have caused the suppression of that body. But these do not indulge the dream that they are fitted to exert any influence upon civil society. How little X., in particular, concerned himself with politics, is indicated by a remark which he made in my presence, that he was too busy with his medical studies to have time to read the newspapers.

"But if these young men, while fully admitting the bad tendencies of a portion of the Burschenschaft, desired to hold fast to the true benefits which had resulted from it in the universities, can they be blamed for this? But when ardent love of truth, chastity, temperance, patriotism, and so many holy Christian virtues have sprung up, of late, in the universities; when young men associate together in order to confirm themselves in these virtues, and when they do every thing to reform

those who are in evil ways, in that case those universities in which such a spirit prevails, should think themselves fortunate. And this doubly, when they compare this spirit with that formerly prevailing, of dissoluteness, and of emulation in many vices. Nor is this latter spirit, unfortunately, yet extinguished; those of better intentions are daily annoyed by their attacks.

"I know how much X. has done to uphold this good feeling, and how strenuously he resisted those evils. The best swordsman in Halle, he has not fought one duel, but has adjusted innumerable misunderstandings. As an example of strict morality, he was superior to the rest. In originating the celebration of the 12th of January, as a memorial of so much that was praiseworthy in the designs of the Burschenschaft, his purposes were pure; and it is only to be lamented that a false construction was put upon youthful, though even blamable carelessness.

"My official oath, as professor, bound me 'to use all my exertions to increase the glory of God, and the safety of the church, and of the republic; to lead the students away from vice, and to influence them to integrity of life and purity of manners.' This oath, and my own impulses oblige me, on this occasion, to speak distinctly. While it is, on one hand, the conscientious and official duty of a teacher to warn and protect young men from the vicious errors which were made the cause for suppressing the Burschenschaft, it is equally his sacred duty to protect the new and pure influence—the spirit of Christian virtue—which grew up with the Burschenschaft. I know of no greater fault with which an instructor of youth could charge himself, than that of opposing such an influence.

"I call my oath to witness, that I have written the foregoing according to my best inward conviction."

In the academical senate, I added to this testimonial the following remarks: "I shall add, after this paper, only a few words. Since writing it, I have had additional reason for believing myself right in the views therein expressed respecting the condition of the students. The jurisprudence of the university seems to me to differ from that of the usual courts, especially in this: that in its decisions it may not only consider each case by itself, and compare it with the body of the laws, but more especially in that it may decide according to a personal knowledge of the accused, and rather on moral than on judicial grounds. Thus, for the same act, a good-for-nothing fellow may be treated severely, and one otherwise of good reputation, moderately. The present case is one where the accused, according to the law, by the opinion of the overseer of the university, should be acquitted. Since

they are, moreover, known to be, especially the medical student X., unblamable, virtuous, and industrious men, there is double reason, considering the case as one of discipline, to acquit them."

About this time my intercourse with the students seemed worthy of attention in high quarters. I received a letter from the Chancellor of State, Prince Hardenberg, in which he spoke, though mildly, yet with displeasure, of my relations to three certain young men. I answered:

"The more I recognize the kindness expressed toward me in your grace's letter, the more I feel it my duty to justify against misunderstanding, to your grace as my immediate superior, my civic and official life. I was a member of a Turning association, when it was not only permitted, but favored and recommended by the Prussian government in many ways. It was my belief that in this I not only was not violating my official duty, but was doing it better than was required.

"When, some two years ago, I expressed my profound conviction of the great value of the Turning system for youth, in a printed publication, I declared myself, at the same time, distinctly opposed to any political tendencies in it. This I did of my own free will, under no influence from without; and I spoke accordingly to young persons, against any premature grasping after the station of a citizen.

"Various of the Turners in Breslau were also my scholars in mineralogy; among them M. and W.

"When these two were subjected to an investigation, I thought it my duty to warn and admonish them, to the best of my ability, where they were in fault; but not to give them up; to protect, more carefully than ever, the good element which I recognized in them. I considered myself their teacher, in whom they placed confidence, not their judge; as bound to improve and instruct them, not to condemn them; and I was the less ready to condemn them, because I had, myself, experienced how difficult it is, in a season of excitement, always to act prudently and moderately.

"A year ago I became acquainted with L., in Berlin. I found out afterward, to my sorrow, that he had certain faults. At the last Whitsuntide vacation he made a short trip from Jena, and came to Halle. I conversed with him, and satisfied myself that nothing was more important for him than at once to get into some honorable occupation, and never to leave it. He showed a particular inclination and aptness for land-surveying and engineering. As there are excellent opportunities at Dresden to study these, I made application to a friend there, to learn from Herr Fischer, professor at the Military Academy, what steps a young man should take in order to be admitted to instruction in land-surveying, what expenses would be, &c.

"Your grace will see, from this correct account, how far I have been connected with L. It has never occurred to me to desire to bring him under my influence, as a teacher, in any way. This would have been a most improper design, for L. was by no means a suitable person for it, and I am convinced that your grace will certainly never blame me for having endeavored to set L. in a way to cultivate his talents to his own pleasure and quiet, and to the benefit of his fatherland.

"It is a cause for mourning before God, that a large part of our youth are, at present, in an unprecedented misunderstanding with the generation preceding them. I consider it, accordingly, the sacred duty of the teacher, whom his official duties bring into close contact with them, to treat them in every respect paternally, and to use all means of restoring a good understanding, and of preparing the way for a pleasanter future. This they can especially do by having regard to the peculiar talent of each young man, and by assisting, with counsel and action, in cultivating it, and thus helping to educate men who will be both skilled and satisfied in their destined sphere of life.

"I have endeavored, according to my powers, to contribute my mite toward this object.

"Thus your grace will not misunderstand my intercourse and correspondence with young men accused; since it is the endeavor to fulfill my duty as an instructor of youth, that has been the occasion of them.

"I am, of myself, most decidedly opposed to political revolutions, and an adherent to what promises real and enduring peace, and all the benefits of prosperous times. I feel myself happy in my sphere of life; why should I not abhor all violence and destruction, and desire calm and peaceful progress?

"I would gladly acquaint your grace with the experiences which have been occasioned me by means of the full confidence which has been reposed in me by those young men who have been accused. I would gladly, as their advocate, produce the conviction that, notwithstanding the undeniable improprieties and unjustifiable views which they have, youth-like, thoughtlessly written, still they are so disposed that they would gladly offer up their lives for king and fatherland, should a second year 1813 require that highest evidence of their truth.

"I most humbly request your grace to receive this letter with favor, and remain, &c., VON RAUMER."

The unhappy impression now gained ground among the students, that, notwithstanding all their propriety of conduct, no confidence

whatever was placed in them. It was easy to foresee the unhappy consequences which must, of necessity, sooner or later, arise from this opinion. Want of confidence, on the part of the government overseer and the senate, produced the like on the part of the students. There would be an end of all good influence by the former on the latter, if the breach between them should widen. Every thing was to be feared, should the students be driven from their previous openness and truthfulness to secresy and lies. I was in great trouble on this account. Under these circumstances, there came into my hands the Tübingen "Statutes for forming a Students' Committee,"* which were sanctioned by a royal ordinance of January 2, 1821, and whose contents are given by Klüpfel. I conceived the hope, that by means of a similar committee, the open and proper conduct of the students at Halle might be maintained, and unhappy secret doings avoided.

To this end I drew up the following paper, to be read at the session of the senate, on January 5, 1822:†

"It is to be considered what are the best means of healing the evil of associations among the students, which are more strictly prohibited than ever by government.

"It cannot naturally be required that each student shall live entirely isolated in his room, like a monk in his cell. He will associate with congenial friends; and one will have many, and another few. Indeed it would be a sad mark of entire lack of friendly feelings, if none should inquire about another, and therefore it cannot be the design of the government to put an end to social friendship. This was intended only of all formal (or prohibited) associations, which are very different from informal social intercourse. From such prohibited associations, many of the students here are entirely disjoined, though they have, against their wills and contrary to truth, often been included in the appellation of Burschenschaft. They have no constitution, no officers; nothing is said among them of commanding or obeying. They have so little of secresy, that they have, entirely of their own free will, twice drawn up a complete account of their modes of life and doings, and handed it in to the curator. That mode of life—as, indeed, was to have been expected from his character—received his friendly approbation, as regards its morals. It was the just confidence in their good intentions, which they saw to be felt by a high official, which occasioned this course. But if this confidence of theirs has not

* P. 318, &c. See Appendix VIII. A ministerial decree, of Nov. 30, 1820, had already stated that the king was not opposed to such a committee.

† Some less important portions are omitted, but what is left is given *verbatim*.

caused a corresponding one, and if there yet prevails an apprehension that present circumstances may secretly bring about an entirely different formal association, I know of only one means of relieving this apprehension—which I have already referred to.

"We all know that the most watchful police cannot entirely discover the schemes and views of the students, if they resort to falsehood and deceit. Something may occasionally come to light, and one or another individual may be punished; but to what end? Punishment may be inflicted to-day, but the hydra head grows again to-morrow.

"May God preserve those students, who presented the writing I have cited, from giving up their confidence and love of truth, and from addicting themselves to secresy and falsehood! And, above all, may God prevent the honorable senate from becoming the cause of such a revolution! What excuse could be made for such a result?

"But to prevent this result, I can, as I have said, see only one means. Instead of ourselves destroying the confidence in us of the young men, by police regulations—by the establishment of a completely police-like relation between ourselves and them—instead of depending upon shrewdness as police-officers, which cannot accomplish our objects, we ought, according to my opinion and experience, to repay their confidence with a full return of it. A full return, I say, for half confidence is no confidence. We should soon see with what sincerity of heart, how freely and openly, the students would respond to such treatment. Above all, it would then be in our power to counteract all erroneous tendencies in them, because we should know them thoroughly; and all the phantoms which terrify us in the dark, would disappear in the bright daylight of such a condition of things.

"Such a clear and open relation between ourselves and the students can, in my judgment, not be more beneficently and honorably brought about than has been done by his majesty, the King of Würtemberg, by an ordinance to the university of Tübingen, of the 2d January of last year. This enacted that the students should choose, from among themselves, fifteen persons, whose duty it should be to communicate the wishes of the senate to the rest of the students, and to assist in accomplishing the same. This committee is also empowered to bring before the senate the wishes of the body of students. Each member of this committee is bound, by section 27 of the ordinance, to warn his fellow-students against every secret association, or one shunning publicity, and so far as in him lies, to exert his influence to deter them from joining any such. I refrain from giving here any details of this excellent ordinance, inasmuch as I venture to submit a copy of it to

be examined by my colleagues; and only observe that I have good information that the university of Tübingen already experiences good results from this ordinance. VON RAUMER.

"GIEBICHENSTEIN, Jan. 6, 1822."

Unless I am mistaken, there is but one man now living who was present at the sitting where this proposition was read, namely, my friend Prof. Schweigger. He will remember in how incredibly tumultuous a manner my reading was interrupted. He repeatedly begged that I might at least be allowed to read to the end. I can not, after thirty years, trace this opposition to individuals. But I remember vividly how some protested most strenuously against this Students' Committee, as if it would be a profound injury to their official dignity, and to their relations with the students; and how others exclaimed that they were not in the habit of learning from the Würtembergers how the students were to be managed, and so on. As this opposition was so violent that I was actually unable to read to the end, I sent the paper next day to Royal Commissioner von Witzleben, writing to him at the same time as follows:

"I take the liberty to send your excellency my proposition of yesterday in the senate. Its design was to acquaint that body with the Würtemberg ordinance, with which your excellency is familiar. wrote it down, because, in case of certain occurrences, I will adhere to it, word for word, and neither more nor less. My official duty forbids me to conceal my honest convictions. Accordingly, I was yesterday desirous of expressing my conviction that nothing of the nature of police regulations would succeed in the case then in hand, but that paternal and confiding measures, like that of Würtemberg, would be of incalculable service. Many of my colleagues agree with my views respecting police measures.

"I am sufficiently acquainted with your excellency's views to know that your own feelings prefer a paternal, rather than a police-like mode of administration; I hope that you may not be prevented from acting in accordance with those feelings. VON RAUMER."

I now saw the evil daily coming nearer, and was convinced that no help was to be looked for from the senate. Every day the ill feeling of the students increased, and was especially stimulated by some young men of talent, who, about that time, came from Jena to Halle. These individuals used every influence to induce the dissatisfied to join a secret Burschenschaft which they had founded at Jena. One, named C.

was particularly active, advocating the establishment of such a Burschenschaft with the utmost eloquence and sophistry. He unfortunately found the ground so well prepared during two years, that the seed sown by him and his fellows quickly sprang up and grew. C. afterward confessed before a court, that "his exertions, during his stay at Halle, were intended to establish there, also, the secret Burschenschaft, and to propagate among its members the political views of the organization at Jena." * He avowed that he, with three others, had "earnestly endeavored to re-establish, among the partisans of the Burschenschaft in Halle, that organization, dissolved by the authorities." He declared, in so many words, that "the step from this Burschenschaft to our smaller political association was not difficult, as the members of the former, by having broken their word of honor, given to the authorities, were thus placed in opposition to them, and also to the existing government."

I became acquainted with C. Without (as will easily be conceived) introducing me to his demagogical plans and endeavors, he made no secret of his theory. This was, in truth, exceedingly radical, although he was under the delusion that it was based upon the most correct moral principles. The Burschenschaft, for instance, he said, aimed at the purest morality in life; the governments which had broken it up had, therefore, put themselves in direct opposition to the purest morality; and, therefore, there remained no other course for young men than to obey God rather than man, and to take an active part for morality.

He also cited political reasons; and especially the fact, that the well-known thirteenth article agreed on by the Congress of Vienna had not been carried into operation by Prussia and other governments.

C., whom I loved much, and who has long ago escaped from the errors of his youth, and who is a very useful man, will remember well how I discussed all these matters with him. An enemy to sophistry and dialectic fencing, I adhered to the Christian code of morals, which had always, from my youth, been to me holy and perfect; rejected all Jesuitism, and enforced strongly this principle: that the holy God would never require us to assist in supporting and extending his kingdom by unholy and wicked means. The unhappy consequences of Sand's action were also placed in a strong light before his eyes.

A strife now arose between those who, led away by this newly discovered code of morals, which appeared to them of supreme authority,

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* "*Information against the Members of the so-called Youth's Union*" (*Jugendbund*). Halle. 1826. P. 49.

advocated joining the secret Burschenschaft and the "Young Men's Union," and those who, restrained by the word of honor which they had given, opposed such adhesion. The latter were overcome. The "Young Men's Union" was the chief temptation to them, and with its foundation a new period may be commenced; the previous one having been distinguished by the association of the "Unconditionals." But Karl Follenius had now also a hand in the game.

The detailed history of the "Young Men's Union" is given in the "*Information*," already quoted, by the Royal High Court of Breslau.* I shall refer the reader to this; and shall here only give the following sketch:

A student of Jena became acquainted, in 1821, in Switzerland, with Karl Follenius and two other men, who confided to him the statement that "there was to be formed an association, among men already living in civic stations, for the purpose of overthrowing the existing governments; and that it was desirable that a similar association should be formed among young men." They proceeded to request the student to found such an association. He entered into the plan, and labored at Zürich, Basle, Freiburg, Tübingen, Erlangen, and Jena, in behalf of the society; at all which places, as well as at Halle, Leipzig, Göttingen, Würzburg, and Heidelberg, there were members as early as the summer of 1821. During 1821, 1822, and 1823, several other sections of it were established, consisting mostly, however, of only a few persons; and in all of them, so far as has been reported, great confusion and perplexity of ideas prevailed, no one knowing exactly what he wanted.

Many were, probably, induced to join the "Young Men's Union" by the compliment to their vanity implied in the immediate connection with the secret league of men, from which was expected a tremendous revolution tending to the improvement and renovation of Germany, and, perhaps, even of all Europe.

But they were startlingly undeceived by discovering, with certainty, that no such association of men existed. Part of them thereupon declared, that under these circumstances, the "Young Men's Union" was without any basis; and that it must, therefore, be dissolved. A majority, however, decided to continue their exertions more strenuously than ever, since the renovation of Germany must rest with them alone.

Thus, the phantasmal existence of the Union continued; it could neither live nor die. "It is clear," says the "*Information*," "that we

* This work was printed by C. Anton, with the express permission of the Royal Prussian Ministries of religion, instruction, and medicine. Halle, 1826.

can not discuss an actual organization of the 'Young Men's Union;' and that it would be in vain to attempt to follow up single ramifications of it to their origins, which were often accidental. We must rather treat of repeated attempts to accomplish an organization."

As the efforts in behalf of the "Young Men's Union" in Halle grew more and more efficient, they had an influence, most painful to me, upon my relations with the students. Whereas, they had previously been entirely open with me, and had conversed with me frankly respecting their lives, I could not but very soon observe that they were infected with wretched and foolish secrets and schemes. They could not communicate these to me, for they knew too well what were my opinions on them. I afterward found that, out of the most friendly feelings toward me, they had been entirely silent on these points, in order that no suspicion of participation might attach to me in case of any investigations. But this very silence sufficiently indicated to me that the young men, previously so firm in their honesty, were in great danger of being betrayed into secret, dishonest, and unlawful schemes. I felt myself necessitated to warn them once more, in a paternal manner, as clearly and distinctly as possible; and accordingly addressed to them all, in the year 1822, the following admonitory letter:

"*On the Re-establishment of the Burschenschaft.*

"I do not believe that the formal reorganization of the Burschenschaft by the students, in spite of their word of honor, and contrary to law, is to be apprehended; for, as the university overseer testifies, they speak the truth. Upon the dissolution of the Jena Burschenschaft, they wrote to the Grand Duke of Weimar, 'It was the will of your Royal Highness that the Burschenschaft be dissolved. That will has been carried into effect. We hereby declare, solemnly and publicly, that we have paid strict obedience to the command, and have, ourselves, dissolved our association, as was ordered,' &c., &c.

"In my judgment, these words express the true spirit of the Burschenschaft—open, true, and honorable. Every association which constitutes itself secretly, against the law and their word of honor, stands in direct opposition to this true spirit of the late Burschenschaft; and ought not, in my opinion, to be considered as an association of the class of that one, notwithstanding it may adopt its watchwords, colors, and all other externals.

"Such were my expressions to the academical senate in relation to the festival of January 12, 1821. May I never be obliged to give up the good opinion which I entertained when writing it.

"I still can not fear that any formal reorganization of the Burschen-

schaft, contrary to the word of honor given, and in contempt of the law, will take place. Who would advocate it?

"Suppose it should be said, 'You know the excellent purposes of the Burschenschaft; but it is impossible to attain them without the formal re-establishment of that body. Without a formal organization and establishment it will be impossible for us to hold together the students, and to lead them toward a common purpose.'

"To this I would reply: I ought not, strictly, to answer you at all, for you are seeking to cause a breaking of the law, and of the word of honor. Do you propose to defend this violation of law by claiming that the government has, on its part, destroyed the just condition of affairs by its own injustice, and that, therefore, you feel yourself not bound by the law? How dare you say that law and right have not been violated by the young men themselves: and that, therefore, law and justice toward them are taken away? Have you forgotten Sand, and so many circumstances connected with him?

"But, even if injustice has been committed, dare you, for that reason, declare yourself free from all civil obligations? Was Socrates, then, in your opinion, a fool, because he drank the poison unjustly tendered him, rather than to flee? Follow no principle which you can not wish all the world to follow. Try every Christian commandment by this rule, and you will feel that the world would be happy if all should obey it. But if all were to cast loose from the State on this principle of yours—for when the government is unjust to one it endangers all—there would at once result a most fearful dissolution of all social bonds, a most terrific and bloody revolution. All the visionary and unbridled powers and passions of our nature would awake; hatred, envy, revenge, pride, ambition; the devil would stir up wicked hopes, and vain confidence in mere strength; and holy love would disappear in the waste abyss. Do you consider yourself powerful enough in intellect to quiet, guide, and rule these excited and rude powers and masses? Will you, a teacher and establisher of revolution, establish and maintain order? Beware of throwing out partial and frivolous words, which, as stimulants in real life, may become sad seeds of incalculable misery. Woe to you if you fool weak minds, and lead them astray with such words! And with this breach of law, the breach of word goes hand in hand. 'One word, one word—one man, one man,' our ancestors said. But, do you propose to begin the establishment of the German Burschenschaft by the violation of this truly German motto, and then to sing to your 'Union,' 'The world itself must pass away, and so the ancient proverb must?' Would you, Jesuitically, shelter yourself by that abominable principle that 'The end sanctifies the means?' In this direction points

the cunning requirement, that we shall give up our healthy, simple moral instincts, and, instead of them, set up principles which an honest heart can not comprehend. And let us consider more closely that purpose of the Christian German Burschenschaft which is to sanctify these means. Was it not this, that the members were to live a common, free, open, true, pure, and affectionate life? And is the first step toward the accomplishment of that end, to be a breaking of the word of honor, and of the law? Have you, like the most unprincipled diplomatists, the greater morals and the lesser morals: the latter—Christian morality—for every-day life, and the former, the greater—devilish morality—for extraordinary occasions, which require lying and deceit? Are breach of one's word and of the law to be the consecrating ceremony at the entrance into the Burschenschaft? And must all the members live secretly, afraid every moment of being brought to an account, and contriving pettifogging shifts and tricks to get off with in case of need? What becomes of the simple innocence of an open and pure youthful life, with a good conscience, in whose place appears this concealed, secret, and light-shunning life? Are the young to train themselves, by such a course of life, into free Christian citizens? It is impossible.

"And however shrewdly all of your arrangements may have been made, however cunningly you calculate, be sure that good German honesty is best, and will always be best. Honesty stands longest. Arndt's verses are true of the German youth:

> "'Trust thou not to a fair outside,
> Lies and cheats thou canst not guide.
> Arts and tricks will fail with thee,
> Thy cunning, shallowest phantasy.'

"And in like manner will fail this trickish and secretly constituted Burschenschaft. It will soon be discovered, and broken up by expulsions.

"For these reasons I consider that, at present, the formal reorganization of the Christian German Burschenschaft would be a violation of law, and of the word of honor; unchristian, un-German, unwise.

"But is our youth so superannuated that it can not exist without a fixed form, without adherence to a letter? No law prevents you from living and laboring as friends in life and death, for the noblest of human purposes—for a free Christian intercourse. Must friendship be replaced by mere verbal fastenings, and a living intellectual tie by a lawyer's paper one? Must that mental power by which the better or more intelligent man influences his brother in God's name, be assured to him by a constitution?

"But if there are only a few individuals who are constituted capable of a profound and close association in life through love, it is better that these few should hold themselves purely and truly together, in independent friendship, than that efforts should be made to hold together, by prohibited ties, a great number of repugnant persons, and that the purpose should, at last, utterly fail. Woe to us, when our youth, even, shall be given over and consecrated to lovelessness; woe to youths who imagine that they can attain freedom by using their brethren wickedly and tyrannically, as blind tools! Oh, that our youth would purify themselves from every evil means, from every impure purpose; with a good conscience confess, before all the world, the good purpose at which they aim, and openly and freely demand from their instructors and officers, recognition and assistance in their truly holy endeavor! Who would dare oppose young men avowing their object to be a pure, active, loving life? Who can harm you if you do good? Oh, that Luther's free, and vehement, and powerful spirit could be a pattern for the German youth; that spirit which despised all low, stealthy, secret tricks and practices, and through divine and open confidence in itself, was unconquerable and irresistible!"

I was soon convinced that my appeal could not resist the force of the influence at work on the students. All confidence in the authorities was entirely at an end; for the students had experienced from them opposition, not assistance; and the opinion prevailed, that in order to realize the ideal of the Burschenschaft, it would be necessary no longer to co-operate with the authorities, but to oppose them; and that, on radical political principles, whatever stood in the way of that ideal must be removed. It was fancied that the "Young Men's Union" would lift the world to the condition of the angels.

We have seen that the Union was actually a nonentity. It was a fit subject for Aristophanes. But the times were too bitterly in earnest for this; and irritable and wicked consciences could neither understand nor endure any sport. The Union came to a tragical end. I had foretold, in my admonition, that if the prohibited Burschenschaft should be reorganized, it would soon be discovered, and broken up by expulsions. But the "Young Men's Union," in thinking to surpass the morality and lawfulness of the original Burschenschaft, foolishly passed beyond the sphere of its activity among young men, and attempted to interfere with the relations of actual life, of which it knew nothing, and which it was far from being competent to regulate or to change. Thus it happened that its members had to do, not with the paternal academical disciplinary court and the academical penalties, but with a criminal court and its severe sentence; that they were measured with

the measure of the government, the existing state of which they had permitted themselves to attack. On the 25th of March, 1826, the High Court of Breslau passed sentence upon twenty-eight members of the Union, all of whom, except a few, were condemned to from two to fifteen years' imprisonment.*

This was the tragic end of the "Young Men's Union."

In 1822 my stay at Halle became unendurably painful to me. I still saw the same students whom I loved so well, but yet they were changed. I afterward found the names of twelve of them in the list of those condemned as just mentioned.

There was also a second reason, which had long annoyed me. I had been begging for three years that a collection of minerals might be purchased for the university, as the existing one did not at all fulfill the purposes of instruction. My request not being complied with, it was impossible for me to properly perform my duty as professor of mineralogy.

During this period of great uneasiness, my friend Rector Dittmar, while on a visit to me from Nuremberg, at Easter, 1822, invited me to take partial charge of his institution at that city. In October following I went to Nuremberg, examined the school, and consented. On returning to Halle, I applied to the two ministries under which I was an official—as mining councilor and as professor—for a dismission. I desire to commemorate the friendly manner in which the two ministers, Schuckmann and Altenstein, returned me my request, and advised me to recall my decision. But I had taken my resolution too firmly, and repeated my application. I received, May 30, 1823, through the ministry, the royal cabinet order which dismissed me. "In consequence," said the accompanying letter from the ministries, "the undersigned ministries do free you from your official duties, both in the university at Halle, and in the High Council of Mining, with thanks for your exertions there, and with the best wishes for your future prosperity."

I left Halle with very sad feelings. It was as if I were bearing to the grave all the wishes and hopes that I had nourished for ten years, ever since the year 1813, and for whose accomplishment I had fought and labored.

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* Ten of them were imprisoned for fifteen years. Most of the twenty-eight were Prussians, but many other members were punished elsewhere. Most of them were, however, pardoned before the end of their term.

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III. GUSTAV FRIEDRICH DINTER,

Gustav Friedrich Dinter, whose life was a beautiful illustration of his noble declaration in a letter to Baron Von Altenstein—"I promised God that I would look upon every Prussian peasant child as a being who could complain of me before God, if I did not provide for him the best education, as a man and a Christian, which it was possible for me to provide"—was born, Feb. 29, 1760, at Borna, in Saxony, where his father was a lawyer, with the title of Chamber-Commissary. Dinter describes him in his autobiography as a cheerful and lively man, whose most prominent trait was always to look upon the bright side of things, and to oppose all moroseness. In accordance with this character was the bringing up which he gave his five sons; and particularly he would not endure any timidity in them, for which Dinter was always grateful to him. He also obliged them to strict obedience. His mother was a woman of strict religious character, careful foresight, and some vanity, which made her particular about appearances. His father employed a private tutor for him; but this instructor knew little or nothing of pedagogy or didactics, and his teaching looked to nothing except the good appearance of his scholar at examinations. This was very well for the memory; but his head and heart would have received little benefit, had it not been for the assistance of his intelligent mother. For example, Dinter had, when twelve years old, to read, translate, and commit to memory, Hutter's "*Compendium Theologiæ*," and then recite it; and to learn the texts quoted from the New Testament, in the original Greek.

April 27, 1773, he was examined for the national school at Grimma, where he found valuable teachers in Rector Krebs, Conrector Mücke, and Cantor Reichard. Mücke cultivated carefully the religious feelings which the boy's mother had implanted within him; and Reichard was not only his teacher, but his loving friend. While yet at school, his excellent mother died; whose loss he mourned even when grown up. In April, 1779, Dinter left the school at Grimma, and passed the interval of time, before entering the university at Leipzig, partly with his brother, and partly with his godfather, Superintendent Rickfels. In Leipzig, he almost overburdened himself with hearing lectures, during his first two years: attending, especially, Dathe, Ernesti, Morus, and Platner. For want of a competent guide,

he fell into wrong directions in many studies, as is often the case. His sentiments, at a later day, upon the studies of the university, were thus expressed :—"It is not necessary that the scholar should learn, in special lessons, all that he is to know. Let him only have the ability, and take pleasure in his studies, and let the sources of assistance be pointed out to him, and he will accomplish more for himself than all the lessons and lectures will do for him."

Even in his student years, the study of men was a favorite pursuit with him. He had a great love for the theater; and says, regarding it:—"For young theologians, the drama is very useful. It furnishes them declamatory knowledge. Not that they are to theatricalize in the pulpit; but at the play they may acquire a feeling for modulations of voice, for strength and feebleness of accent, and an animated style of delivery. Young theologians, attend the theater industriously, if it is convenient. You will get much more good there than at the card-table. But the plays may be judiciously selected." He laments much over his incapacity for music. "I unwillingly find myself deprived of a pleasure which would have added to the enjoyments of my life, and would have rendered cheerful my troubled days, which, thank God, have been few."

After leaving Leipzig, he passed his examination for the ministry, receiving a first-class certificate, and became the private tutor in the family of Chamberlain von Pöllnitz. The years of his candidateship Dinter passed in studying clergy, schoolmasters, and people; a pursuit which has often cheered, taught, animated, and warned him. The common people liked him, and had confidence in him, listening to his preaching with pleasure, and he spoke kindly to every child whom he met. Thus Dinter entered upon the duties of the pastorate, not ill prepared by his experience as a private tutor; and he considers this intermediate training as far from useless. In such a place, the young man weans himself from his student-habits, and learns to accommodate himself to the ways of the people amongst whom he is probably to live; studies the pastors and the gentry; and collects a thousand experiences which will be of the greatest use to him, and which can not be learned out of books. He must, however, be careful not to be warped by the influences of the great house, to become accustomed to indulgences which his future scanty income will not allow him, nor to a style so lofty that his farmers will not understand it. To this end he must devote his leisure to the pastors, the schoolmasters, and the people. Dinter became a pastor in 1787, at Kitscher, a village in the government of Borna, with three hundred inhabitants; to the entire satisfaction of his wishes. He was now a

village pastor, as he had so often desired to be. The village belonged to lieutenant-colonel Baron von Niebeker, a very benevolent man, who sympathized with all in misfortune; and Dinter came into most friendly relations with him. As a preacher, his pastoral influence accomplished much, and so did his truly and eminently practical character. In preaching, this thought was continually before him; the handicraftsman and the farmer have, usually, but this one day to devote to the cultivation of head and heart, and the country pastor should shape his efforts accordingly. While a tutor, he had adopted, as his models in preaching, Christ's sermon on the mount, and Paul's discourse at Athens; not merely in the sense of becoming an extemporaneous speaker, but in the spirit of his discourse. He never preached without careful preparation. He usually began to consider on the Sunday, his next Sunday's subject; and he reflected upon it from time to time, during his walks, for example; and on Friday he first wrote down the connected substance of the discourse, in one whole, as it were at one gush. During the ten years of his first pastorate, he thought out almost all his sermons word by word, and learned them so. He never read a sermon. At a later period, when the increase of his occupations disenabled him from using the time necessary for this purpose, he often had to content himself with determining the divisions of his subject; which made him sometimes preach too long. He relates that he learned to preach popularly from his maid-servant, who had a strong common-sense understanding, without much knowledge; and he often read large portions of his discourse to her, on Friday evenings, to see whether it were clear to her mind. In his first pastorate, he confined his choice of subjects mostly to the evangelists; but afterward, especially after his acquaintance with Reinhard, he alternated from them to the epistles, and other scriptures.

During this period, his labors as school-overseer were also very useful; instruction having been his favorite pursuit since his fourteenth year. School conferences were then neither established in Saxony, nor usual. Of his own three school-teachers, each was too old for improvement. Dinter accordingly spent, at first, only two half-days per week in the school. He himself took charge of religious instruction and arithmetic; leaving to the teachers only the repetition of the lessons in the former, and the necessary drilling in the latter. His farmers' children became a credit and a pleasure to him; they learned to take notes of his sermons, to understand their contents, and to take pleasure in them. The confirmation he made the great festival of the year. As to his other relations with his congregation,

he did not live in a haughty seclusion from them, but followed them, like a father, into their own habitations. He entered no house where the family was in bad repute, but visited all others without distinction of rich or poor. Thus he gradually acquired an intimate knowledge of their every-day life, and was enabled to say many things to them which would not have been suitable for the pulpit. He gained an influence upon their modes of disciplining their children, and corrected many defects in it. Thus also he came to be considered an intimate family friend of all, and was frequently called upon to act as umpire in family quarrels; so that he was enabled to bring peace into many families. He was no less assiduous toward the sick, whom he visited without being summoned; making it his rule to visit any whose illness was serious, daily if near at hand, and thrice a week if more distant; but, for obvious reasons, he was not able to continue this practice. Thus, by words and deeds, he accomplished much good. But Providence had marked out for him another and wider sphere of action, which estranged him, for a time, from the duties of the ministry. Instruction, as we have remarked, being his favorite pursuit, he had established in Kitscher a sort of seminary, for the training of young people as teachers. This institution soon gained a reputation, and was the occasion of an invitation from first court-chaplain Reinhard, to become director of the teachers' seminary at Friedrichstadt, near Dresden. Dinter accepted, although the duties of the place were greater and the salary less than at Kitscher, from mere love for education; although there was mutual grief at his parting with his congregation. About this time, some sorrows came upon him: the death of a brother, and of his excellent father, who left the world with as much calmness as he had shown in enjoying it. He refused to admit his confessor, saying, "One who has not learned to die in seventy-five years, can not learn it from him now."

Reinhard, with satisfaction, introduced Dinter into his new place of labor, Oct. 21, 1797. The latter remained true to his principle, "Not the multiplicity of knowledge makes the skillful teacher, but the clearness and thoroughness of it, and skill in communicating it." As to his intercourse with the pupils of the seminary, his rule was this: "The seminarist is no longer a boy; he is a youth, who will in a few years be a teacher. It is by a distinct set of means, therefore, that he must be taught. These are Freedom, Work, Love, and Religion." In the first of these particulars he may have been sometimes too late; but he can not be charged with neglect. He expended much labor and time in Bible lessons; professing that religious knowledge should be gained, not from the catechism, but from the original sources.

In arithmetic, his rule was, "Where the scholar can help himself, the teacher must not help him;" for fear of making lazy scholars. In reading, he did not use Olivier's method, then in high repute, but a simplification of that of Stephan. He somewhat erred, at first, in his practice of Pestalozzian principles, adhering too exclusively to mere forms; but he soon perceived the mistake, and proceeded in the genuine spirit of that distinguished teacher, without his diffuseness. He believed that "Pestalozzi was king of the lower classes, and Socrates of the higher." Under Dinter's direction, the seminary became very prosperous.

But Dinter was not to remain always in this sphere of labor. Providence had destined him for another and a higher, although by a road which at first seemed retrograde. He fell very sick with a violent jaundice, which endangered his life; and, at his recovery, feeling still unable to perform the duties of his office without an assistant, whom the salary would not permit him to employ, he accepted again, in 1807, a situation as country clergyman at Görnitz, a village with a hundred and twenty inhabitants, also in the government of Borna. He was received at Görnitz with pleasure, as the son of the former justiciary of Lobstädt, whose jurisdiction had included Görnitz; and here again he established an educational institution—a sort of progymnasium, in which he appointed one of his former seminary pupils, assistant.

Besides these manifold labors, Dinter's productions as a writer gained a large circle of readers. His works made him well known abroad; and thus the humble village pastor unexpectedly received an invitation to Königsberg, in Prussia, to the place of school and consistorial counselor, which he accepted, in his fifty-seventh year. His official duty there was a singular union of the most different employments. He was obliged to consult with superintendents, to examine candidates for the ministry and for schools, to read Sophocles and Euripides with gymnasium graduates, to adjust a general literary course with the royal assessors, as member of the commission for military examinations, to determine whether one person and another was entitled to claim for one year's service, and to be ready to explain to the teachers of the lowest schools whether and why the alphabetical or the sound-method was preferable. His thoroughly practical mind, however, enabled him to fulfill these many duties with efficiency and usefulness. His chief object was the improvement of the common school system; which he found not in the best condition in East Prussia. His first effort was to accomplish as much as possible through the medium of the ignorant and inefficient teachers already

employed. He made distinctions between country schools, city schools, seminaries, gymnasia, &c., and adapted his management to the peculiar needs of each. In the country schools he found much to blame; but was careful not to find fault with the teachers in the presence of their scholars, or of the municipal authorities. His only exceptions to this rule were two; where the teacher attempted to deceive him, and where the school was in so bad a condition that to retain the teacher would be an injury to the next generation. He was able to judge of the spirit of a school by a single recitation; and was accustomed to judge, from the prayer and the singing, whether the teacher possessed, and was able to communicate, æsthetical training, or not. Prayer in school he valued highly; and attached much importance to tone and accent in reading, as an indication of cultivated understanding and feeling. Intuitions for higher and lower classes were suitably kept distinct; and special attention was paid to orphan homes and teachers' seminaries. He also improved and extended the instruction of the deaf and dumb.

He declined a call to Kiel as regular professor; and, in consideration of this, received from the Prussian government an extraordinary professorship of theology, with a salary of two hundred thalers (about $150,) and the assurance that in a future *emeritus* appointment, not the years, but the quality, of his labor, should be considered. The German Society, and the society for maintaining poor scholars at gymnasia, elected him member. As an academical teacher, Dinter lectured upon the pastoral charge and upon homiletics, as well as upon popular dogmatics and catechetics; in which his own practical experience as pastor and seminary director assisted him materially. He also conducted disputations and exercises in exegesis. He selected such subjects as required careful preparation on his own part; e. g., the Revelation of St. John, some subject connected with the Hebrew language, æsthetics, &c. His plan was, however, not to train slaves to his opinions, but independent thinkers; and, in his private courses with students, his object was the same.

Dinter's influence as a writer was great; although his first appearance in that capacity was rather late.

We add a few words upon the private life of this remarkable man. His life, as a whole, may be called cheerful and happy; in sixty-nine years he was seriously ill only five times. He lived very simply and regularly. He was never married,* but adopted a son, and educated

* While yet a student, he became acquainted with a fatherless child, Friederike Pack, daughter of the late pastor of Raschau, of whom he says, in his autobiography, "My heart was entirely hers on the first day I saw her. It was not her beauty, but her unaffected goodness and unconscious innocence, which bound me to her." Dinter, however, never had the happiness of calling her his own. She died early; and even to his old age he mourned her loss.

his brothers. He suffered a severe misfortune by a fire in Görnitz, which, in his absence, burnt the parsonage, destroying not only his worldly property, but his intellectual treasures—his library and many valuable manuscripts. He had only sixty thalers left in money. A second was being plundered by the Cossacks a few days before the battle of Leipzig. His age, however, was entirely cheerful and happy. He wrote, "I can wish you no better wish than that God may grant you such an old age as mine has hitherto been. I am healthy, can work eighty-three hours a week, and am commonly as fresh at ten at night as I was in the morning. I often write on Sundays, even in the short winter days, thirteen hours, without spectacles and without fatigue. My superiors, in both consistory and civil government, comply with all my reasonable wishes. My pupils still love the old man who sometimes forgets the difference in their ages. Good teachers see me coming with pleasure; and lazy ones fear me, as an appointer of substitutes, and get the 'inspection-fever.' Without being actually rich, I have enough, and have always something for others; and I look fearlessly upon death, having hopes for the future." So strong an old man might have looked forward to an age of eighty or ninety years; but Providence had determined otherwise.

During a tour of inspection, in the spring of 1831, in which he exerted himself as much as usual, he caught a fatal cold, under the result of which he sank, May 29, 1831. His unexpected death was much lamented throughout Germany; for he was yet capable of much more usefulness, and was rather a citizen of all Germany than of any one nation in it. Even his adversaries were obliged to confess that in him was lost one of the most active, learned, and skillful educators and teachers of the world; who labored unweariedly for the realization of his great ideas, and worked as long as his day lasted. His memory will be revered as long as education and instruction shall be recognized as the first blessings of the human race.

IV. STUDENT SOCIETIES IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

The following article, with the exception of the first page, is made up of documents illustrative of the history of the *Burschenschaft* and other Student Societies in the German Universities, and constitutes Appendix Nos. III. to VIII. of Raumer's History of these Institutions, as translated for this Journal, Numbers xvi. and xvii.

III. Bursaries. Burschen.*

"*Bursa:* 1. Purse, *bourse;* from the Greek of *βύρσα*, a hide, because they were made of leather. Jo. de Garlandia gives, as synonyms, '*marsupium, bursa, forulus, locusque, crumena.*'

"2. Chest, *ταμεῖον*, casket; but, more properly, a box for a specified purpose. In these *bursæ* or chests were deposited sums set apart for the support of scholars, or given by pious men for that purpose.† *Bursarius:* One who receives an allowance from a *bursa;* also, applied to such scholars in the universities as are allowed, on account of poverty, certain amounts from the chest set apart for that purpose, to enable them to complete their studies." (*Dufresne.*)

Chrysander wrote a treatise, "Why Students at the Universities are called Burschen. Rinteln, 1751." I extract the following from it:

"The chest from which poor students were supported at the Sorbonne was called *Bursa*, and such students, *Bursii* or *Bursarii*, *Boursier*. 'A *Boursier* was a poor scholar or student, supported by the *Bursa* of his college. The others, who supported themselves at the university of Paris by their own means, were called Studiosi, students.'" Hence the term was introduced to Germany.

In Italy, however, the students were called *Bursati*, because they were girded with a *bursa* or purse. Hence the stanza:

"Dum mea bursa sonat,
Hospes mihi fercula donat.
Dum mea bursa vacat,
Hospes mihi ostia monstrat."

That is: "While my purse tinkles, the host gives me delicacies; but when it is empty he shows me the door." A similar French stanza is:

"Quand ma bourse fait, bim, bim, bim,
Tout le monde est mon cousin;
Mais quand elle fait da, da, da,
Tout le monde dit, Tu t'en va."‡

The French *Boursiers* seem to correspond to the poor students of Germany, and the Italian *Bursati* to the rich ones.

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* See an article entitled "Signification of 'Bursch' and 'Burschenschaft,'" in the *Academical Monthly*, May and June, 1858, p. 252.

† Merchants' purses were also called *Bursa*.

‡ This stanza is quoted by the pseudonymous Schlingschlangschlorum. See note, under chapter on "Personal Relations between Professors and Students."

IV. Comments of Landsmannschaften.

Extract from Comment of Landsmannschaft at ——f (Altdorf?), as in force in 1815.*

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

§ 1. The Societies bind themselves to put the present Comment into operation from the moment of its ratification, and to enforce the penalties fixed therein.

§ 2. If occasions shall arise for which the present Burschen-Comment does not provide, or if additional statutes are to be enacted, or if there is any occasion for a general council, two deputies are to be appointed from each Society, who shall exchange with each other the sentiments of the Societies; of which two, one, at least, must be an Old Bursch. The majority of voices, or in case of a tie, the lot, shall determine the result.

§ 3. The Societies bind themselves not to permit this code to come into the hands of a renouncer; but to cite its provisions, when necessary, only as if by oral tradition, and without giving any other source for them than general custom.

Title I.—Relations of the Societies to each other and to Renouncers.

A.—*Societies to each other.*

§ 4. Existing Societies ratifying this *Comment*, mutually guarantee to each other their existence as at present.

§ 5. No Society not now existing can be organized without the consent of those existing; nor can any existing Society be extinguished without the consent of all the existing Societies, or without sufficient and proved reasons. Nor can any new Society organize itself under the name of an existing Society.

§ 6. All the Societies have equal rights.

§ 7. In case of collisions between them, as, for instance, in differences for precedence, the major vote of the deputies, or the lot, in case of a tie, shall determine.

B.—*Between the Societies and Renouncers.*

§ 8. Every student, not a member of a Society, is a Renouncer.

§ 9. In case of doubt, the student shall be considered a Renouncer.

§ 10. Renouncers can enter only the Society of their countrymen; but if there is no such, they may enter any other existing one which is undetermined. *Novel:* but he shall not be recognized as such member by the other societies until so recognized by a major vote of the Convention of Seniors.

§ 11. On public festival occasions, the Societies shall be governed by the directory.

§ 12. Members of a Society have, everywhere, precedence over Renouncers.

Title II.—Distinctions among Students.

a.—*According to Birthplace.*

§ 13. A Pavement-beater (*Pflastertreter*), or Quark, is one whose parents live in the university town.

§ 14. A Cummin-Turk (*Kümmelturk*) is one whose parents reside within four miles of the university town.

b.—*According to length of stay at the University.*

§ 15. From the moment of matriculation, every matriculated student is a student qualified to fight.

§ 16. A Fox is one who

a. Has not yet been half a year at the university since his matriculation; or,

b. Comes from a university which the Burschen of the present university have degraded to the rank of Fox.

§ 17. A Brander or Brand-Fox is a Fox after his first half-year.

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* Haupt, p. 185. The *Novels* or additions to this code are dated June 15, 1815. Haupt, p. 208.

§ 18. But any Fox may be made a Brander, or any Brander a Young Bursch, by his Society.

§ 19. A Pavement-beater, Cummin-Turk, or Fox, may not, without renowning, either consider himself insulted by those names, nor use them in insult.

§ 20. Excessive impositions upon the Foxes is by no means to the honor of a Bursch. If these border upon abuse, the Fox may demand satisfaction of the Bursch, or take the advantage of him.* And any Society may, besides, make the matter one concerning itself, if the insulted Fox is a member.

§ 21. In other matters, every Bursch has the prerogative over the Foxes and Branders, that the latter may not challenge him on behalf of an insulted person, nor make appointments, nor be seconds in a duel, nor give testimony in a case of dueling, nor preside, nor have precedence in dancing, nor give the pitch, nor ride with them in public processions, nor drink *Schmollis* to them, &c.

§ 22. A Young Bursch is one who is passing the first half of his second year; during the latter half he is Bursch. During the first half of the third year he is an Old Bursch, and afterward a Mossy Man (*bemoostar Herr*).

§ 23. According to this reckoning of time spent at the university, if he have not been in dishonor (*im verschiss*) during the same, a student can become a Mossy Man during his fifth half-year at the university, if he has been previously promoted from the degree of Fox to that of Brander, or from that of Brander to that of Bursch.

c.—*According to the possession or lack of Bursch-honor.*

aa. *The Honorable.*

§ 24. Every student is to be reckoned honorable until he is expressly declared dishonorable (*in verschiss komm*) by the Society.

§ 25. In case of doubt, the party is to be held honorable.

§ 26. Every honorable student gives or receives the ordinary Bursch-satisfaction, according to his injury.

§ 27. If two honorable students give their word of honor to the truth of the same fact; or one for and the other against it, he who first gave it, as the injured party, is entitled to satisfaction from the other.

§ 28. If one Renouncer applies to another, or to a member of a Society, the term "dishonorable," &c., the injured party is entitled to fight him three times, with the choice of weapons, whatever the result of the duels. (!)

§ 29. A party insulted by a *pereat* may

1. Take a real advantage† of the other, and
2. Must fight a duel with him.

bb. *The Dishonorable.*

§ 30. For each dishonor (*verschiss*) is requisite:

a. A major vote of the deputies.

b. A sufficient reason.

Novel. And the Society concerned shall not vote.

A.—What constitutes dishonor of a student.

§ 31. Dishonor is either that from which the person dishonored can never escape, or from which he may be relieved after a certain time.

§ 32. Of what kind the dishonor shall be, always depends upon the decision of the deputies.

§ 33. Causes of dishonor are:

a. If a student breaks his word of honor.

b. If a member of one Society applies to a member of another Society, of whom

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* "Advantage;" see this Appendix, p. 58.

† See this Appendix, p. 58.

he knows only the distinguishing tokens, the term "dishonorable," the former becomes thereby dishonorable.

c. Returning, to the highest verbal insult of "foolish fellow" (*Dummer Junge*), a further verbal or actual insult, or only threatening to inflict a similar verbal insult, after having been told that the party insulting is ready to fight.

d. Refusing the satisfaction which is demanded, or not knowing and seeking how to exact satisfaction for the term "foolish fellow."

e. Becoming a traitor in matters relating to the Burschen: as, for instance, by giving testimony against a student. (!!!)

f. Stealing, or being guilty of a great (!) piece of cheating at play.

g. Declaring one's self entirely free from the obligations of this Comment. (!)

h. Living in, or going to the house of a dishonored Philister.

i. Holding confidential intercourse with any dishonored person, except when strict necessity requires it. Persons violating clauses h and i, are first to be notified, by members of their own Society, to separate from the offenders; and, if disobedient, they become dishonorable with them.

k. Uttering a *pereat* against a whole Society.

l. Taking hold of an adversary's sword with the hand.

m. Bringing unequal weapons to a duel, as a broadsword against a rapier; or using weapons contrary to their purpose, as to thrust with a broadsword.

n. Intentionally thrusting or cutting after the seconds have called Halt!

o. Challenging without any reason.

p. Expulsion, with infamy, from a Society.

q. Letting one's self be chased away with a straight sword or a Jena rapier. *Novel.* But this shall be reckoned a shame (*Schande*) only.

B.—Dishonor of Philister.

§ 34. As under § 30, without the *Novels.*

C.—Consequences of Dishonor.

a.—*With Students.*

§ 35. The dishonorable has no claim to the honor or satisfaction of a Bursch. Any advantage may be taken of him.

§ 36. The dishonorable can not take part in any *commerce*, or any public ceremony.

§ 37. In duels between the dishonorable and Philister, the former shall receive no countenance, unless in case of insult, by the latter, to honorable Burschen.

b.—*With Philister.*

§ 38. The consequences of dishonor, with the Philister, depend on the kind of the dishonor; that is,

1. Whether the Philister is dishonorable on every account, or

2. Only on one; as landlord, for instance, or as artisan; in which case the consequences follow, of course (by § 33, h).

D.—Removal of Dishonor.

a.—*In the case of Students.*

§ 39. A dishonorable person may be relieved from his dishonor, according to its kind; and if he demand it, a member is selected from each Society, with whom he must fight. The choice of weapons belongs to such members, and not more than three duels must be fought with any one of them.

§ 40. Dishonor may be removed by unanimous vote of the deputies of the Societies.

§ 41. The person freed from dishonor re-enters upon all his rights as a Bursch.

b.—*In the case of Philister.*

§ 42. The dishonor of a Philister is removed at the expiration of the time for during which it was imposed.

TITLE III.—PROVISIONS ON INJURIES TO BURSCH-HONOR.

§ 43. An honorable student, receiving a verbal insult from another, or being pushed by him, may

a. Push him back again, or

b. Take the advantage of him, by calling him foolish fellow.

c. "Foolish fellow" is the highest verbal insult, and can be answered by no further insult; it can be followed only by a challenge. If one apply to another any other insulting expression, as "scoundrel," and other terms, the insulted person may knock him down or challenge him, and, after the duel, may address to him the same verbal insult. The term dishonorable, however, may not, under penalty of the punishments above specified, be used, except to a dishonorable person, upon whom both verbal and real insults may be inflicted.

§ 44. Insults from officers or honorable students from other universities come under the same rule.

§ 45. In case of a duel with a student of another university, they shall meet half way between the two universities. The person insulted shall fight the first three bouts with the weapon of his own university, and the last three with that of his opponent's.

§ 46. In the university prison, the Comment is suspended.

Extract from the Comment of the Landsmannschaft of the University of Leipzig, as in force in 1817.

TITLE II.—OF THE INSULT, OR ADVANTAGE.

§ 1. Whether honor be hurt, or not, is left to the feelings of each individual; but the convention has recognized certain expressions and actions, viz., those which are mortifying, or which undervalue one's honor and good reputation, as insults which every student is, as such, bound to answer by a challenge.

§ 2. Among verbal insults and verbal advantages are the terms "singular, arrogant, absurd, silly, simple, impertinent, rude, foolish;" and, as an epitome of the extremest verbal insult and advantage, "foolish fellow."

§ 3. For all these expressions an unconditional challenge must pass, unless they are withdrawn. Real insults can not be withdrawn. Insults given in intoxication are not to be noticed, unless they are afterward repeated, when sober.

§ 4. If any one thinks himself insulted by expressions or gestures, he may either proceed by means of the *coramage*, or take a verbal advantage; but must not send a challenge for that reason.

§ 5. If any one thinks himself not entitled either to challenge or to resort to the *coramage*, he may take the advantage: that is, may answer with a more insulting expression, and thus wipe out the lesser one.

§ 6. Real advantages are, a box on the ear, a blow with a stick, or any other assault with whip or stick. The offer of any such shall not be considered an advantage.

§ 7. The advantage can not be taken unless within three days of the receiving of an insult; but, if the aggressor can not be found, at his house, or elsewhere, within that time, the term begins anew, and so onward.

§ 8. There must be at least one witness when an advantage is taken. But if he who takes it shall give his word of honor to the fact, it shall be sufficient, if he belong to a Society.

V. Constitutions of Burschenschaften.

A.—Constitution of the General German Burschenschaft.

Adopted on the 18th day of the month of Victory (October), 1818.*

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

§ 1. The General German Burschenschaft is the free union of all the German youth engaged in learned studies at the universities; based upon the relations of the German youth to the coming union of the German people.

§ 2. The General German Burschenschaft, as a free Society, lays down, as the central point of its operations, the following received general principles:

a. Unity, freedom, and equality of all Burschen among each other, and equality of all rights and duties.

b. Christian German education of every mental and bodily faculty to the service of the fatherland.

§ 3. The living together of all the German Burschen in the spirit of these principles, expresses the highest idea of the General German Burschenschaft—the unity of all the German Burschen in spirit and in life.

§ 4. The General German Burschenschaft assumes existence, in order that the longer it lives, the more it may present a picture of the freedom and unity of its prosperous nation; that it may maintain a national Burschen-life in the development of every bodily and mental faculty; and in a free, equal, and orderly common life, will prepare its members for national life, so that each one of them may be raised to such a grade of self-knowledge, as in his own pure individuality to display the brightness of the glory of the German national life.

Constitution.

§ 5. As the General German Burschenschaft does not exist at any one place, it is livided into separate Burschenschaften, at the different universities.

§ 6. These Burschenschaften are, in respect to each other, to act as entirely similar parts—as parts of the entire whole.

§ 7. The constitutions of these separate Burschenschaften must coincide, as far as the above fixed principles, without any prejudice to any other peculiarities of each separate one.

§ 8. The General German Burschenschaft acts—

a. By an assembly of delegates from the separate ones, meeting annually, at the period of the eighteenth of the month of victory (October); to which each shall send, if possible, three delegates, with full powers, who shall bring with them the constitution, the customs, and the history of their Burschenschaft.

b. By the choice of a Burschenschaft for transacting business between one assembly of delegates and another, in order to conduct the common concerns. As a general rule, this appointment must not be passed from one Burschenschaft to another in any fixed succession.

Relations of the General German Burschenschaft to its members; the separate Burschenschaften.

§ 9. As in every well-organized Society the common will of the whole is above that of a single member, so in the General German Burschenschaft, the expressed will of the whole is above that of each single one.

§ 10. Any separate Burschenschaft which does not recognize, as its own, the common decision of the General German Burschenschaft, cuts itself off from the General German Burschenschaft by that very act.

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* Haupt, p. 257.

Duties of the Assembly of Delegates.

§ 11. The assembly of delegates has supreme authority:

a. In controversies between the separate Burschenschaften;

b. In controversies of single Burschen with their Burschenschaft.

§ 12. It has power to scrutinize the constitutions of separate Burschenschaften, as well as to decide whether any thing in them agrees, or not, with the recognized fundamental principles. In the latter case it is to propose to the separate Burschenschaft the alteration of the inconsistent portion.

§ 13. The assembly of delegates shall usually begin its sessions with an examination of the constitution of the General German Burschenschaft, in order to convince themselves whether its form still expresses its spirit; in order that the progress of its spirit may never, in any way, be circumscribed by the letter.

§ 14. All propositions not having immediate reference to the above general recognized principles, or to the constitution of the General German Burschenschaft, whether they relate to the constitution or the customs of the separate Burschenschaften, shall be, after previous examination and approval by the assembly of delegates, by them laid before the separate Burschenschaften for acceptance, with request for agreement, as to something promotive of the beautiful idea of complete freedom; but still, whose non-acceptance can not injure the connection of the whole. All such propositions shall be either accepted or rejected by the separate Burschenschaften, and the result laid before the next general assembly.

§ 15. In all votes of the general assembly a majority of votes shall be decisive.

Duties of the Burschenschaft for Managing Business.

§ 16. The Burschenschaft in charge of the business has the precedence in the general assembly: that is, opens its sessions, leads the deliberations, and keeps the records.

§ 17. During the year its duties are the following:

a. It collects and arranges whatever is communicated to it to be laid before the general assembly.

b. It communicates all notifications, as quickly as possible, to the General Burschenschaft; for which purpose such notices are sent to it only, from the others.

c. It designates the place and time for the assembly of delegates.

d. It has charge of, and keeps in order the papers of the General German Burschenschaft.

e. It keeps the treasury of the General German Burschenschaft, and collects the contributions of the separate Burschenschaften; for which purpose each one is, half-yearly, to report all changes of its members.

§ 18. The Burschenschaft in charge of business shall report its proceedings to the assembly of delegates.

Relations of the separate Burschenschaften to each other.

§ 19. The separate Burschenschaften are to consider themselves equal parts of a great whole.

§ 20. All controversies between them must be settled, not by duel, but by the reasonable decision of the general assembly; unless they can be settled by themselves, or through the medium of a third Burschenschaft.

§ 21. Each Burschenschaft shall recognize all penalties inflicted by the others as just, and as binding on themselves, unless the General German Burschenschaft shall have declared them improper.

§ 22. It is, of course, understood that any member of one Burschenschaft, merely by declaring his wish, and by adhering to the customs of the university, can join another.

§ 23. Mutual hospitality is to be practiced.

RELATIONS OF THE GENERAL GERMAN BURSCHENSCHAFT TO SOCIETIES OUTSIDE OF IT.

§ 24. If a Society of German Burschen is established at any university where there is already a Burschenschaft, part of the general one, such Burschen are, by virtue of that fact, in disgrace; which, however, ends with the dissolution of such Societies, or secession from them.

§ 25. Where, however, Landsmannschaften or other Societies, having existed for a long time, are in operation, besides the Burschenschaft, the separate Burschenschaften shall conduct toward them as their character may require; and shall seek, as far as possible, to gain them over, in the way of persuasion, by exemplifying the truth to them, in part by their own whole life, and, where it seems likely to be effectual, by discussion. But if the Burschenschaft is attacked by them, and hindered in the free development of its principles, it must resort to the most efficient measures which the occasion may offer, and shall expect the utmost possible assistance from the General German Burschenschaft.

§ 26. With universities where there is no Burschenschaft, but only Landsmannschaften, the General German Burschenschaft has no further relation. But in order that these shall not become rendezvous for all sorts of disreputable persons, it will advise them of such Burschen as are known to it to be of bad character.

§ 27. If, however, there are, at such universities, individual Burschen, who desire to found a Burschenschaft, the General German Burschenschaft will supply all possible assistance to them, and pledges, in particular, the aid of the nearest university where there is already a Burschenschaft.

§ 28. Foreigners at any German university are permitted to proceed with their education in as free and national a manner as they desire; but, as it is not reasonable to expect that they, as foreigners, and as intending to remain such, should enter the German Burschenschaft, and labor in it for the good of the whole, and of individuals, they are permitted to form associations with each other. But an association of foreigners can never have a decisive vote in the general concerns of the Burschen; and they must, in all things, comply with the prevailing code of customs.

RELATIONS OF THE GENERAL GERMAN BURSCHENSCHAFT TO INDIVIDUALS NOT MEMBERS.

§ 29. With such Burschen as are connected with no Society, the General German Burschenschaft stands in the most friendly relations. It guarantees to them the fullest freedom which they can enjoy as men. But it properly requires from them to conduct themselves according to the code of customs prevailing at the university where they happen to be. To this end all honorable Burschen have a right to require that the customs of the university shall be read to them. Their affairs of honor with the members of the Burschenschaft shall be conducted according to the customs of the latter; but they may select for themselves honorable seconds and witnesses, but such as are acquainted with the code.

§ 30. If there are at the university associations other than the Burschenschaft, having different codes of customs, all Burschen connected with no Society, may, in affairs of honor with each other, proceed under whichever code they please; but, where they select that of the Burschenschaft, or where there is only a Burschenschaft, the latter may satisfy itself that the code will be properly adhered to.

§ 31. Against those refusing to conduct their affairs of honor on the principles of the Burschen, proceedings shall be taken according to their practice.

§ 32. The General Burschenschaft will use its means of protecting Burschen not in that Society against all treatment of an unjust kind, and unworthy of a Bursch, from those not Burschen.

§ 33. In consultations touching the good of the whole university, all honorable Burschen must naturally have part, whether members of the Burschenschaft or not.

General Festivals.

§ 34. The 18th of the month of victory is the permanent festival of the General German Burschenschaft. Every three years, when possible, this day shall be celebrated by all the German Burschen together, as a festival in commemoration of the first brotherly meeting at the Wartburg.

§ 35. The 18th of June is a festival for remembrance of all the German brothers at the other German universities.

B.—General portion of the Constitution of the Jena Burschenschaft.*

§ 1. The Jena Burschenschaft, as a part of the General German Burschenschaft, is an association of all the Jena Burschen who recognize as their own the general principles laid down in the General Constitution, and have given in their adherence to them by joining the Burschenschaft.

§ 2. The design of the Jena Burschenschaft must be that of the General German Burschenschaft, and it will promote that design within its sphere of activity; and will, for itself, also strive after the purposes therein proposed.

§ 3. In like manner will it, also for itself, carry out, in actual life, the idea of the unity and freedom of the German people; and will promote and maintain, in Jena, a national and upright Burschen-life, in unity, freedom, and equality, in the development of mental and bodily powers, and in a cheerful social intercourse; and will, by its organization, prepare its members for the service of the fatherland.

§ 4. The Burschenschaft adopts the code of customs as the only one which is right and suitable to the organization of the universities, and endeavors to maintain it, and by means of it, an honorable relation among the Burschen.

§ 5. Therefore it has supreme power in all affairs relating to the Burschen of our university.

§ 6. Only upon decisions relating to the interests of the whole university does it permit voting by those not members of the Burschenschaft; who are, otherwise, to be treated as those having themselves resigned their right to vote, since nothing prevents them from joining the Burschenschaft.

§ 7. For this reason every Bursch is bound, in every matter in which he consults with Burschen, to have reference to the privileges of the Burschenschaft.

§ 8. The Burschenschaft, as a separate organization, can exist only in unity and order, and in a free and public social intercourse, such as is proper for Burschen.

§ 9. In order to secure its own existence, the Burschenschaft establishes a constitution, in which it sets forth its relations in proper order; so that each member may comprehend the sentiment and spirit of the Burschenschaft, and may be able to instruct himself in what relation he stands, and what he must do and avoid, in order to become a worthy member of the Society.

§ 10. The Burschenschaft appoints, as its head, a managing board, to whom it intrusts the management of affairs, as it is impossible for the whole body to transact them.

§ 11. In order to secure itself against any attempts upon the rights of the whole body, it appoints, together with the managing board, a committee, as a supervising authority.

§ 12. But the decision is reserved to the Society in all cases which nearly concern its own whole existence; as the making of laws, and as a tribunal of ultimate appeal. And it shall also decide upon such decisions and ordinances of the managing board as are brought before it by the non-concurrence of the committee, or by the appeal of individuals.

§ 13. In order to secure the obedience of its members to its laws, it establishes a code of penalties.

* Haupt, p. 264.

§ 14. As the maintenance of the Burschenschaft renders necessary many expenditures of money, it pledges each of its members to a contribution to the common funds. It establishes a treasury.

§ 15. In order to maintain in the Burschen-life the ancient knightly exercise of fencing, and that each member of the Burschenschaft may be skillful enough for a combat in defense of his honor, the Burschenschaft establishes a fencing-room. It, however, also favors other bodily exercises, since it recognizes bodily development as especially necessary to a German education. For this reason the Turning-place (*Turnplatz*) is under its protection.

§ 16. In order to promote friendship and pleasure in the social intercourse of the members of the Burschenschaft, it rents a Burschen-house, and supplies it with every thing proper for that purpose.

§ 17. Upon all occasions of celebrations by Burschen on days which are festivals for every German, the Burschenschaft will appear as a public participant at the ceremony. It establishes and arranges banquets for pleasure, and also more serious celebrations.

§ 18. A general view of the chief heads of the Constitution of the Jena Burschenschaft is as follows:

A. Organization as to the business concerning the Society:
  1. Managing board.
  2. Committee.
  3. Decisions of the whole Burschenschaft.
  a. Sections of the Society.
  b. Assemblies of the Burschen.
  4. Course of business.

B. Entrance into and departure out of the Burschenschaft.
C. Relations of the members as individuals—Rights, Duties.
D. Penal code.
E. Treasury.
F. Fencing-rooms.
G. Burschenhaus.
H. Burschenschaft festivals.

SPECIAL PART OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Managing Board.

§ 19. The managing board consists of nine managers, and three candidates for the managership.

§ 20. The managing board is chosen every half-year, for six months, by the Burschenschaft.

Official Duties of the Managing Board.

§ 21. The managing board is the representative of the Burschenschaft, and all matters are under its charge which relate to the whole Society. It exercises, in their name, judicial, executive, supervisory, and managerial authority.

§ 22. Above all, it is to watch over the credit and honor of the Burschenschaft, and to promote it by every means in its power.

§ 23. It exercises judicial power, in that it decides all cases which come before it under the laws; or where none of them deals with the case in hand, after the analogy of existing laws, and in accordance with justice and conscience.

§ 24. It exercises executive power, by carrying into execution the decisions of the Burschenschaft.

§ 25. The board watches over the observance of the laws and conformity to the code. It decides upon quarrels, and all affairs of honor between Burschen, which are brought before it. And accordingly, each manager has authority to stop any

duel which appears to him to be contrary to the code, and to cause it to be investigated.

§ 26. It is the right and duty of the managers to give friendly admonitions to the other members of the Burschenschaft in reference to their relations as Burschen.

§ 27. The board manages all external business of the Burschenschaft, and conducts its correspondence.

§ 28. It fixes the time and place of the assembly of the Burschen.

§ 29. It has charge of all general festivities, of the Burschen-house, the fencing, and especially the gymnastic exercises, and the financial affairs of the Burschenschaft.

§ 30. It is the especial duty of the managers to fight such duels as are upon points involving the whole Burschenschaft.

Official Duties of the Individual Managers.

§ 31. In order to the proper execution of its duties, the managing board apportions offices among the nine members as follows: one shall be speaker, one secretary, one treasurer, one manager of the fencing-room, one of the Burschen-house, one steward, one umpire of the gymnastic council, and one historiographer.

§ 32. All these offices are conferred by the board for the whole half-year, except that of speaker, who is to be appointed every month; and must not be reappointed at the end of his term.

§ 33. The character of these offices makes it necessary that the secretary and treasurer should hold no other office; but all the others may be speaker at the same time.

The Speaker.

§ 34. The speaker is to call meetings of the board whenever necessary. He is bound to do the same upon the requisition of any member of the Burschenschaft.

§ 35. He is the proper person to be applied to in all matters relating to the Burschenschaft.

§ 36. At sessions of the board he is to preserve quiet and good order, and may, for that purpose, take away the privilege of voting. In all the business of that body he has the precedence, and the first vote.

§ 37. The speaker is to call meetings of the assembly of the Burschenschaft. He opens and closes them, maintains quiet and order in them, and is to take the lead in the business.

§ 38. If he is prevented from performing his duties, his last predecessor is to supply his place; and, in case of his failure, a person chosen *pro tempore*.

The Secretary.

§ 39. The secretary is to record, at sessions of the managing board, and of the assembly of the Burschenschaft, a proper account of the proceedings.

§ 40. He has charge of the archives of the Burschenschaft, and is to keep all their papers in order.

§ 41. He is to enter all new laws in the constitution, and to note, also, the repeal or alteration of old ones.

§ 42. He is to inform applicants for joining the Burschenschaft of the established mode of proceeding.

§ 43. He has charge of forwarding all letters, and authenticates all documents issued by the managing board.

§ 44. In the absence of the secretary, the historiographer is to supply his place.

The Treasurer.

§ 45. The treasurer has the management of all the finances of the Burschenschaft, and the care of all its housekeeping arrangements.

§ 46. The treasury of the Burschenschaft is in his charge.

§ 47. He is to render a quarterly account of his official proceedings to the committee, together with the necessary vouchers.

§ 48. In his absence, the steward is to take his place.

The Manager of the Fencing-room.

§ 49. He is to supervise the fencing exercises of the members, and to keep order in the fencing-room.

§ 50. He is, half-yearly, to lay before the managing board, an order of fencing exercises, and must keep a list of fighters.

§ 51. He is to have charge of, and keep in good order, all weapons, standards, defensive apparatus, and all other such property of the Burschenschaft.

§ 52. He is to select all witnesses for the Burschenschaft at duels.

The Manager of the Burschen-house.

§ 53. He has the oversight of the Burschen-house; and, accordingly, all complaints, by and against the landlord there, are to be brought to him.

§ 54. He is to make the necessary arrangements in the assembly-hall for the assemblies of the Burschenschaft.

§ 55. He is to adjust the minor details of the Commerces, and all other festivals, after consulting, previously, with the managing board respecting them.

§ 56. At the beginning of every half-year he must lay before the board a plan of arrangements for Commerces.

The Steward.

§ 57. He is to see that the duties of hospitality, on the part of the Burschenschaft, toward Burschen from abroad are fulfilled, and has charge of their entertainment. For this purpose he is to possess a list of the dwellings of all the members of the Burschenschaft.

§ 58. He has the care of any Burschen who are ill.

The Umpire of the Gymnastic Council.

§ 59. He is to attend at such meetings of the council as may take place.

The Historiographer.

§ 60. He is to keep the journal of the Burschenschaft, and to have the history of it written up for presentation at the general assembly.

§ 61. At every election of speaker, he is to announce it to the managing board.

The Candidates.

§ 62. The candidates for the managership must attend the sessions of the board, and have an advisory vote therein. But if acting members are absent, they are to take their places, and to cast deciding votes.

§ 63. They are, also, to assist the managers in the performance of their duties, by all proper means.

Meeting of Managers and Course of Business.

§ 64 a. The sessions of the board are of two kinds, viz.:

1. Those in which accusations are made against individuals, and the trials thence arising are had.

2. Those in which discussions and decisions are had upon the various matters entered upon the business-book of that session, as far as they need no further investigation; and generally, upon all other matters affecting the Burschenschaft.

§ 64 b. The penalties inflicted are to be executed, partly in private meetings of the managing board, and partly in public ones.

§ 65. Assemblies of the first kind are to be held at the speaker's room, or at some other suitable place, to be fixed by him.

§ 66. These assemblies are to consist of the speaker, secretary, and two other managers, who shall attend in regular order.

§ 67. Besides the managers, no one is to be present, except such as are to bring accusations, or to be tried; and the latter only till their business is settled.

§ 68. Except these assemblies of the managers, all sessions of the managers are public: that is, all members of the Burschenschaft may attend them, being silent.

§ 69. The managers are to hold a public meeting, usually, every week, at a fixed time; when practicable, at the Burschen-house, at which they shall endeavor to transact any business coming up. In urgent cases, extraordinary sessions may take place, which are to be notified by handbills, and to which the speaker shall summon the managers.

§ 70. Any one not attending a meeting, unless he have a sufficient excuse, of which the board is to be the judge, and which must be previously communicated to the speaker, either orally or by writing, must pay a fine of one reichsthaler to the treasury, and loses his vote at that meeting.

§ 71. If a member, without a sufficient excuse, comes a quarter of an hour after the appointed time, he is to pay eight groschen; if half an hour, sixteen groschen.

§ 72. After the expiration of a quarter of an hour the speaker is to proceed to business.

§ 73. During the meeting the speaker must have the laws lying before him, in order, in doubtful cases, to be able to refer to them.

§ 74. The speaker has the precedence, and conducts the business. In voting, he votes first, and then calls upon the other managers, in succession. He, only, is authorized to stop the voting, and to recall attention to the question under discussion.

§ 75. In public meetings, the following order of business is usually to be observed: First, the managers take up the business-book of the committee; then the trial book; and then only, other oral or written business may be attended to.

§ 76. After the managers have ended their deliberations, the speaker is to inquire of the audience whether any of them has any thing to offer. Until that time they must all preserve silence; and for the decision of each matter, some one must furnish new facts, not before considered, permission to state which must be given by the speaker.

§ 77. At the end of the meeting, the secretary must read over the proceedings.

§ 78. The decision of the managing board, in all matters, is made by a majority vote.

§ 79. A public sitting can only be held with nine members present. If nine managers are not present, those who are may, in very urgent cases, fill up their number.

§ 80. At the first session of the new board, in every half-year, when the offices are apportioned, the duties of the board must be read over from the constitution.

§ 81. In the decision of cases, witnesses, documents, and the word of honor shall be testimony. The witnesses must be two Burschen in good standing, and must be able to authenticate their testimony by their word of honor. In cases, however, where other testimony is wanting, Philisters who are known to the board to have such correct sentiments on the subject of honor as to be competent to give their word of honor upon any matter, may be admitted to testify.

§ 82. No manager may give a decision upon any affair which is his own, or in which he is a witness. The same rule is to be observed in decisions by the committee or by the Burschenschaft.

§ 83. No manager may, in the performance of his duty, use insulting expressions; and this is the rule for all authorities.

The Committee.

§ 84. The committee shall consist of twenty-one acting members, and seven can-

didates for membership, who are to be chosen half-yearly, by the Burschenschaft, for a half-year.

§ 85. The doings of the committee have a twofold relation.

§ 86. As a whole, it is, as a supervising authority, to observe that the managing board acts in conformity to the law, and not beyond its authority.

§ 87. Immediately upon observing any irregularity of this kind, it is its right, and its duty, to advise the board of the same, and if the latter does not act accordingly, to bring the matter before the Burschenschaft.

§ 88. The committee is also to review all decisions in cases not clearly and definitely determined by the law, and to approve or reject the decision of the board upon the same.

§ 89. In order that the committee may be able to exercise its supervisory and approving power, the business-book of the managing board must be laid before it every week, with all the papers relating to it. It must also examine all letters of the managing board, before they are dispatched. It is, also, after the board, to decide whether the same shall be laid before the Burschenschaft for approval or not.

§ 90. The individual members of the committee are at the head of the sections of the Burschenschaft.

Apportionment of the Offices.

§ 91. The members of the committee shall choose, from their own number, by a major vote, a speaker and a secretary, the latter for a half-year, and the former, who is not re-eligible at the end of his term, for one month.

§ 92. The speaker is to maintain quiet and order in the meetings of the committee, and to conduct their deliberations.

§ 93. The secretary is to have charge, in their meetings, of the business-book.

§ 94. In the absence of the speaker, his last predecessor, or a substitute chosen for the occasion, shall supply his place.

§ 95. The committee shall usually appoint to the headship of twenty sections of the Burschenschaft, the remaining nineteen members of the committee and the first candidate. The sections are to be chosen for these by lot.

§ 96. The candidates have advisory votes in the meetings of the committee. If members are absent, they take their places, and have deciding votes.

Meetings of the Committee, and their Business.

§ 97. The meetings of the committee are public. The audience must here, also, be silent, until the speaker, at the conclusion of the business, shall give permission to some one.

§ 98. The committee shall meet weekly, at some fixed time (if possible at the Burschen-house), to dispose of current business. In urgent cases, special meetings may be called, which shall be notified by public handbills, and to which the speaker shall summon the members.

§ 99. Every committee-man absent from a meeting, without a sufficient excuse, which shall be previously given to the speaker, either in words or in writing, and of which the committee shall judge, shall pay a fine of one reichsthaler to the treasury. Any one a quarter of an hour late shall pay eight groschen; and if half an hour, sixteen groschen.

§ 100. After a quarter of an hour, the speaker shall commence the business, and shall conduct it.

§ 101. During the meeting, the speaker must have the constitution before him.

§ 102. In voting, the speaker shall give the first vote, and shall then call upon the secretary and the rest of the members in order. He, only, has the right to interrupt the voting, and call attention to the question under discussion.

§ 103. At the end of the business, the speaker is to read over the proceedings.

§ 104. Decisions shall be by a major vote.

§ 105. In matters relating to the individual sections, the secretary shall give to the manager of the section copies of the proceedings of the board and the committee, and of all other documents relative to them.

§ 106. At meetings of the committee, the secretary is to collect the results of votes in the sections, and to enter them in a book kept for the purpose, in order to hand them over to the managing board.

The whole Burschenschaft as a Voting Body.

§ 107. The whole Burschenschaft decides upon cases to which the authority intrusted to the managing board does not extend. It possesses, also, exclusively, the law-making and ultimate judicial power; and appoints its own officers, by electing them.

§ 108 a. New laws, and alterations and repeals of old ones, are examined and discussed by it, and decided upon by voting. Such decision is, however, only valid when two thirds of the number of votes are in its favor, such two thirds to be a majority of the whole number of voters. For instance, if there are 300 members entitled to vote, if all these vote, 200 are necessary to adopt the law; but, if a less number vote, then two thirds of their votes are requisite to adopt the law; but a majority of all the voters, that is, in this case not less than 151, is necessary.

§ 108 b. In other cases, where no law is to be determined upon, the Burschenschaft decides by a majority of those actually voting; but two thirds of all the voters must vote in all cases except those in which a majority of all capable of voting is concerned.

§ 109. In every case where the managing board and the committee differ, the decision is left to the Burschenschaft.

§ 110. Any member may appeal to the Burschenschaft against any decision of the managing board which he thinks unjust, even if approved by the committee. But he must previously lay the reasons of his opinion before the board and committee, in writing; and can not bring the matter before the Burschenschaft until such reasons are rejected. All complaints for violation of duty by the managing board or committee, either by one of them against the other, or by individual members, are also to be brought before the Burschenschaft.

§ 111. The managing board must lay all important letters before the Burschenschaft before sending them. If one voice is given against them, upon inquiry, the Burschenschaft must decide on sending them by a vote.

§ 112. All other cases, not including the introduction of a new law nor the repeal of an old one, whose decision does not belong to the managing board, or which the latter, though authorized to act on them, considers of sufficient importance to be decided by the Burschenschaft, must also be brought before that body and decided by it.

§ 113. All special taxes must be consented to by the Burschenschaft.

§ 114. The Burschenschaft must also authorize the institution of special festivities.

§ 115. Election of managing board and committee, as well as of all important officers appointed temporarily, must be made by the Burschenschaft. Those not present lose their votes; and for such elections no fixed number of voters can be set. The accounts of such special officers are also to be submitted to the Burschenschaft.

§ 116. The Burschenschaft may act either through assemblies of its separate sections, or through general assemblies.

Sections of the Burschenschaft.

§ 117. The whole Burschenschaft is to be divided into twenty-one sections, which are to consult and vote upon propositions to be laid before the whole body for decision. It should here be remarked, that in such decision, it is not the votes of the sections, but those of the individual members which are counted.

§ 118. The managing board constitutes one of these sections, and the other twenty are to be formed from the other members of the Burschenschaft, as follows:

§ 119. At the beginning of each half-year, four managers, to be designated by the board, shall divide the members into four groups, according to their standing; of Candidates, Old Burschen, Young Burschen, Foxes. Each of these four groups they are to divide, by lot, into twenty sections; so that an equal number of each standing shall be in each.

§ 120. If new members are admitted into the Burschenschaft during the year, they shall be, in like manner, apportioned to the sections by the secretary of the committee.

§ 121. Each of these twenty sections shall, by lot, select a committee-man as manager, who shall preside over its meetings, and maintain order and quiet therein.

§ 122. Each section shall select, from among its own number, a secretary, who shall have charge of the business-book at meetings, shall record votes, read over the proceedings at the close of each meeting, and subscribe them, after the speaker.

§ 123. In the absence of the speaker, the secretary shall take his place, the papers to be delivered to him by the former.

§ 124. The speaker must have the constitution before him during the sessions, in order to refer to them in doubtful cases, and especially in order to assist individuals in the knowledge of it.

§ 125. The meetings of the sections shall be held as often as is necessary. The manager shall call together the members of it by public handbills.

§ 126. Any one absent without having presented to the manager a sufficient excuse, to be judged of by him, shall pay a fine of eight groschen; and any one a quarter of an hour or more late, shall pay four groschen.

§ 127. No meeting shall be valid where there are not present two thirds of the members of the section.

§ 128. At the first meeting of the section, the portion of the constitution relative to it must be read.

Meetings of the whole Burschenschaft.

§ 129. The meetings of the Burschenschaft are for the following purposes:

1. To inform it, through its representatives, of whatever occurrences are of importance to it.
2. To submit motions to it, respecting laws or other matters.
3. To bring complaints for violations of duty by the managing board or committee.
4. To make appointments and offer complaints.
5. To hold consultations.
6. To vote upon proper matters.
7. To elect officers.
8. To choose new members.

§ 130. The secretaries of the managing board and committee must read, in these meetings, the proceedings of those bodies, and the papers connected with them.

§ 131. The first meeting in the half-year must be held within a fortnight after the conclusion of the lectures. The choice of officers must be made at this and a subsequent meeting. At the first regular meeting after this, the sections relating to meetings and to taxes must be read.

§ 132. A meeting must be held, usually, every fourteen days, and special ones in urgent cases.

§ 133. The call to these meetings is to be by a public notice on the bulletin-board. Every member must, therefore, examine the bulletin-board daily, for notices respecting the Burschenschaft. These notices must, however, be put up before 9 A.M.

§ 134. Any one not attending at the time indicated by the call must pay a fine of eight groschen. Excuses must be laid before the speaker of the section, who is to judge of their sufficiency.

§ 135. In meetings, the members sit by sections, which are to be numbered by the manager, who will mark delinquents. The managing board will sit in sight of the assembly, and the committee one side of it.

§ 136. Every one will sit in the meeting with uncovered head. Smoking, and bringing in of dogs are strictly forbidden; as are, also, all conversation, and expressions of approbation or displeasure.

§ 137. For the sake of good order, it is necessary that all should remain at the meeting until the close of it. Only urgent excuses, to be given to the speaker, can form an exception.

§ 138. At the end of a quarter of an hour, after the speaker has called to order, the meeting shall be opened with a song.

§ 139. Quiet and order must be observed in the meetings. The speaker, and the managers with him, are to maintain the same.

§ 140. The speaker is to direct the order of business. At the beginning of the meeting, he is to announce the purpose of it.

§ 141. Every one is entitled to express his sentiments in the meeting, being only holden to do so in a manner respectful to the assembly.

§ 142. Any one desiring to speak must stand before the meeting, and turn toward it; and when he has spoken, return to his place.

§ 143. No one may interrupt another, and the speaker must reprove any one doing so.

§ 144. It is the right and duty of the speaker to end the discussion of a subject when he considers enough has been said upon it. But he can not forbid any one complained of from setting forth his grounds of justification, even if he considers it inexpedient, and that the subject has been sufficiently discussed.

§ 145. The speaker shall close the meeting after inquiring twice whether any one desires to speak.

§ 146. The time of the meeting shall not be unreasonably prolonged. Two, or at most, three hours shall be the rule. Urgent cases may justify exceptions.

§ 147. All persons being bound to observe a proper respect for the meeting, all insults between individuals are forbidden. Any person insulted shall bring the offense to the notice of the speaker, who shall inquire of the offender whether he intended an insult; and, if such was the case, he shall cause him to retract it, and shall administer to him a public reprimand. The same rule shall be observed in case of personalities in the meetings of the managing board or of the committee, or between the manager, as such, and the audience. And the same rules hold good in the sections.

Course of Business.

§ 148. The proceedings in all matters relating to the Burschenschaft shall be as rapid as possible, as only in that manner can active life be maintained in the Society. The following rules, as to details, shall be observed:

§ 149. All matters in which the committee must concur with the managing board shall be laid before the former in the business-book of the latter. If the committee concurs, the decision takes effect, unless an appeal is lodged to the Burschenschaft within three days after its announcement.

§ 150. If the committee does not concur, the matter is referred back to the board in the business-book of the committee. The board can then either accept the amendment of the committee, when the decision takes effect, or can adhere to its decision as first made, in which case the matter will be submitted to the next assembly of the whole Burschenschaft.

§ 151. In decisions to be made by the whole Burschenschaft, the following shall be the mode of proceeding:

§ 152 a. First, in motions for new laws or the repeal of old ones. These may be made either by individuals or by the managing board. In the former case, the motion must be laid before the managing board in writing. The board shall pass it, together with its own opinion, over to the committee, which shall also express an opinion upon it. At the next meeting of the Burschenschaft the speaker shall give notice of the decision. The secretary of the committee shall also, in this meeting, cause the section managers to enter, in their section-record, the motion, with the opinions of the board and the committee.

§ 152 b. No motion respecting a law can be laid before the whole Society, which is not put into a clear and legal form for voting on.

§ 153. The managers of the sections shall now lay the motion before their sections for consultation. These consultations, being a preparation for the general consultation, must be completed between the meeting of the Burschenschaft at which the subject was introduced and the next one. The motion will then be brought before the latter.

§ 154. The motion shall be voted upon in the sections. This voting must be finished before the next meeting of the committee, the time of which is to be announced by the speaker of the committee, in the proper general meeting. At such meeting of the committee, the secretary, to whom all the section managers must hand in their business-books, shall enter the result of the vote in a book kept for that purpose, which he shall pass over to the managing board. The secretary of the managing board shall then enter the new law, or the repeal or alteration of the old, in the constitution, and to lay it before the next general meeting, from which time it goes into effect.

§ 155. All matters coming before the Burschenschaft on appeal, whether by disagreement of the committee and managing board, or on the part of individuals, shall, in like manner, be announced in the general meeting and voted on in the sections. In these cases the voting may be without discussion; but otherwise the same proceedings are had as in the case of new laws. The result of the vote is announced, at the next general meeting, by the managing board. What is decided by the Burschenschaft takes effect from its announcement by the managing board.

§ 156. The same proceedings are to be had in all matters which, although not respecting laws, still come before the Burschenschaft for decision through the managing board.

§ 157. If one voice is given, at the call of the speaker, against the sending of letters laid before the Burschenschaft, the question shall be discussed, and decided by vote.

§ 158. A decision, by vote, in the general meeting, may be had upon all subjects not admitting of delay.

§ 159. Elections shall be conducted as follows:

§ 160. In the first meeting of the half-year, the speaker of the past half-year, or another of the managers, shall announce that a new election is to be held, and shall remind the members of the duty of choosing according to their best knowledge and convictions. Ballots, printed for the purpose, shall then be distributed to the voters, upon which they shall write, with a clear description, the names of their candidates, without subscribing their own names: that is, twelve for the managing board and twenty-eight for the committee.

§ 161. On a day immediately following, the Burschenschaft shall convene again. The letters of the alphabet shall then be distributed to fifty members, one letter to two. The speaker, to whom shall be joined a committee-man, for assistance, shall read the votes. The fifty members shall, upon their word of honor, observe strictly, how often the names beginning with their letters occur. The votes shall then be counted, and the result announced. The three out of those chosen for the manag-

ing board who shall have the fewest votes shall be the candidates; and in like manner the seven of those chosen for the committee. Votes to choose those members of the managing board who are actually chosen to the committee, shall be counted for them for the latter place.

To avoid irregularities, any one may have the ballots preserved for reference to the time of the announcement, at the next meeting of the Burschenschaft, and may inform of any such irregularities.

§ 162. In case of an equal number of votes for several candidates, the lot shall decide among them; and the same in all other elections.

§ 163. The same mode of election shall be followed in filling vacancies in the board and the committee, and at special elections.

§ 164. In all cases where delay may be injurious to the Burschenschaft, the managing board, alone, shall make the decision; but is answerable to the Burschenschaft for it.

§ 165. During vacations, there shall be formed, from any managers and committee-men remaining, a body, to consist of at least five members, and which, if managers and committee-men can not be found, shall complete its number from any members of the Burschenschaft remaining in Jena. In important cases, this body may call meetings of such members of the Burschenschaft as remain in Jena. But any decision by such meeting is provisory only, and becomes binding only by vote of the Burschenschaft.

§ 166. In all matters for the decision of which those not members of the Burschenschaft are to be called on to act together with it, the business shall be introduced by the Burschenschaft before those not members take part in it. The meetings of Burschen are to be conducted under the same forms as those of the Burschenschaft.

§ 167. When any decision has been lawfully made, it is the duty of the managing board to enforce the fullest and most punctual obedience to it.

Entrance into and Departure from the Burschenschaft.

Acceptance and Entrance.

§ 168. Every student at this place may present himself for admission into the Burschenschaft.

§ 169. The candidate must possess the following qualifications:

a. He must be a German: that is, he must speak German, and acknowledge himself a German by nation.

b. He must be a Christian.

c. He must be honorable: that is, there must be no disgrace attaching to him, either as a citizen or as a Bursch.

d. He must belong to no association whose laws or purpose conflict with those of the Burschenschaft.

e. He must have been a Bursch for at least a quarter of a year.

§ 170. Burschen wishing to enter the Burschenschaft are to apply to the secretary of the managing board, who shall record their surname and given name, place of birth, university where and time during which they studied.

§ 171. The secretary shall read the names of such candidates at the meeting of the Burschenschaft, and shall post them up at the Burschen-house. These steps are to enable any persons having objections to such candidates as are deficient in any of the above requisites, to state them to the managing board.

§ 172 a. If no such objection is made within fourteen days, the constitution shall be read to the candidates, by the secretary; and if, upon inquiry, they continue in their desire to enter the Burschenschaft (silence to be taken as an affirmative), they shall be admitted at the next meeting of the Burschenschaft.

§ 172 b. If any objection is alleged to the admission of a new member, and any

disgraceful matter alleged, the Burschenschaft shall decide, by vote, upon his admission.

§ 173. The proceedings at admission shall be as follows:

After an address by the speaker, to the candidates, who shall be seated before the assembly, the secretary shall read to them, slowly and distinctly, the form of admission; and if they shall answer "Yes" to the questions therein, they shall give their word of honor to the speaker to observe the conditions of the same.

§ 174. The form of admission is as follows:

"You stand before this honorable assembly to take the joyful vow which shall admit you into our midst. I, as secretary, ask you, N. N., in the name of the Jena Burschenschaft, solemnly and publicly:

"Do you recognize the sentiment and spirit which belong to the provisions of our constitution? Do you recognize the sentiment and spirit which animate our fundamental principles, and give them power and form? Do you acknowledge yourself a German by nationality; and do you acknowledge that, without a German life—without a profound sympathy in the weal and woe of our fatherland—our Burschenschaft can not exist for its purposes? Do you declare that, in the fundamental principles of the Jena Burschenschaft you find your own principles; that you will, within and without that society, with your body and life, defend the principles and life of the Burschenschaft; and that as with the Burschenschaft, so with the German people, you will stand or fall? Then give your word of honor to the speaker."

§ 175. By giving their word of honor, the candidates become members of the Burschenschaft, and are, from that time forward, to be treated as such; and are at once to be apportioned, by the secretary of the committee, to the sections.

Dismission from the Burschenschaft.

§ 176. A member of the Burschenschaft ceases to be such:

a. By being dismissed by the Burschenschaft.

b. By himself seeking a dismission.

c. By ceasing to be a student.

§ 177. A member desirous to leave the Burschenschaft must make written application, with his reasons, to the managing board.

§ 178. The request having been granted by the managing board and the committee, and having been signified to him, he ceases to be a member.

§ 179. Any one a member of the Burschenschaft at leaving the university, remains an honorary member of it, unless himself renouncing membership, or afterward excluded for dishonorable conduct.

§ 180 a. Honorary members have all the privileges of actual members, so far as they can be enjoyed by one not a student: namely, the right of taking part in the meetings of the Burschenschaft, and of casting deliberative votes; of participating in all the festivities of the Burschenschaft, &c.; also, the right of hospitality, and other aid from the Burschenschaft, so far as they can give it. He must, however, also undertake all the responsibilities which the enjoyment of those rights implies.

§ 180 b. All those leaving Jena as members of the Burschenschaft shall be solemnly dismissed at the last meeting of the Burschenschaft. The details of the occasion shall be arranged by the managing board.

Relations of Individual Members to the Burschenschaft and to each other.

Rights and Duties.

Relation to the Burschenschaft.

§ 181. It is the duty of every member to watch over the honor and reputation of the Burschenschaft as over his own honor; and everywhere, as much as in him lies, to promote its unity and prosperity.

§ 182. Full and punctual obedience to all the laws is a fundamental principle of the Burschenschaft; for that body can only exist as a whole, and accomplish its purposes, by strict order.

§ 183. Every member unconditionally recognizes the decisions of the Burschenschaft as binding laws, whether they were opposed by debate and vote or not.

§ 184. Every one must quietly submit to whatever punishment may be inflicted upon him according to law.

§ 185. Every member must, so far as time and circumstances permit him, assist in every thing directed by the Burschenschaft as a whole.

§ 186. Every member is bound to assume every office to which he is elected, and all its rights and duties. If there are reasons not permitting him to perform the duties of the office, he must lay the evidence thereof before the managing board for examination; but during the examination he must perform the duties of the place, since his election renders this necessary.

§ 187. Every member must obey the officers of the Burschenschaft so long as they do not exceed their authority.

§ 188. Especially strict obedience is due to the decisions of the managing board and of the committee, unless an appeal is to be legally brought to the Burschenschaft.

§ 189. If any officer has exceeded his authority, and thereby done injustice to any one, information must be given to the managing board.

§ 190. Every member is bound to inform the managing board of any gross violation of the constitution or code of customs; and no performance of this duty can subject him to the charge of tale-telling.

§ 191. All members are bound not to mention publicly, that is, in the presence of Philister, any matters whose publicity might be dangerous to the Burschenschaft; for, though that body is by no means a secret society, it can not proceed entirely without some operations not public.

§ 192. Every member has, in all circumstances, the fullest right to the most powerful and active assistance from the Burschenschaft which it can afford.

Relations of the Members to each other.

§ 193. The relations of the members to each other are altogether equal; and no appearance of gradation of rank can, at any time, be allowed.

§ 194. All difference of birth is put entirely out of the account; and every member is holden to consider the rest as his brothers, seeking a common object with him.

§ 195. In order to mark the closeness of their bond of unity and brotherhood, all the members shall use, to each other, the pronoun "thou."

§ 196. For this reason every member is bound, in duels, to obtain a second and a witness from the Burschenschaft.

§ 197. The only difference to be recognized among members of the Burschenschaft is that which greater or less experience naturally occasions. Accordingly, the members do not possess deciding votes in the Burschenschaft until the second half-year of their life as students.

§ 198. No member can be chosen manager until the third half-year of his student-life, nor committee-man until the second.

§ 199. But these distinctions shall not occasion any younger member to be reckoned inferior to an older; for it is only individual excellence, not years' standing, which can be alleged in favor of members.

VIOLATION OF LAWS.—PUNISHMENTS.

§ 200. The Burschenschaft shall punish in its capacity as:

1. Upholder of the code of customs; inasmuch as it visits with a penalty every

infraction of the code, and declares the loss of honor or "disgrace" (*verruf*), pronounced by the code, to be incurred by students guilty of dishonorable practices.

§ 201. 2. An association; in which capacity it must protect itself against violations of its laws by members, and must, for that purpose exercise its judicial authority over them.

§ 202. Punishments for violations of the laws of the Burschenschaft are either fines or loss of honor.

§ 203. Fines are inflicted for unpunctuality at meetings and at the fencing-room. Details are given in their appropriate places.

§ 204 a. All fines must be paid before the first of the following month. Any one then unable to pay must fix a term of payment, upon his word of honor, which must not be more than four weeks.

§ 204 b. Every manager of a section, or of the fencing-room, is bound to collect all fines due, and is holden for them if he neglects to do so; and he must hand them over, monthly, to the treasurer.

§ 205. Punishments by loss of honor are as follows:

1. Admonition, by the speaker, for neglect of duty.

2. Reproof and censure in proportion to the fault.

a. Before the managing board, privately.

b. Before the same, publicly.

c. Before the meeting of the Burschenschaft.

§ 206. The speaker shall administer all reproofs, after they are approved by the managing board; and in the terms which he uses to characterize the fault he must use no insulting expressions; for a judicial officer can not be supposed to intend insult.

§ 207. 3. Expulsion from the Burschenschaft may take place when the conduct of a member has rendered him unworthy to remain such: that is,

a. When a member has incurred the penalty of disgrace;

b. Or when he has committed a transgression for which disgrace is not the proper punishment.

§ 208. 4. Disgrace is incurred by any member asserting any thing disrespectful to the Burschenschaft; either by insulting the whole Society, or the managing board and committee, or by opposing himself to the decisions of the Burschenschaft.

§ 209. All these punishments are either

1. Prescribed by law for fixed cases of misconduct; in which case the managing board inflicts them as prescribed; and in cases where it does not recognize an exculpation as sufficient, an appeal, as hereinbefore provided, may be brought to the Burschenschaft.

§ 210. Or,

2. No fixed cases are prescribed for their infliction. In such case the managing board, with the approval of the committee, inflicts admonition or reproof; against which an appeal lies to the Burschenschaft.

§ 211. The whole Burschenschaft must decide, by major vote, upon the expulsion of any member, at the instance of the managing board, in cases where the laws do not expressly prescribe that penalty.

Finances.—Treasury.

§ 212. The managing board has control of the finances.

§ 213. The sources of income of the treasury are three:

a. Half-yearly taxes.

b. Special assessments.

c. Fines accruing.

§ 214. The following are the regulations for levying taxes:

§ 215. Every member must pay one and a half per cent. of his income, whose amount he must state, on his word of honor, at his entrance into the Burschen-

schaft; but those having an annual income of less than a hundred thalers are free from all regular taxes. But all free tables and stipends must be included in the stated amount of yearly income.

§ 216. For the sake of good order, the fixed taxes must be paid half-yearly, in advance; and the last day of May for the summer term, and the last of December for the winter term, are fixed as the terms at or before which every member must pay. But as it may happen that members may be unable to pay at that time, the treasurer may fix a further term, not to exceed six weeks after the above, at which such members must give their word of honor to pay.

§ 217. Any one not paying at the fixed time, and not appointing any term of extension, shall be expelled from the Burschenschaft.

§ 218. At payment, every member shall receive a voucher from the treasurer.

§ 219. In order that no blameworthy carelessness may subject any member to the penalty of disgrace for a breach of his word of honor, this law relating to taxes shall be read in the first regular Burschen meeting of each half-year, and the speaker shall, at such time, remind the assembly of the obligations of the word of honor.

§ 220. Special taxes, when necessary, shall be laid by the managing board, and assented to by the Burschenschaft. These taxes must be paid by every member, even by those having less than a hundred thalers income. Such taxes, when small shall fall equally upon all members; but, if of importance, shall be apportioned according to income. The latest term allowed for their payment shall be fixed, on the word of honor, at fourteen days after consent by the Burschenschaft; but for taxes falling heavily on individuals, they may be permitted a further respite.

Fencing and other Exercises.

Fencing-room.

§ 221. The Burschenschaft shall have a fencing-room for its own use.

§ 222. Every member of the Burschenschaft is bound to attend at the room four times a week, on fixed days, and at fixed hours. Exceptions can only be made in favor of those in their last half-year, or those whose circumstances make it impossible, of which proof must be laid before the managing board.

§ 223. Every member has the right to require fencing practice; and every one who can fence is bound to do so.

§ 224. Every member must keep his fencing apparatus in good order, that there may be no intermission in the practicing.

§ 225. Any one injuring the fencing apparatus of another, is bound to have it, at once, put in good order again, and the possessor is not thereby to lie under the accusation even of the shadow of selfishness.

§ 226. All instruction from any third party is forbidden; and only the master shall instruct the scholars.

§ 227. At the designated hours, managers shall have charge of the fencing-room, shall keep it in order, make out lists of delinquents, and collect fines.

§ 228. Further details shall be left to the managing board, who shall determine them half-yearly, in the fencing regulations.

Gymnastics.

§ 229. The gymnasium is under the protection of the Burschenschaft. All further details and arrangements shall be made by those exercising, with reference to the exercises.

§ 230. A manager shall always sit in the council for gymnastics.

§ 231. The regulations for exercising shall be laid, by the gymnastic council, before the managing board and committee for approval. If this is withheld, they must be changed, unless the gymnastic council choose to proceed entirely without connection with the Burschenschaft. The maintenance of the regulations approved by that body, is guaranteed by it.

§ 232. In winter, the swinging exercises shall be practiced in the fencing-rooms, at hours when they will not interfere with the fencing.

BURSCHEN-HOUSE.

§ 233. As a common Burschen-house is a principal means of closer union, harmony, and social intercourse, it is incumbent upon every member to frequent it as much as possible.

§ 234. It is the duty of the managing board to provide such a one, and to fit it up properly for the accommodation of the students.

§ 235. All festivities relative to the Burschenschaft shall be held in the Burschen-house, if there is room sufficient.

§ 236. All public meetings of the managing board, committee, and Burschenschaft shall be, if possible, held at the Burschen-house.

§ 237. Above all things, a retiring-room must be provided at the Burschen-house, and kept in good order.

§ 238. That the Burschen-house may, at all times, be in good reputation, every member pledges himself, upon his word of honor, to the regular payment of the landlord.

PUBLIC FESTIVITIES.

§ 239. Public festivities by students are either:

a. By the Burschenschaft, and therefore general; or,

b. By individuals; in which case the details of arrangements, as far as not repugnant to the Burschenschaft, are entirely left to the undertakers.

§ 240. The Burschenschaft shall arrange commerces, festive processions, funerals, &c.

§ 241. Regular commerces shall be, a Fox commerce, at the beginning of each half-year; a commerce at the change in the protectorate, and a farewell commerce at the end of the half-year. The manager of the Burschen-house may, in connection with the board, arrange as many smaller commerces as he chooses.

§ 242. Further details relative to the commerces shall be contained in the commerce regulations, which the manager shall give out half-yearly.

§ 243. Great and general festivals shall be celebrated as follows:

On the 18th of June, in memory of the founding of our Burschenschaft and of the battle of Belle Alliance; also as a memorial festival of all the fraternity of Burschenschaften; and the 18th of October, by this Burschenschaft, unless celebrated by the general meeting of all the Burschenschafts, in memory of the battle of Leipzig, and of the first union of all the German Burschen in the General German Burschenschaft.

§ 244. The Burschenschaft must order other special festivities.

§ 245. The details of such festivals shall be left to the managing board, with consent of the committee, as shall the designation of the officers of them. Managers and committeemen have a prior right to be appointed such officers.

§ 246. Every member is bound to take part in all the festivities of the Burschenschaft, as far as possible, and to observe the regulations made for order on such occasions.

VI. ANSWERS OF THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES TO THE JENA BURSCHENSCHAFT.

BERLIN, August 25, 1817.

GREETING:—

Dear Brothers:—We will willingly contribute, according to our ability, to the festival of October 18. Many of our number have already departed; but we shall send some deputies to the Wartburg, and shall inform all the students here, in order that any one who desires it may be present. A song will be sent as soon as possible. And so adieu.

ERLANGEN, August 23, 1817.

GREETING:—

Dear Friends:—On the 19th of August we received your most welcome invitation to the Wartburg. In regard to this festival of October 18th, we are profoundly delighted that the wish which we entertained, even before it occurred to you, is already fulfilled. We think it altogether good and judicious to have chosen the 18th of October instead of the 31st, for the time when the German Burschen from most of the German Universities are to learn to know and love each other; and the order of exercises, also, seems to us judiciously arranged, as not only providing for our own enjoyment, as Burschen, but as not neglecting the worship of God, whose blessing is the first requisite to all that is good. Your friendly invitation is right welcome to us, and several of us will have the greatest pleasure in accepting it; we only hope most earnestly that a similar one has been sent to all the Burschen of our country, in order that perhaps a larger number from among us may clearly demonstrate and comprehend the great and glorious movements now in progress on German land, and among German Burschen; of which we can certainly afford no sufficient representation.

If any one shall be found among us able to furnish a song for the festival, we will send it to you as early as possible.

In pleasure at the coming gathering.

GIESSEN, September 3, 1817.

Friends and Brothers:—Your friendly invitation to the celebration of the jubilee of the Reformation was welcome to us; and we count much upon this united festival to promote the uniting together of the various German Universities.

According to the plan proposed, all of our number who will take part in the festival, will be in Eisenach on the 17th of October.

We all find the arrangements for the festival appropriate and good; and certainly no one can fail to be impressed with its liberal and magnanimous spirit. But you will, without doubt, agree with us, that at this celebration in remembrance of so noble a deed of a free spirit, any powerfully spoken word for our fatherland and union in it, must do good. To this end we are of opinion that no one who feels himself impelled thereto, should be prevented, either by previous arrangements or any other means, from delivering his views in a public address. There will be sufficient time, after the close of the festivities to which you have invited us, which can not be better occupied.

Whether any song will be received from us, we can not inform you in advance, as it depends on certain individuals, who will care for the seasonable sending of it to you.

GÖTTINGEN, August 22, 1817.

In relation to the friendly invitation to a general festival of Burschen, on the 18th of October, at the Wartburg, we are very much pleased with it; and believe it will be universally recognized as very expedient for the Burschen of the various German Universities, an opportunity being given, to become acquainted with each other. For this purpose we shall send a number of representatives, and as many other Burschen will be present as shall be able. To that end we shall seek to make this, our resolution, known, as far as possible, to the remaining Burschen.

HEIDELBERG, September 6, 1817.

GREETING, AND A GERMAN GRASP OF THE HAND:—

Dear Friends and Brothers:—We have been so much occupied with various matters as to be unable to return an earlier answer to your welcome letter. Do not, therefore, be vexed at this somewhat late answer, as it was rendered necessary by external circumstances; and receive the assurance of our truest love and solicitude

for your welfare. May heaven bless our united endeavors to form one people, filled with paternal and brotherly virtues, and whose love and harmony may make up for mutual weaknesses and faults. We reciprocate your German goodness of heart with like feelings, and hope that by means of those who shall follow our example, this divine union will be destroyed by no dissension.

The invitation to Eisenach, for October 18th, has exceedingly pleased us. This appropriate and lofty festival, the birthday of faith and of freedom, will be the day of the foundation of love for us. It is unfortunate that so many of our much-beloved brethren have departed in various directions; some home, and some to other universities. This will deprive us of many ornaments, and you of the pleasure of knowing them. But, of those who remain, a part will come without fail; who are delighted, in advance, with this glorious festival, and with the personal brotherhood of those of congenial minds.

In case any songs should be composed by us, we will forward them to you.

LEIPZIG, August 30, 1817.

FRIENDLY GREETING:—

Dear Brothers:—You here receive the required answer to your friendly letter of the 11th of this month, in which you advise us of your intention to celebrate, in a festive manner, the jubilee of the Reformation, in connection with the festival of the battle of Leipzig, on the 18th of October, at the Wartburg, near Eisenach, and invite us, in a friendly manner, to this celebration. The worthy celebration of a time in many respects so memorable and inspiring to every German, and the proposed festive assembly therefor, of so many German Burschen, has our entire approbation, and we thankfully accept your invitation. Only, we are grieved that we can not answer it as numerously as we should have wished, because the 18th of October comes in our vacation, when nearly all of our students have left Leipzig, most of them having gone home, perhaps to the furthest province of Saxony. We have, therefore, in a general assembly of 22d August, determined, "to send a deputation of from four to six Burschen to Eisenach on the 18th of October of this year, in the name of the Leipzig Burschen, to take part in the gathering of the Burschen of all the German Universities, who are to assemble there to celebrate the jubilee of the Reformation and the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig."

Our deputies, and the other Leipzig students who are to take part in the celebration will, agreeably to your wish, be in Eisenach on the 17th of October. We will also provide that a song appropriate to the day shall be composed and sent in good season.

Hoping that we have thus satisfied your wishes, we bid you farewell.

MARBURG, September 2, 1817.

TO ALL OUR BROTHERS AND FRIENDS AT JENA, A FRIENDLY GREETING:—

Even before we received your invitation, several of our Burschen had determined to celebrate the 18th of October, the day of so many new institutions, at the memorable Wartburg. For this reason we have, with the more pleasure, accepted your invitation, and have determined, in any case, to send some deputies (whom, however, the favorable opinion of such a Burschen festival will cause to be attended by several companions), to this gathering of the German Burschen. We hope that the spirit of German patriotism and freedom will prevail, and, treading down all party spirit, will insure us a prosperous issue.

We wish you all good fortune.

ROSTOCK, September 2, 1817.

SCHMOLLIS, GENTLEMEN:—

We have received your friendly letter of August 11th, and hasten to send you our answer.

VI. "DR. BAHRDT WITH THE IRON FOREHEAD; OR, THE GERMAN UNION AGAINST ZIMMERMANN."

(From the Universal German Library, vol. 112, part 1, p. 213, &c.)

"Of the work itself we shall say nothing. All Germany is agreed that it was a shameful blemish upon German literature, and surpassed every thing that could be imagined for contemptibleness and malignant defamation. The most completely shameful and entirely unpardonable invention of all, was placing the name of Herr Von Knigge upon the title-page of this lampoon as its author. Any one capable of permitting himself this base contrivance must have destroyed all his own appreciation of honesty. Not only to print the most outrageous calumnies, the most vulgar insults, but to publish the name of an innocent man as author! This was going very far!"

"The work "*Bahrdt with the Iron Forehead*," excited, everywhere, the greatest displeasure. So much susceptibility to honor and honesty was left in Germany, that such a vulgar attack upon respectable people, must, of necessity, be everywhere abhorred. This composition was, moreover, of such an atrocious nature that curiosity was excited as to where it could have originated. Still, the author would, perhaps, not have become known, and this vile production would have sunk still sooner into the profound oblivion where all such contemptible and vulgar writings soon sink, had not a remarkable judicial investigation (by the Hanoverian Chancery of Justice), been set on foot to discover the author.*

"This commission, little by little, found out that the lampoon was printed at Graiz, in Voigtland. This, of course, led to tracing the person from whom the publisher received the manuscript. At this point Von Kotzebue, to conceal himself, had recourse to a means of protection which no man could have permitted himself to use, unless he had already issued so shameful a lampoon upon so many reputable persons. That is, he undertook to help himself out with a threefold false testimony. Counselor Schultz, of Mietau, having been in Weimar at the same time with Von Kotzebue, at the request of the latter, engaged the engraving of the vignette, which was, in itself, good enough, with the copperplate engraver Lips, and caused his secretary to transcribe the MS. He gives his word that he received it, and returned it, together with the copy, unread; a statement which the circumstances render probable. A traveler accidentally saw a copy of the engraving in the possession of Herr Lips, and this gentleman, who was wholly innocent in the matter, and who knew nothing of the purpose of the vignette, mentioned, incidentally, by whom it had been put into his hands. This came to the knowledge of Kotzebue, who feared a judicial summons to Mietau, which he afterward did, in fact, receive. He therefore wrote in great trouble, to Herr Councilor Schultz, requesting him, if he should be called upon to testify, not to tell the truth, but to state that he had received his commission from Herr Gauger, a bookseller in Dorpat. He added the assurance that he would furnish him an ante-dated letter from this Herr Gauger, in which the affair should be put into his hands accordingly, and this letter he was to lay before the court as testimony. This, therefore, constituted a double false witness. But not content with this, he prevailed upon a man in Reval (by means best known to himself), by the name of Schlegel, to state that he was the author of "*Bahrdt with the Iron Forehead*," and to authenticate this falsehood to be the truth by declaring it before an imperial notary public. This false explanation is printed in No. 14 of the work, and has appended the act of the imperial notary before whom Schlegel declared this falsehood true."

* This was caused by the Hanoverian Klockenbring, who had been vilely attacked in the work. This writer, "who had been a deserving servant to the Hanoverian government, and a useful author, was so much affected by the attack as to fall into a dangerous mental condition. 'Woe to the author,' says the writer in the *Universal German Library*, 'who has upon his conscience such consequences from his writings.'"

"But the affair did not take the turn which Von Kotzebue intended. In spite of the notarial instrument no one was deceived, for a moment, into thinking Schlegel the author of the pasquinade. It was, indeed, stated in the Jena *Gazette of Literature* (Schlegel had studied at Jena), that he was not capable of producing the work. Councilor Schultz had also already indignantly refused the request that he would bear false witness. To prove his intention, he sent the original letter, in which Von Kotzebue had asked him to be guilty of this crime, to a friend, and related, in a letter to him, the true course of the affair from the beginning. He requested this friend to permit any person to whom these letters could be interesting, to read them.

"But Kotzebue found that all these base expedients would not avail him, and he finally decided, on the 24th of December, 1791, to declare, publicly, in the newspapers, that he was the author of the scandalous production."

VII. Substance of the Tubingen "Statutes for the Formation of a Students' Committee."*

"These statutes recognize order, quiet, and good morals, as properly required of the students, especially by means of voluntary co-operation on their own part, and in particular on the part of such of their number as have the confidence of all. The substantial part of them is as follows:

"The committee consists of fifteen members, chosen freely from the whole body of students. Its duties are, to communicate the wishes of the students to the academical authorities, and to consult with them as to the practicability and mode of accomplishing them. In case of any injury to any student, as such, they are to apply to the authorities for assistance. If the disciplinary authorities have occasion to give warnings to the students, it reports them to the committee, that it also may give a warning. In case of severer punishments, also, the fact is to be communicated to the committee, that they may state any grounds of mitigation. A later ordinance, of December 21, provides that, on occasions of investigations, where punishment is to be inflicted, the committee of students is to be advised, not of the first information received, but of the result of the investigation; that it may allege any matters in mitigation.

"The committee is also entitled to lay before the university authorities any proposals from the acceptance of which it may anticipate improved results from the university course. It is under the protection of the university authorities in the performance of its duties, and any injuries to a member of it are to be punished with double severity.

"Every member of the committee binds himself to set a good example of obedience of the laws, and to labor to promote the improvement of his associates in morals and honor. The committee is bound to assist in repairing breaches of the public peace; and in the absence of the authorities, to uphold, to the best of its ability, the means used to restore order. It is to use its power to compose enmities between students, and, as far as possible, to oppose every attempt of one student to insult another, or unlawfully to vindicate himself. Every member is also bound to warn his fellow-students against any association of a secret character, or avoiding publicity, and to use his influence to prevent any of them from joining with any such association. If any evident disturbers of peace among the students make their appearance, or persons whose actions render them unworthy the name of students, the committee is bound, after trying the virtue of admonitions, to inform the academical authorities of them."

* Klupfel, p. 318.

187

V. JAMES McGILL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF McGILL COLLEGE, MONTREAL.

BY J. W. DAWSON, LL. D.

In the British American colonies there have been few founders of educational institutions. This may have arisen in part from the rarity of ample fortunes, in part perhaps from the tendency of amassers of wealth in colonies to regard the land of their paternity rather than that of their adoption as their country, but more than all from the incessant demands which the material progress of new countries makes on the capital of their inhabitants. The gentleman whose name stands at the head of this article, has hitherto been the most eminent exception to this general statement, and deserves, on that account, honorable mention among American founders. But great though the benefits are, which he has conferred upon his country, his life was one of those which, in their quiet and uneventful tenor, afford few materials for biography; and I can but present on this subject a very few facts and dates, for some of which I am indebted to a valuable series of articles on the colleges of Canada, now in course of publication by the Hon. Dr. Chauveau, in the "*Lower Canada Journal of Education.*"

James McGill was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 6th October, 1744, and received his early training and education in that country. Like many of his countrymen, he emigrated, when a young man, to the new world, in search of fortune. He settled in Montreal, and engaged successfully in mercantile pursuits. In 1776 he married a lady of French parentage, the widow of a Canadian gentleman, and whose father had held some of the highest positions in the colony. His long residence in Montreal, his integrity, public spirit, and practical good sense, gained for him the confidence of his fellow-citizens. He was elected the representative of Montreal in the provincial legislature, and was subsequently appointed a member of the legislative and executive councils. In the war of 1812 he acted as a colonel and brigadier-general of militia. His contemporaries describe him as a man of large and liberal heart, social and public spirited in disposition, of moderate ability, but of sound practical judgment, and extensive information. He died in Montreal, on the 19th December, 1813, at the age of sixty-nine years.

Not having any children, he had determined to devote a large portion

1813, at the age of sixty-nine years.

Not having any children, he had determined to devote a large portion

James McGill

FOUNDER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF McGILL COLLEGE MONTREAL C.E.

From the Portrait in the Conversazione Room of the University.

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OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

of his fortune to some object of benevolence connected with his adopted country; and in his last will, made two years before his decease, he set apart his beautifully-situated estate of Burnside, on the slope of the Montreal mountain, with a sum of £10,000, for the foundation of a university, one of the colleges of which was to be named the McGill College. The management of the endowment was to be confided to a public board, then recently established by act of Parliament and named the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, the function of which was the management of all schools and institutions of royal foundation, and of estates or property devoted to educational uses, and the establishment of free schools throughout the province. Mr. McGill's bequest was to take effect on condition that there should be erected, within ten years, on the estate of Burnside, "a university or college for the purposes of education and the advancement of learning in this province, with a competent number of professors and teachers to render such establishment effectual and useful for the purposes intended.". In the interim the property was left in the hands of trustees, who were the Hon. James Richards, James Reid, Esq., Rev. John Strachan, and James Dunlop, Esq.

Unfortunately, the relatives of Mr. McGill's widow were induced to dispute the validity of the will, and a protracted litigation ensued, which was not terminated till 1835; though in 1829 the landed property had been surrendered, and in the same year the college was formally organized under a royal charter which had been obtained in 1821, in anticipation of the issue of the dispute respecting the endowment. The board of royal institution had been constituted in 1818. Under the charter, the governor of Lower Canada, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, the bishop of Quebec, the chief justice of Montreal, the chief justice of Upper Canada, and the principal, were ex-officio governors of the college, and were to elect its officers, and in conjunction with the fellows to constitute the corporation of the university, for the framing of its statutes and general management of its affairs. The royal institution was to retain a visitorial authority.

Under this constitution, the college entered on its existence with much apparent vigor and promise of success. The opening ceremony was held in Burnside House, the former residence of the founder, and was largely attended. The inaugural addresses of the principal and other officers, were characterized by a broad and liberal spirit and practical good sense, which augured well for the success of the infant institution. The faculty of arts, as organized on this occasion, consisted of the principal and two professors; and on the day of the inauguration an important addition was made to the university, by

the union with it of the Montreal Medical Institute, as its faculty of medicine. This institution had already four professors and an established reputation. Dr. Holmes, now the dean of the faculty of medicine, was one of these professors, and is the only officer of that date who remains in connection with the university.

As might have been anticipated, from the fortunes of similar efforts elsewhere, the prospects of the young university were soon overcast, and it had to struggle through a long period of difficulty and danger. Mr. McGill had given his endowment under the expectation that, in accordance with the provisions of an act passed several years before his decease, and in the preparation of which he no doubt had a part, large grants of public land would have been placed at the disposal of the royal institution to supplement his bequest, as well as to provide for the general interests of education. This, however, the legislature failed to do, and for a long time the McGill endowment constituted the only source of revenue to the university. Nor has this failure been fully remedied up to the present time. While the legislatures of the neighboring provinces of Upper Canada and New Brunswick have, without any aid from private benefactors, bestowed large permanent endowments on provincial universities, Lower Canada has allowed the McGill College to struggle on unaided save by precarious annual grants, burthened with a large number of government scholarships; and even these grants have, in great part, been given only within the last few years, when the increasing importance of the institution forced its claims on the government. Probably in no other part of America would a benefaction so munificent have been so little appreciated; and the reason is to be found, not in any indifference to education, but in the numerical weakness of the British and Protestant population of the province, for whom the university was chiefly designed; and in those divisions of race and creed which have hitherto operated as barriers to vigorous and united action in behalf of education in Lower Canada. Left to its own resources, the governing body found it necessary to expend a large portion of the available means of the university in buildings, and were unable at that early period to obtain from the landed property any considerable amount of annual income. The charter also had many defects, and was altogether too cumbrous for the management of an infant institution in a colony. These disadvantages, and the errors of judgment, and differences of opinion, inevitable in a new educational experiment in untried circumstances, long rendered the efforts of the royal institution and the board of governors of little avail; and for more than twenty years the university lingered on with little real growth; though, during a part of this period, it was attended by what, for the time,

might be regarded as a respectable number of students in arts; and the medical faculty continued to maintain its reputation, and to increase its classes.

For a long time the languishing condition of the university was a subject of deep regret and uneasiness to the friends of education in Montreal, many of whom were earnestly desirous for its revival, and fully impressed with the importance of the public benefits which might result from an efficient college; but there appeared to be no practicable means of elevating it, under the existing charter and with its want of a sufficient revenue.

At length, in 1850, a number of gentlemen, resident in Montreal, determined to grapple with these difficulties. The character and result of their efforts may be learned from the following statements by Hon. Justice Day, LL. D., one of their number, and now president of the board of governors, in an address to His Excellency Sir Edmund W. Head, on occasion of his presiding as visitor at the inauguration of Burnside Hall.

The utterly prostrate condition of the university at length attracted attention, and, in 1850, the provincial government was moved by a number of public spirited gentlemen to aid in an endeavor to place it on a better footing. As a strong antagonism had always existed between the royal institution and the majority of the governors of the college upon subjects essentially affecting its conduct and prosperity, it was deemed advisable, as a first step, to reconstruct the board of the former corporation. New appointments were therefore made to the royal institution, of persons selected on the score of their interest in the cause of education. Of these, several entered upon the duties of their office with zeal and energy. They drew up an elaborate report on the condition of the university, and the course which they thought should be followed for its amelioration, and their recommendations were made the basis of all that has since been done. A draft of a new charter was prepared, which was finally adopted, and executed by Her Majesty in 1852; and thus the college, by its improved constitution, was placed in a position to be revived, and to enter upon a new and useful career. The new charter was received in August, 1852; its most prominent and important provision is that by which the members of the royal institution are made governors *ex-officio* of the university. This provision, vesting the whole power and control of the two corporations in the same hands, removes all possibility of the recurrence of the difficulties which prevailed under the old system. Before the arrival of the charter in this province, a full board of managers of the royal institution, ten in number, had been constituted. Immediately upon its reception, the governors began the labors of their trust. There was a great deal to undo, and much to build up. The college was involved in great pecuniary embarrassment, chiefly from the accumulation of arrears of the salaries of its officers; and its income fell far short of its current expenditure. The college buildings were incomplete; and, from their situation and construction, so ill-adapted for their intended purposes that it became at once evident that a new building must be erected. As to its character and usefulness in the business of instruction, it had none. In so far, then, as the state of the university was concerned, the prospect was sufficiently discouraging; but the governors possessed certain extrinsic advantages, which justified a hope of success. The provincial government was favorably disposed to aid them in their undertaking; and there seemed to be abroad a general feeling of approbation of the choice made of the persons to constitute the board, and of confidence in their earnest endeavor to discharge the duties of their trust efficiently. The first step taken was, at once to stop all useless expense. The only salary continued was one of small amount to the vice-principal, which was necessary, in order to prevent the college doors from being closed. A law was obtained modifying

the statute of 1801, under which the royal institution was erected, and introducing a more simple and convenient machinery for the exercise of its powers; and authority was also taken to sell such portions of the real estate bequeathed by Mr. MacGill as the governors might deem advisable, for a perpetual ground rent, with permission to mortgage the college property in security for a loan to the amount of £3,000. Under the sanction of this law, sales have been effected of a sufficient extent of the college lands to yield, when added to the former income, a revenue of £900. Application was also made to the legislature for pecuniary aid, and the sum of £1,300 pounds was granted: £1,000 to be applied toward the payment of the debts of the college, and £300 to meet its annual outlay. This sum, although far below what was necessary to place the institution in the position which the governors wished, was nevertheless of great assistance in diminishing its liabilities nearly one-half. It also enabled them to make arrangements for avoiding immediate pressure, and gave an opportunity to begin the work of providing an efficient and liberal course of instruction. With a view to that end, the statutes of the university were completely recast, in a manner to introduce a more simple administration, and absolutely to do away with all religious tests and privileges.

In the year 1854, an urgent appeal was made to the provincial government, setting forth at length strong grounds of claim for liberal pecuniary assistance. The memorial then presented shewed that the university could not be organized and maintained upon any proper footing of efficiency unless a grant of at least £4,000 were made toward the reduction of its debts, and £1,000 given annually, to aid in defraying its current expenditure. In the following year the application was renewed. The result was partially successful. It is due to the head of the government and gentlemen who composed the provincial ministry at that time, to say that a friendly interest was manifested by them in our efforts, and every disposition shewn to extend to us all the aid which circumstances permitted them to bestow. The sums received were, however, very much less than those specified, and they were inadequate to the necessities of the institution, and the importance and magnitude of the objects to be accomplished. The governors continued nevertheless to advance in the course originally determined upon, of modifying and enlarging the system of education in the university, and they have gone on, until it has attained a completeness for which three years ago they scarcely dared to hope.

As reorganized, under its amended charter, the university rests on the broad basis of British protestantism, without sectarianism; and endeavors to embrace within itself all the elements of a collegiate and professional education, on the methods of the British universities, but modified with especial reference to the condition and requirements of the people of Canada.

The college proper consists of the faculties of law, medicine, and arts; and, in connection with the latter, are special courses of engineering, agriculture, and commerce; the students in which, in addition to the more practical subjects of study, are required to take such classes in the ordinary course as are appropriate to their future pursuits. The faculty of law has at present five professors, the faculty of medicine nine, and the faculty of arts eleven. In the faculty of law, the course is arranged, in accordance with the requirements of the profession in Lower Canada, under the following subjects:—Public and criminal law, commercial law, civil law, jurisprudence, and legal bibliography, customary law, and law of real estate. The course extends over three years, and entitles to the degree of B. C. L. In the faculty of medicine, the course of study extends over four

years, and includes all the ordinary studies of a medical education, with chemistry, zoölogy, and botany. It entitles to the degree of M. D. In the faculty of arts, in addition to the ordinary classical and mathematical studies, the subjects of mental and moral philosophy, physical and natural science, and the modern languages, have been liberally provided for. The course extends over four years, and entitles to the degree of B. A.

The high school department, added to the university on its reorganization in 1852, is an important auxiliary, as a preparatory institution and as an English and mathematical school of high grade for those who do not desire to enter the college. Its staff consists of a rector and five assistant teachers, beside instructors in French, German, music, and drawing. Examinations are annually held for the pupils of this and other schools, and certificates granted to successful candidates.

The McGill Normal School is affiliated to the university under the joint control of the superintendent of education and the corporation of the university. It has four professors, beside teachers in drawing and music, and teachers in the model schools. It gives a course of study of one year, entitling to an elementary school diploma, and of two years, entitling to a model school diploma. It is intended for both sexes, and especially for the English and Protestant population of the province.

The number of students and pupils in all the faculties and departments in the present session (1858–9) is as follows:—

Faculty of arts,	46
Faculty of law,	31
Faculty of medicine,	97
Total of college students,	174
High school,	247
Teachers in training, normal school,	83
Pupils in model schools,	300
Total,	804

Under the provisions in its statutes for the affiliation of theological seminaries and colleges, the university has at present but one affiliated college, that of St. Francis, Richmond, a young but flourishing institution, intended more especially to minister to the educational wants of the eastern townships of Lower Canada.

In the management of the university, the governor-general of British America represents the crown as visitor. The business management is vested in a board of ten governors, appointed by the provincial government. In the properly educational affairs of the university, the governors have associated with them the principal, the

deans of the faculties, the rector of the high school, the principals of affiliated colleges, and the fellows, of whom three are appointed by the convocation of graduates, and five others may be appointed from the body of graduates by the governors; the whole constituting the corporation of the university. Under the statutes and the regulations of the corporation, the principal has the general supervision of the university; each faculty being subject to the immediate management of its own dean, acting under regulations prepared by the faculty and sanctioned by the corporation. The power of granting degrees resides in the corporation; which, however, must have regard to the representations of the faculties in each particular case.

In the matter of buildings, the university is almost destitute of a local habitation. The original college buildings, pleasantly situated on the slope of the Montreal mountain, but still in an unfinished state, are used as residences for professors and students. The grounds surrounding them have recently been planted and laid out in walks; and it is hoped that in a few years it may be possible to complete the original plan, and transfer the class-rooms of the faculty of arts to these buildings. In the mean time, the faculty of arts and the high school department are accommodated in Burnside Hall, a plain but capacious brick building, provided with all the modern appliances for work and comfort, and placed for greater convenience on that part of the college property nearest to the center of the city. Burnside Hall was destroyed by fire in 1856, but has been rebuilt on the same site, and with many improvements. In this building are the library and apparatus of the faculty of arts, and the collection in natural history, which consists of a series of typical specimens intended for class-room use; a large collection of foreign and Canadian mineralogy, purchased by the university from Dr. Holmes; a collection of Canadian fossils, presented by Sir W. E. Logan; the herbarium of Dr. Holmes, presented by him to the university; a collection of Canadian insects, by Mr. Couper, of Toronto; and the principal's collections in geology and paleontology. The facilities for instruction in natural history have recently been greatly increased by the removal of the collections of the natural history society of Montreal to a new building on the college property; a building lot having been given by the university, on condition of access for educational purposes to the museum. By this arrangement an important benefit is rendered to a society which has done more than any other for the promotion of natural history in Canada, while its extensive collections are rendered useful to students.

The revenues of the university are principally derived from the property bequeathed by Mr. McGill; and, though still insufficient, are con-

stantly increasing. The government of Canada, as already stated, have never adequately acknowledged the importance of the McGill endowment, or the efforts of the college authorities; but the citizens of Montreal have, within the last few years, nobly emulated the liberality of the founder, by contributing, by voluntary subscription, an endowment fund of sixty thousand dollars, of which twenty thousand dollars were given by the Messrs. Molson, to endow a chair of English literature.

It appears, from the above statement of the history of the university, that its present prosperity dates from its reorganization under its new charter in 1852. The contrast between that time and the present is sufficiently striking. In 1851, the committee of the royal institution reported that the buildings were unfinished and threatening to fall into decay; the grounds were uninclosed and used as a common. The classes in arts contained only six students. Even the students in medicine, owing to the establishment of a rival school, had fallen off to thirty-six. Only one course of law had been delivered in connection with the university. It had no preparatory school. Its total income was estimated at £540 per annum, while the expenditure, even with the small staff then employed, amounted to £792. There was consequently a large and increasing debt. The medical faculty was self-supporting, and maintained a high reputation. The faculty of arts was sustained solely by the exertions of the vice-principal.

In 1859, the university presents a different picture. Its original buildings are still unfinished, but are kept in use and in repair, and others more suitable to the present wants of the university have been added. Its grounds are inclosed and improved. Its faculties are fully organized and largely attended by students. It has a flourishing preparatory school, and affiliated normal and model schools. Its revenues from property and fees of tuition have been increased more than tenfold. A library, apparatus, and collections in natural history have been accumulated. It has a staff of thirty-two professors and regular teachers, and eight hundred persons derive benefit from its teaching. This great expansion has been achieved in seven years, by the ability and energy of the governing body, and by the liberality of the citizens of Montreal, sparingly assisted by public grants; but the university must still be regarded as but in its infancy, and as destined, under the blessing of Providence, to attain to still greater usefulness and importance.

I have avoided dwelling on the early history of the university in detail. Its struggles and its failures are profitable now only for the lessons that they teach. But in this point of view they are not unimportant. The questions then agitated respecting the religious char-

acter of the university—the best method for its establishment, whether by commencing with a preparatory school or by organizing a collegiate faculty or faculties as an initial step—the policy of erecting expensive and imposing buildings, or of waiting until the staff of the college should be efficiently organized—the proper form and constitution of the governing body—were all of vast importance, and all of such a character, that gentlemen interested in education, and regarding the subject from different points of view, might be expected, previous to experience, to answer them differently. They were here, as in most similar cases, slowly and painfully worked out by long discussion; and the present position of the university owes much of its stability to the fact that the ground has been prepared by this long conflict of opinion.

With respect to its religious aspect and its form of government, it is remarkable that this university has, as the result of these controversies and experiences, arrived at a position not precisely identical with that of any similar institution in British America. Two of our universities, that of Toronto, and that of King's College, New Brunswick, are altogether national in their character. The others are all connected with special ecclesiastical bodies. MacGill College occupies an intermediate position. Under the control of no particular church, and perfectly open in the offer of its benefits to all, it is recognized as an institution concentrating the support of all the Protestant denominations, and representing their common views as to the nature of the higher education. I confess that on many grounds I prefer this basis, both to those that are narrower and those that are wider. It is exempt from the contracting influence and limitation of field incident to the former, and from the opposing opinions and interests that are so liable to clash in the latter; and it is especially suited to the present condition of society in Lower Canada, where the Protestant minority is united on this subject by being imbedded in a Roman Catholic population, which provides for its own educational wants on its own principles.

The form of government of this university is another result of long trial of an imperfect system. The management of its financial affairs by a resident body of educated and business men, who have associated with them, in the more purely educational business, representatives of all the faculties and departments and affiliated institutions and also of the body of graduates, affords a stable and efficient ruling body, exempt on the one hand from the deficiency of business talent often so conspicuous when merely collegemen rule, and from the injudicious despotism sometimes practiced by public boards, when freed from college influence. No better system could be devised, in

the present circumstances of the university, for avoiding the evils of a double jurisdiction, and for securing vigorous and harmonious action.

But of all that has grown out of the early struggles of McGill College, its broad character as a university, in the fullest sense of the term, is the most important point. No question can now arise as to whether it should strike deep its roots into society by preparatory schools. The success of its high school and its normal and model schools, gives sufficient practical proof of the value of these departments of its work. No question can arise as to whether it should extend its field of operations into the preparation of young men for special professional pursuits. It has already done this more extensively than any other university in British America, and with large and manifest benefit both to society and to its own interests. Nor, on the other hand, can it any longer be maintained that scholastic and professional studies alone are required in Canada. The increasing number of undergraduates in arts shows that classical, mathematical, and philosophical culture are more and more desired, as preparatory to professional and public life.

We have ceased to inquire which of these several things should be done, and have learned that we can do all better than we could do any one alone. Without its course in arts, as at present organized, the institution could not fulfill its functions as a university. Without its schools and professional faculties and special courses, it could not give those kinds of education most urgently required, and could not maintain a prosperous and progressive character. Such conclusions, it is true, do not depend on experience in Canada alone. They rest on the nature of man, and on the structure of society. They have approved themselves to the ablest thinkers on educational subjects on both sides of the Atlantic; and they stand forth as the true mean between that extreme and narrow view which would make the higher education merely industrial, and that equally extreme and narrow view which would make it purely literary and abstract. That there are difficulties attending our position in these respects it would be useless to deny. These chiefly concern the faculty of arts. They result from the prevalent disinclination to devote the necessary time to a course of college study, and from the necessity on the one hand of maintaining a high standard of classical and mathematical attainments, and on the other of giving that broad, scientific, and literary culture now absolutely required in every educated man. In surmounting these difficulties, the following means are those chiefly relied on. First.—Offering every practicable facility to young persons desirous of passing through the course in arts along with professional studies. Secondly.—The influence of a good preparatory school in

furnishing students well-grounded in elements. Thirdly.—A judicious combination of tutorial training with professorial lectures, according to the nature of the subject studied, and the age and qualifications of the students. Fourthly.—Insisting on a regular and systematic course of study in the first and second years, and permitting options and honor studies freely in the third and fourth years. The details of the arrangements bearing on these points it would be impossible to introduce here; but I beg leave to quote, in conclusion, and in illustration of the general educational policy of the university, a few paragraphs from an address delivered to its patrons and students, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Burnside Hall:—

On this subject I may explain, in the first place, that this institution is not merely a college, but a university; and a university, not merely in the sense of an institution having the power of conferring degrees, or even in that of a combination of colleges, all having the same range of studies, but in that higher sense which regards the university as the *universitas literarum*—an institution not only giving a general collegiate education, but opening up the way to the practical cultivation of the sciences and scientific arts. This character was impressed on this institution by the energetic development of the medical and law faculties and high school department, at a time when the faculty of arts was almost dormant; and it has been followed up in the spirit rather of the German than of the English universities, and in so far with results which promise to establish its suitableness to the state of society in this country, by the sure test of extended usefulness and success. With us it can not be a question whether the classics and mathematics should begin and end our course of study. The real question is, whether this narrow platform is as much superior in its results in scholastic training as it is confessedly inferior in breadth of adaptation to the exigences of human life; whether, in short, we shall lose in depth more than that which we gain in width. This is assuredly a grave question, and it presents itself in several aspects.

In the first place, it may be asked, is there not danger that the collegiate course may degenerate into the mere communication of varied information, without that training which is the special work of the educator. I answer, that we obviate this tendency by the division of labor in such a manner that any one instructing officer shall have only those branches to which he has most fully devoted himself. In this way only can we secure that zeal and enthusiasm which make the true teacher, and in this way we can also secure an individual attention to the progress of students, as well as mere lecturing. A distinction is, however, sometimes made here which should not be admitted to its full extent. It is quite true that information and training are not identical; but it is equally true—and this is the really practical point—that the good teacher must always train while he informs, and inform while he trains. It is further true that those studies which commend themselves to the mind of the student as of the greatest interest and value, have the strongest effect in training his powers; and, however useful or interesting the subject, a knowledge of it can be communicated with advantage only when the faculties of the student are drawn forth and exercised upon it. Every study should be made a means of training, and the studies employed should be selected, not merely as being in themselves useful, but as giving an equable and general exercise to all the mental powers of the student. And it is here that a varied course of education excels one that is more limited. Exclude natural history from your course, and you leave out one of the best means of training the observing and comparing powers, and of cultivating taste, by the study of the noblest and most beautiful works of art—those of the Great Artificer of the Universe. Exclude mental science, and you shut out the student from the most exalted exercises of intellect, as well as from the sources and springs from which the streams to which you lead him are supplied. Is there not a training and forming of mind by communion with the great men of modern literature and science, as well as with those of antiquity; by studying with those who have traced the orbits of the

planets and the undulations of the light-giving ether, as well as with those who wrought out the geometrical principles which form the alphabet of such readings of nature. It would be idle to follow such comparisons further. But again it may be objected, that if our course should not thus degenerate, it will lose the power of conferring profound and accurate scholarship obtained by a more limited course, while it may not attain to the extended knowledge of literature and science at which we aim. This we endeavor to avoid by securing a high standard of matriculation, by means of our preparatory school, and by directing the earlier part of our four years' course principally to the ordinary studies, while we introduce scientific studies and optional branches more fully in the later years. If, then, we are successful in our efforts, we shall secure respectable mathematical and classical attainments in our undergraduates, along with much additional cultivation, and in the latter part of the course some studies leading directly to practical applications of learning. It must be observed, however, that on this subject, also, much misapprehension exists. It is in some cases possible, by exclusive attention to a small range of subjects, during the whole period of study, to attain to a very high proficiency in one of these; but, in attaining this, we do not give an education in the sense of a training for general usefulness and happiness. You produce a specialist, and in a majority of cases a specialist in departments to which in after life little attention may be given, the whole benefit being the training received, and this of a limited extent. The true theory of a collegiate course, on the other hand, is, that it should educate the whole man, and leave him afterward to cultivate the special fields to which taste and duty may direct him;—not educate him a specialist, and leave him afterward to obtain, as he best may, general culture and intelligence. I desire not to be misunderstood in this, as if disregarding instruction properly elementary, or depreciating classical or mathematical learning, for it is true that education must begin with steady attention to a few elements, and in most men it results in ultimate devotion to a few subjects; but, nevertheless, in that part of education which lies within the sphere of the college, it is a principal object to enlarge the field of mental vision, and give breadth of view. The early education of the school must carefully lead the pupil through those narrow and easy paths which his unpracticed feet can tread with advantage; but the college should carry him to the open mountain-brow, whence he can survey the land that lies before him, and discover at once the beginning and the end of any way that he may select for himself. Admitting, then, the full extent and importance of sound elementary training, and of those subjects of the college course which have long been valued as the means of conferring that training and maturing it into scholarship, we also maintain the necessity, not only for practical purposes, but also for the proper formation of the mental character of the student, of a broader course of study.

We shall, then, direct our students to the graces of classical literature, but we shall link these on the one hand with the treasures of that ever-beautiful and ever-changing Nature, from which the poets and orators of old drank in their inspiration, and with that modern literature which, springing from the classic stock, now waves its foliage over our heads, and feeds us with its rich and varied fruits. We shall discipline their minds to abstract thought by the study of mathematics, but we shall connect with this abstract truth its magnificent application to science and the scientific arts in our own time, and with its still more magnificent application in Nature, before man was here to reason.

It may be further asked, will the extension of the collegiate course be successful in attracting those little desirous of the higher education; and may it not rather lose the support of those who are friendly to collegiate education of a less extended character? I answer that we act in the belief that the greater part of educated and thoughtful men are with us in this principle, and that the love of higher education is growing and will grow among all classes in the community. We disclaim, however, any intention of bidding for mere popularity. We are content to collect a large body of able instructors, and to offer their services to the public. If these services are largely accepted, we shall be happy and grateful; if not, we shall mourn the loss to the public more than that to ourselves. I believe, however, that we shall be successful, and that the past history of this university, the success of scientific courses elsewhere, and the failures that have occurred in narrower systems, give us good reason to hope for that best kind of popularity which rests on extended usefulness.

VI. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF UNIVERSITIES.

[PROF. RAUMER concludes his Historical Survey of the German Universities with the following remarks, in which he refers to the Papers on Academical Subjects which constitute this article.]

The narration of our past experiences completely carries us back to time past, and so identifies us again with them, that we involuntarily write with affectionate interest of things which were so interesting to us. And although many things appear different to us in the course of time, yet we are unwilling to be too careful, and to weaken our delineation by subsequent criticisms. We may even, as Solomon admonishes, become incorrect by striving to be too much so. And it is equally improper to measure the past by the measure of the present —which was not then known nor applied—without reference to time and circumstances.

A reference to the eminent and long-continued usefulness of Schleiermacher will well illustrate this point. How many have thanked him for having first awakened them, at a time when they were sunken in a stupefying slumber under the poisonous influence of the vapors which arose from the dead sea of nationalism! And this, too, notwithstanding that subsequently a still deeper need separated them from him, to seek instruction and faith in eternal life from other preachers. Like them, I am grateful for the influence which Schleiermacher exerted upon me, although I afterward became unable to agree with his theological views.

It is not in the least my intention to defend all that I have related of myself, especially during my student life. I did not think it necessary to warn my reader, as he can become sufficiently acquainted with me, and with my views of Christianity, from this book.

My narrative ends with the year 1823, after which time I was for four years not at any university, and, accordingly, the concerns of those were out of my sight. When I was appointed at Erlangen in 1827, I found every thing very different from the north German universities, and every thing seemed to me to have changed.

The statements which follow are mostly derived from my experience during the twenty-seven years of my professorship at Erlangen. They relate chiefly to academical subjects, which have been much discussed within the last ten years, and upon which views and opinions have been very various.

I have stated my own beliefs as unequivocally, clearly, and definitely as I could, with the design of making both agreement and disagreement more easy; and not at all from any dogmatic assumption.

ESSAYS ON ACADEMICAL SUBJECTS.

I. Lectures. Dialogic Instruction.

The talented Theremin wrote on the universities in 1836. He discussed, principally, their defects and faults; and believed that many, if not most of them, would be remedied by one universal cure; namely, the disuse of the received mode of instruction, and the introduction of the dialogic form instead of the monological one of the usual lectures.

This theory indicates a pseudo-genius, who would know every thing better than others, but knows nothing well.

The defects of many lectures are plainly to be seen, and have often been attacked. Professors have been pointed out who have read the same manuscript for a series of years, or rather chanted, in a wearisome monotone, from them; and students who stolidly wrote down the matter thus delivered; and it has been asked, "What is the use of these notes since the invention of printing? If the professor's manuscript is worth so much, let him print it."

To read the same manuscript year after year would seem entirely inadmissible; and, in fact, is, as a rule. But there are exceptions which must not be overlooked; especially that where a master of style has worked up his manuscript with artistic care, to a degree of excellence as high as he can reach, and feels that any alteration must be not for the better, but for the worse. If such a speaker even adds no remarks to the written matter, the rule *vox viva docet* (it is the living voice that teaches), is still true of his mere reading. His tone, his accent, even his gestures, enliven his words, and each hearer feels that the speaker is addressing him. If the manuscript were printed, reading in silence, to one's self, could not entirely fill the place of the *viva vox*. This is a case which has happened, though very seldom; and it occupies a middle place between oral teaching and writing books.

But it is clear, at least, that the practice of repeatedly reading the same manuscript should not be unqualifiedly condemned, especially where the professor has labored continually, thoughtfully, and fruitfully in his department; and when, in consequence, his lectures, though always on the same basis of substance, are a stem which every spring puts out new leaves and blossoms.

The teacher who prepares his notes with quiet but thoughtful and careful industry, in the silence of his study, is altogether to be preferred to the pseudo-genius, who dares to enter the desk substantially

altogether unprepared, because he intends to give himself up to the inspiration of his genius. Such pretendedly inspired *improvisatori* do not, it is true, want for words, but their words are destitute of all substance—of any actual truth.

Of different character was one young man who trusted, with the utmost confidence, to the field of knowledge which lay quite at his command. He had often ridiculed the professors' notes, and proposed to have nothing but an entirely free lecture. Upon his first appearance in the lecturer's desk, he spoke, for the first quarter of an hour, with confidence, rapidity, and freedom; for the second, his delivery was, in spite of himself, moderate, slow, and hesitating; and when the third quarter commenced, he was forced to go into bankruptcy. Saying, with great mortification, "Gentlemen, my materials have escaped me," he closed.

Even a most distinguished teacher, who is completely at home with his subject, will not enter the desk entirely unprepared—without having previously prepared his lecture with care. And it is, of course, much more necessary with teachers not so accomplished, young ones especially, even if they do not prepare their lecture as carefully as if for the press, at least to write out a more or less full skeleton arrangement. They are, otherwise, in danger of embarrassment or repetition.

Lectures differ with regard to taking notes of them, especially in this: that some instructors are accustomed to use short distinct sentences of a compendious nature, which they give as themes to be expanded; while others speak in a more flowing style, leaving the hearer to seize and write down whatever he can.

To discuss the latter practice first:—It is not an easy matter to take satisfactory notes of such a lecture. All who are not sufficiently skilled in short-hand to take down every word—an accomplishment necessarily rare—must use no small intellectual exertion in an extempore condensation of what is said, and the selection, on the spot, of the most important matter. Such note-taking certainly can not be charged with being merely mechanical work; it is rather to be feared that it requires too much from the audience. It is only necessary to compare different notes of one lecture, to see what great differences there are as to capacity for doing this work. Many such notes show such a lack of it, and so much misunderstanding, as might well drive the instructor to the practice of formal dictation.

If the instructor has carefully and advisedly placed the more important portions of his lecture in precise and clear statements, which concentrate in themselves many facts and much thought, he must, naturally, desire that his hearers shall understand this, and shall, ac-

cordingly, take down these propositions accurately, in order that they may afterward be possessed of an analytic compend which will serve to recall the course of the discussion to their minds, and to enable them to reproduce it. Hearers who do not take down such statements, show faulty indifference and lack of intelligence.*

To determine the qualities of a good lecture is difficult, because different subjects require to be taught in different ways, and particularly because instructors proceed, and must proceed, according to their individual endowments, in the most various modes. How different, for instance, were the lectures of Werner, Steffens, and F. A. Wolf, though each was a master in his own style. Werner's lectures on mineralogy and geognosy were confined within the limits of experience. He spoke calmly, intelligibly, and instructively; his pupil, Steffens, on the contrary, with winged enthusiasm. Empirical facts served the latter only for the building-stones of the architectonic structure of his inner natural history of the earth. He hurried his hearers along with him; and without having the exclusive purpose of communicating to them empirical facts, he awoke in them a desire for the acquirement of them. Wolf, again, taught in a manner still very different. A thoroughly learned, acute, and enthusiastic scholar in the ancients, elements, seemingly the most repugnant, were united in him,—learning, enthusiastic love, keen criticism; and these traits, together, made his lectures, in the highest degree, at once attractive and instructive. Thus might be described many teachers, who each taught in a masterly manner, but each in a style quite peculiar to himself.

The gifts of a teacher are often measured by his acceptability to the students. Such a rule is, however, not correct; for a competent judge must be able to pass both upon the substance of a lecture, and its style and delivery. But pupils who sit at the feet of a teacher can not, generally, have any well-founded opinion as to whether he is thorough in his department, and therefore entitled to full confidence. And accordingly, it is frequently and lamentably the case, that empty, ignorant declaimers give most satisfaction, while the quiet delivery of the most profound professors is found wearisome.† This complaint, in particular, is often made of the latter, that they do not stimulate their hearers. But is it the sole fault of the teacher that his discourse does not stimulate; and are not the hearers themselves often to blame, as lacking in

* A compendium might fill the place of this dictation; and would, indeed, gradually proceed from it. To read from a compendium prepared by another, must usually be, to an independent instructor, who has other purposes than to do a mere "forwarding business," no less irksome than to wear another man's coat, which does not fit.

† Eloquence must contain something agreeable, and something real; but what is agreeable must be real.—*Pascal.*

intellect and receptivity?* F. A. Wolf says, in academical discourses, that he requires of the professor to teach the truth, and this not in the manner of an actor, but in a style adapted to his subject and his audience. Then, addressing the students, he adds: "Of you it is required that you have your ears open to the lectures."†

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For, if an oral address makes a much more profound impression upon an audience than mere quiet reading, he, on the other hand, who merely writes books for a public entirely unknown to him, fails entirely of that inspiriting influence which comes to the speaker from a circle of dear and attentive hearers. How great this is, is indicated by a remark of F. A. Wolf, who says, "I have long been accustomed to the pleasant stimulus which comes from the development, eye to eye, of my thoughts before an attentive audience, and from the vivid reaction which is so easily felt from it by the teacher; and this awakens an inspiriting voice within me, every day and every hour, which is as quickly silenced by the seat before the empty wall and the insensible paper."

To return from this digression—I would refer particularly to lectures in some real studies, in which the teachers must require the students to have not only their ears, but their eyes open. How great a defect often exists in this particular, I have already observed in the chapter on instruction in natural science. Many are far more attracted by quite unreal words, by chatter about things, than by the things themselves. Suppose a picture, by Raphael, to hang on one wall, and some declaimer to stand opposite, who delivers, in poetical prose, a high-flown oration upon the picture—would not most of any audience turn their backs to the picture and give their whole attention to the declaimer? So entirely is it the practice to learn by words only, and to make no use of the eyes.

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It is sufficiently evident, when the number of the audience is great, that the latter is impossible; that Savigny could not have used it on the pandects, with his audience of three hundred, or Neander, on church history, with the hundreds of his; aside from the fact that it is a method not adapted to these studies.

But it is equally certain that the mode by lectures will not instruct in empirical mineralogy, botany, zoology, &c., where distinct bodily vision is requisite; or, at least, where the pupil must receive practical instruction at the same time, as in the case of applied chemistry. Many other real studies are in the same category, which have, even now, long been taught only in private seminaries and courses of lessons, as the catalogues show. Such are the studies which such private seminaries, for exegesis, homiletics, catechetics, dogmatic history, and philosophy, offer to teach. Students in these escape from the passivity which is necessary at a lecture. The teacher deals with them, not as one man, but directs himself to each one; and every one, whether orally or in writing, must give active co-operation, and apply and learn to use his faculties, under the direction of the teacher.

This clearly presents the contrast between instruction by lectures and by dialogue.

But suppose the case that where a study—as mineralogy—absolutely requires the dialogic method, the audience is so numerous as to make it quite impossible for the teacher to direct his attention to each individual, and to instruct him alone, what is to be done? I know no better plan than, where possible, to subdivide the number, and instruct each section separately. It is more profitable, where forty persons attend a course of six lessons, to instruct each half of them during three lessons, than to instruct them all together during six.*

But how frequently are mineralogy and other studies taught from the chair to hundreds! It is, at the same time, admitted that, without examining the stones themselves, the completest descriptions of them are altogether useless, and that those who have not seen the stones themselves, can not represent them in their minds. This defect it has been sought to remedy by sufficiently awkward means. One exhibits his specimens from the desk only, even to his most distant hearers; although even the nearest can get no satisfactory idea of them. Nor is any fixed idea of them obtained by another method, of passing the specimens before the painfully staring eyes of the students, in cases, on a table, like a shadow on the wall. By these means the pupils receive only words; and do not become acquainted with the things

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II. Examinations.

F. A. Wolf, in an academical address, opposed the Greek mode of teaching, by dialogue, and advocated the method by lectures. In order that the students might, to some extent, enjoy the advantages of the ancient method, there should be, he said, examinations and disputations; and he added, "Do not be afraid of these terms; such exercises will be of great service to you."

Where Wolf, sixty years ago, told the students not to be afraid, it would now almost be necessary to say it to the professors, if they were about to advocate Wolf's views on examinations, in order that they might not be discouraged by the numerous opponents of all examinations whatever.

We will adhere, in what relates to academical laws, to the principle that no law which is made with reference to the bad shall stand in the way of the good.

Many claim that this is the case with all examinations established by law; and that they should, therefore, all be discontinued.

But should this be so in all cases? Are there not occasions when examinations are quite indispensable? We reply, yes: there are such cases. Examinations of stipendiaries may be an example. The founders of charities for the support of such persons usually require strictly that their funds shall be given only to students, industrious, and of unblemished character. The professors are to decide whether they are of unblemished character, and industrious. But how can they judge of the diligence of their hearers, especially when the latter are numerous; and when, besides, as is frequently the case, they are so near-sighted that they cannot recognize the students, except those who sit nearest the desk?

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Mere corporeal presence does not decide the question. A certain professor observed that one of his pupils was invariably present; but also observed, very plainly, that he always occupied himself in reading one book, which its uniform indicated to have come from a circulating library.

A Prussian ministerial circular, of 13th January, 1835, requires that instructors, in giving certificates, should act with the strictest care and conscientiousness; and recommends them to be observant of their hearers, "in order that they may be enabled to say, with certainty, whether individuals have attended their lectures diligently or not." And, it adds, "it will be well for all those whom the number of their hearers, or their near-sightedness, prevents from sufficiently close observation of all, to intrust to some older and proper student from among them, the business of a beadle or assistant, for the maintenance of punctual attendance."* So it is not to be the professors, but their assistants, who are to give the certificates; and what sort of students would submit to that sort of management? Another circular, of 29th June, 1827, recommends to imitate one instructor who, "in order to judge better of the diligence of his hearers, sent round, at unexpected times during his lectures, a list, which those students present were to sign."† I have known this experiment to be tried; but those present were accustomed to enter their absent friends; so that once, the name of an absent one was inadvertently entered twice, by two of his friends. In another list were entered such names as Plato, Aristotle, &c.

Such modes of ascertaining the diligence of hearers seeming inadmissible and unsuitable, the question recurs, How shall the professors arrive at a reliable judgment upon that diligence; and particularly on the point supposed, namely, their merits in reference to stipendiary allowances?

The answer is,—Unless they would declare themselves quite improper persons to give certificates to stipendiaries, they must, themselves, examine them. Only such professors are excepted as use a dialogic mode of teaching; for they have no need of making a special examination of their hearers, since they examine them daily in teaching them, and thus gain a thorough acquaintance with them. The benefit, however, of subjecting these students to an examination, consists in this: that their grade can be certified to, not merely by the instructor whose lectures they have attended, but by all professors assisting at the examination.‡

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That idle students, with evil consciences, should object to the examinations for stipends, is natural, and does not trouble us. We attach more weight to the views of their better fellows. These, as they have often informed me, are quite satisfied with the plan. They readily see that, in competing with ignorant companions for these stipends, they have a material advantage in the examination, which enables them to prove themselves worthy of preference.

I wish it were not to be said, that "those who decide in the matter of these stipends make little inquiry about academical testimonials; the motives which decide their selection are quite different." Although this charge may be true of many, it certainly is not universally so. I, myself, have known one excellent man, who had an important influence in deciding the appropriation of many stipends by cities, and who was exceedingly conscientious therein. He complained bitterly, to me, that so little reliance could be placed on many of the academical testimonials, in forming his decision.*

This charge of disregard to such testimonials must be entirely withdrawn. Others must answer for their own actions in reference to the matter of such stipendiaries, and we professors for our own; and we must act according to the best of our knowledge and belief, without regard to consequences. We are especially bound to appropriate such support, as far as we can, to the better class of students. It must, naturally, pain us to see immoral and idle students wasting the stipends which our pious predecessors intended for useful purposes, while the most industrious ones are destitute of means of support, and can, with difficulty, get through their studies. But how distressing must it be, when we have to accuse ourselves of having been, by careless and unconscientiously given testimonials, the cause of such miserable injustice!

What has thus been said of the examination of stipendiaries, applies to all cases where conscientious academical testimonials are required;

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sciences, say, that for a certificate for a member of the seminary, "no special examination is necessary, inasmuch as the attendance, itself, at the seminary, is a constant examination." (Koch, ii. p. 629.)

* A student applied to me for a certificate with reference to a stipend, without having been previously examined, pretending that he had obtained such from others without a previous examination. But on being made to stand an examination in mathematical geography, it appeared that he knew nothing at all about Copernicus. Suppose I had given him, on his assurance, a good testimonial, and he had handed it in, with his application, to the collator, and the latter should question him on the same subject, what must he think of me, on discovering his excessive ignorance? Undoubtedly that I gave testimonials most unconscientiously, and that I was not to be relied on. In giving every such testimonial, we should ask ourselves whether we could certify to the same after an expert had examined the applicant. We may err, it is true, in our examination of such students; but such error is human, excusable, and no blemish on our official honor.

and of the absolute necessity of those examinations there ought scarcely to be a doubt among honest men.

As to other examinations, where this necessity is not so evident, opinions differ.

Although, as has been said, the better class of students are in favor of the stipendiary examinations, they consider themselves somewhat annoyed by other ones. Yet they allow that they are, by means of them, obliged to a useful review of the lectures. Young medical students, who must, at their examination for practice, stand an examination in mineralogy, have confessed to me that it was only the expectation of this examination which kept them from giving up the lectures, even during the first weeks of the course. In the progress and at the close of it, however, they found that in mineralogy, as in all studies, the commencement may probably be difficult, and even wearisome, to beginners who have no knowledge of what they are to learn.* Their perseverance, however, they said, was rewarded, for they ultimately became interested in the study, finding great pleasure, especially in the mathematical beauty of the crystals. From that period they pursued their study without any reference to the coming examination.

Thus the examinations have a good influence, even on the better class of students, who might seem to have no need whatever of such a stimulus; it is admitted that the less industrious, and the idle, need such exterior incitements. With regard to these, it is only to be inquired whether the examinations actually cause industry, and whether it is an industry of the right kind.

Laws, it is true, can not make men industrious; but this is no reason why we should become anarchists. If idle persons are constrained to labor, it may, in time, become agreeable to them; but without constraint they will neglect it entirely.

Still, objections are made against all academical examinations, of every kind.

1. F. A. Wolf said, "They study ill who study for examinations; well, who study for themselves, and for life." When our objectors cite this remark, they should also consider that Wolf also said, that examinations will "be of valuable service" to the students. The former observation was evidently aimed at those low-minded students who, without any love of learning, busy themselves with it only so far as is absolutely necessary in order to pass a decent examination.

What well-intentioned student would, in that sense, "study for ex-

* Let any one remember the beginning of his studies in language; his learning by rote of *mensa* and *amo*.

aminations?" But he might, however, be influenced in respect to his studies, by a judiciously ordered future examination, thus far: that, by a proper selection and limitation of subjects for examination, they would direct him to an appropriate choice of studies. An expectation of a future examination would also be needful to lead him to a preparatory self-examination as to what he knows with certainty, and what not; in order that, by means of the self-knowledge thus acquired, he may endeavor to fill up deficiencies in his knowledge, and elucidate what is obscure.

Capable examiners will also, in most cases, easily distinguish between candidates who have labored with genuine love of learning, and have made their studies actually their own, have intellectually assimilated them, and such as have merely hung themselves about with all manner of materials; have laid in matter in the vestibule of their memory, to be displayed on occasion of the examination, and afterward thrown contemptuously away.

Nor can we partake in the apprehension that an illiberal character will be impressed on all the students by the examinations. A nature which is illiberal and vulgar will remain so, examined or not; and one which is liberal and noble can not be demoralized or vulgarized by all the examinations in the world.

2. A second charge against the examinations, related to the former, seems to touch the honor of the students. Examinations, it is said, are for schools,—for boys, who are unable to control themselves, and require the guidance and stimulus of teachers. Students are emancipated from such control; to examine them is to treat them like school-boys. Such a pretense pertains especially to students who are glad to shelter their idleness under the noble patronage of freedom and honor.

It seems to be forgotten that examinations are used before the period of student-life, and after it too: namely, the state examinations. Why should examinations be dishonorable to students, as putting them in the place of boys, and be no dishonor to candidates for public offices? It is also overlooked, that school examinations are shaped, both as to form and subjects, according to the character of the school, and academical ones according to that of the university; and also that the term examination includes two very different ideas. No university examiner will treat the students like gymnasiasts; yet he may justly require that their attainments shall not be at, or under, the level of those of the gymnasium; so that he may have to ask some questions such as would be prominent, however, only at a school examination.

It may, perhaps, be imagined, that since I thus defend the examinations, and seek to refute so many objections to them, I am blind

against the many faults and evils connected with them. This is far from the case; I have, during my professorship of more than forty years, had abundant opportunity to become acquainted with those faults and evils. Let us turn our attention to them.

1. While many persons are lately opposing all examinations of any kind, others can not have enough of them; and would, by their means, oblige all students to the most industrious labor. At Mainz the students are examined every week. At this place, even, the same students were, heretofore, examined every half-year, in two examinations near together,—one for their general progress, and one for stipendiary allowances. It is evident how superfluous, and even harmful, such a practice must be.

2. It is an evil, especially in the larger universities, that the number of candidates is very great, so that the time which can be devoted to each must be made very brief. How can it be possible, ask many, to discover in ten minutes whether a candidate is well acquainted with a study or not? But this, though certainly an evil, is not so great a one as it might, at first sight, appear.

Suppose a candidate is to be examined in three departments, and that an average of eight minutes is employed on each, he will be examined twenty-four minutes in all. Any one who observes the examination attentively, and observes particularly the character of the candidate's answers, and how he deals with difficult questions, can form an opinion, very soon, on his capacity and mode of study. The examiner can, moreover, abridge the proceeding, by selecting questions which, without requiring too much from the candidate, shall yet be real *experimenta crucis*, and such that scarcely any further ones need be put to one who answers them clearly and correctly.*

But the evil arising from a large number of candidates may chiefly be remedied by this: that all who have been instructed in the dialogic method, in seminaries or otherwise, being as well understood as if already examined, need very little further examination, or none at all, as has already been observed in relation to stipendiary examinations.

3. It is charged that a large share of the examiners lack the requisite skill in examining. Some, it is said, are not satisfied with any answer which is not given precisely according to their own preconcep-

* In an examination on mathematical geography, the most ignorant candidate can easily learn by rote how many zones there are, and what are their limits; but an answer to the question, How must I travel, so that during a whole year, the sun shall pass my zenith every noon? could, with difficulty, be learned by rote, but would have to be prepared on the spot, from knowledge already acquired.

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We will adhere, in what relates to academical laws, to the principle that no law which is made with reference to the bad shall stand in the way of the good.

Many claim that this is the case with all examinations established by law; and that they should, therefore, all be discontinued.

But should this be so in all cases? Are there not occasions when examinations are quite indispensable? We reply, yes: there are such cases. Examinations of stipendiaries may be an example. The founders of charities for the support of such persons usually require strictly that their funds shall be given only to students, industrious, and of unblemished character. The professors are to decide whether they are of unblemished character, and industrious. But how can they judge of the diligence of their hearers, especially when the latter are numerous; and when, besides, as is frequently the case, they are so near-sighted that they cannot recognize the students, except those who sit nearest the desk?

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* It must be remembered here, that Wolf, partly through his seminary, and partly otherwise, knew very many of his hearers, and, therefore, was more influenced by their presence than would have been the case with professors having no such acquaintance, or not a near one.

Mere corporeal presence does not decide the question. A certain professor observed that one of his pupils was invariably present; but also observed, very plainly, that he always occupied himself in reading one book, which its uniform indicated to have come from a circulating library.

A Prussian ministerial circular, of 13th January, 1835, requires that instructors, in giving certificates, should act with the strictest care and conscientiousness; and recommends them to be observant of their hearers, "in order that they may be enabled to say, with certainty, whether individuals have attended their lectures diligently or not." And, it adds, "it will be well for all those whom the number of their hearers, or their near-sightedness, prevents from sufficiently close observation of all, to intrust to some older and proper student from among them, the business of a beadle or assistant, for the maintenance of punctual attendance."* So it is not to be the professors, but their assistants, who are to give the certificates; and what sort of students would submit to that sort of management? Another circular, of 29th June, 1827, recommends to imitate one instructor who, "in order to judge better of the diligence of his hearers, sent round, at unexpected times during his lectures, a list, which those students present were to sign."† I have known this experiment to be tried; but those present were accustomed to enter their absent friends; so that once, the name of an absent one was inadvertently entered twice, by two of his friends. In another list were entered such names as Plato, Aristotle, &c.

Such modes of ascertaining the diligence of hearers seeming inadmissible and unsuitable, the question recurs, How shall the professors arrive at a reliable judgment upon that diligence; and particularly on the point supposed, namely, their merits in reference to stipendiary allowances?

The answer is,—Unless they would declare themselves quite improper persons to give certificates to stipendiaries, they must, themselves, examine them. Only such professors are excepted as use a dialogic mode of teaching; for they have no need of making a special examination of their hearers, since they examine them daily in teaching them, and thus gain a thorough acquaintance with them. The benefit, however, of subjecting these students to an examination, consists in this: that their grade can be certified to, not merely by the instructor whose lectures they have attended, but by all professors assisting at the examination.‡

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* Koch, ii. p. 511. † Ib., ii. p. 201.

‡ Accordingly, the regulations of 3d May, 1835, for the Bonn Seminary, for all the natural

tion there. Having passed this successfully, he is usually received at the university, to the same studies with which he had been occupied before. He had spent years in studying the classics at the gymnasium, and continues them at the university; he has taken pains to make himself acquainted with the facts of general history, and is made to do the same again, and to be examined on them again; he has studied pure mathematics, and has to study them again. Thus, he is commonly occupied with reviewing what he knows; a species of study in which he can have no interest.

It is, of course, not intended that general studies shall at once be entirely discontinued, but that the school method of teaching them should be replaced by an academical one. The latter can, usually, only be introduced where the student has been gradually ripened and prepared for it. If, for instance, the student of law has previously studied the history of law, or the theological student, church history, with how different a feeling, understanding, and interest will they then return to the study of general history, in which all the elements of human development present themselves, and appear as one great whole, in the most complicated and vivid interaction. In like manner, it might be asked, whether the young theological student, after his long occupation, at the gymnasium, with the classics, should not make a pause with them, while he studies biblical exegesis, and only afterward apply himself again to classical philology, with the view of studying the relations of the classical and sacred languages, and worlds.

It is certain that several of the studies of the philosophical faculty would be pursued much more profitably in the latter part of the university course than in the former; and in a method worthy of a university, independent and free, from pure love of the science, instead of merely for the sake of answering questions on a lesson. But this latter objectionable practice prevails so much the more, as the students, during the first, or so-called philosophical years, are obliged to pursue the most inconsistent studies, of which they must give account in the examination for advanced standing.* This mode of study is universal in the lower grades of school study; but, in the higher ones, the requirements are too numerous even for the best scholars; they can not, with interest and pleasure, study, all at once, logic, general history, mathematics, physics, natural history, and philology. And, if they are still compelled to hear lectures on them all, they feel a genuine re-

* That is, the examination at the end of the first university year, for a transfer to the professional studies.

pugnance for these so-called compulsory lectures; even the best of them despair of receiving any benefit from them, and most of them care only to make a passable appearance at the examination, and are profoundly glad when they are past the philosophical year.

Any one who has attended one of these examinations for advanced standing, and who knows what pains the examiners have to take to ask childish, easy questions, and how even these questions remain unanswered in various ways, will never deceive himself into believing that general education is furthered by such a mode of studying.* Many may, perhaps, at once blame the professors, as destitute both of zeal and of skill for the awakening of interest and love for their department of study. Even if this might be true of some one or other individual, it can still be demonstrated from experience, that even the most conscientious and competent professors are in the same unpleasant situation. And those acquainted with the facts can also testify, that even the best-disposed students perform these prescribed studies, mostly with indifferent spiritlessness, and are as glad as the rest when they have finished their first year at the university.

How entirely different would it be, if the student of theology, law, or medicine, besides his professional studies, should, in every term, attend one or more lectures from the professors of the philosophical faculty; with what pleasure would he listen, and how much would he be stimulated and strengthened in his professional studies! The very lectures which would produce this quickening effect are disgustful to our present students. The reasons have been explained. One of the greatest jurists of Germany has a very valuable observation on the subject. "Here," he says, "arises a question: Shall juridical studies be commenced as soon as in the first university term? By all means. The first ideas of the profession to which the student is to devote himself can not be too early secured. Historical, literary, mathematical, and philosophical studies are very far from being excluded by this plan. But one who insists on becoming familiar with all these before hearing lectures on the Institutions, acts as judiciously as if he should take, all at once, his dessert for a whole week, and should eat nothing else as long as that will last him. Evidently, he will receive less pleasure than from an alternation of food, besides that he will often disorder his stomach."†

* There are even men of penetrating intelligence, who earnestly desire to advance the cause of general education, and to oppose a mere drill preparatory to professional study, who do deceive themselves in this way, and consider that an opponent of the "philosophical year" is a traitor to the cause of general education. Quite the reverse!

† Hugo, in the "*Civil Law Magazine*" (*Civilistisches Magazin*), i. 57.

It is a most discouraging, and even terrible thing, for a professor in the philosophical faculty to have his lectures considered compulsory ones. The consequence is, that all connections of an elevating character between him and his hearers ceases; and there is the greatest danger that, from that time forward, all true feeling and respect for his department will die out of the hearts of the students, and that, in the same proportion, ignorance will prevail there.

Savigny,* whose clear views, lofty character, and long experience render his opinion, on subjects connected with universities, more valuable than that of most persons, observes upon those lectures which the students are obliged to attend. The original reason, he says, was the laudable one (in itself), of carrying the students, by attendance on lectures of various kinds, to a thorough, free, and complete stage of development. But, where this plan is carried out compulsorily, and in opposition to the peculiar tendencies of the pupils, nothing will result except an ignoble false pretense, for the sole purpose of securing a certificate which will satisfy the formal requisitions. So little can the communication of knowledge succeed when enforced by any external compulsion.†

To proceed now to institutions in which the characters of the gymnasium and the university are confounded in a hybrid organization—to the lyceums.

If the first university year is devoted to philosophical studies, the result of the arrangement is to divide the university into two parts; since the philosophical studies are distinct from the professional. But still, most of the new-comers attend introductory professional courses, and their lives are those of students.

But if the philosophical faculty is established in lyceums at a distance from the universities, the separation becomes an entire one, and the character of a German university is entirely lost, whether as to studies or discipline. Instead of the universities we have special schools.

Savigny says, of the German universities, "Their common character consists in this: that each of them includes the whole body of knowledge, instead of being limited to a single department, as is often the case in the special schools of other countries." The superiority of this

* "System and Value of the German Universities," by Savigny, in Ranke's "*Historical and Political Gazette*" (*Historisch-politisch Zeitschrift*), September, 1832, p. 569, &c.

† Sufficient warnings cannot be given against university arrangements intended to control the bad, but which are actually a hindrance, and even injury to the good. Thus, for instance, bad students are forced into a hypocritical appearance of industry, a dead pharisaical labor, and at the same time the honest, sincere industry, and profitable studies of the better ones are made useless.

character, he adds, has been so often and so thoroughly shown, that he forbears to discuss it.

Thus, the erection of lyceums breaks up the character of our universities. One even moderately acquainted with the organization and influence of the philosophical faculties, will have no doubt of this. A lyceum will be an independent philosophical faculty, existing by itself; but such a faculty can only prosper when it is conjoined with the other faculties, and gives them, and receives from them, mutual vigor. The theological, juridical, and medical faculties, separate from the philosophical, would sink into mere preparatory schools for gaining a living in future; while the isolated philosophical faculty, wanting its relation to the serious requirements of life, and of the future profession, is without substance or aim. On the other hand, the closer and more complete the union of the philosophical with the other faculties, so much more efficient and scientifically thorough will the spirit of the university be.

The hybrid character of a lyceum, which is neither a gymnasium nor a university, must have the worst effect on its pupils, and impress a similar hybrid character on them. They can not be school-boys, and would willingly be students; but are, in fact, neither the one nor the other. It is a question, also, how the teacher is to manage them. It is too late for school discipline, and yet they can not be granted the entire academical freedom. But, though not granted, they will take it, and will be the more disorderly, in all respects, because they are under no wholesome restraint from the older students.

In reference to the foundation of lyceums, there are some considerations of importance, if they are to be not mere phantasms, but are to be actually efficient. Very important amounts of money will be required for this purpose. Let it be considered how great is the annual amount required for the professors' salaries of a philosophical faculty; the capital represented by their physical and natural historical collections, their botanic garden, and, above all, by their part of the university library; which may be estimated at two thirds of the whole number of books;—add, also, the annual expense for maintaining and increasing these collections, &c., and the total of the sum thus required for such a foundation will be astounding. And in this we are considering not at all the endowments of great universities, but at what is required for the smaller ones; what is so absolutely indispensable for instruction, that, in their absence, the most valuable lectures will be empty words, destitute of basis or efficiency. But if it be designed to diminish the expense of organizing a lyceum, by, so to speak, improvising a body of teachers, by intrusting the different departments to

persons who may be occupying other situations at the place of the new institution, this will show that the office of a professor in the philosophical faculty is altogether undervalued and under-estimated. One seriously interested in his vocation as teacher, especially in the present busy and progressive age, will find abundant labor for himself; his office will demand the whole man; and can not possibly be filled as a mere occupation. But one who has the self-confidence, beside his other employment, as preacher, gymnasium teacher, or otherwise, to undertake that of professor in a lyceum, will only show that he was not wholly devoted to his former occupation—that his whole heart was not on it. But, if this charge be undeserved, he will need to be much on his guard lest, by over-estimating his own powers and under-estimating his new duties, he do all his work by halves, and, according to the old proverb, "between two stools, fall to the ground;" and so neither suffice for the old office nor for the new one.

Thus, all considerations oppose the introduction of lyceums, and none favor it. They break up existing organizations to the foundation. F. A. Wolf says: "In my opinion, great and universal changes are not advisable at any university. The useful results of the ancient organizations we already know, and continually enjoy. In order to a better one, experiments must be made, to form an opinion; and such experiments might be costly in many ways."

To this warning of Wolf's, may be added this, from Savigny: "So many causes have always tended to the dismemberment of Germany, that it may very well seem necessary to direct our attention to whatever good things are common to the whole nation; both for the sake of rejoicing in their possession, which secure the continuance of our national prosperity, and to direct us toward the means of maintaining them. Among the most important and valuable of those common possessions are, at this time, to be reckoned our universities."

The common character of these common possessions of Germany, the universities, we have delineated, and have shown that that character, according to Savigny's own views, would be entirely destroyed by the introduction of lyceums.

Wherever this shall happen, the mutilated universities will no longer be among the good possessions common to the German people, and be institutions of study for all the German races. They will excommunicate themselves; and, degraded into special schools, can no longer be reckoned entitled to equal privileges with the other German universities.

With sacred earnestness, and full of the importance of the subject, the judicious Savigny writes: "The universities have come down to

us, a noble inheritance from former times; and it is a point of honor with us to leave them in a condition improved, where possible, and at least not made worse, to coming generations. It rests with us whether they shall remain as they are, or whether they shall sink or rise. The judgment of posterity will require an account of them at our hands."

Relations between the Philosophical Faculty and the Professional Studies.

Measures were now taken at Erlangen against the philosophical compulsory lectures. In 1844, instead of the one so-called philosophical (or Fox) year, two years were set apart, during which the student, beside the philosophical compulsory lectures, might attend professional ones.* In 1849, a further very important step was taken, by removing all compulsory attendance, and providing, instead, that every student must, during his university course, attend eight philosophical courses, of at least four lectures each; these eight to be selected at his pleasure, and no examination to be held on them.

It is evident that this plan would much satisfy the wishes of the better students; for they could now attend with interest such lectures as were suited to their scientific tendencies and capacities. But it is also not to be wondered at that some evils also resulted from it. It can not be denied that idle students could misuse the freedom given them to indulge in mere idleness. But no one who remembers the most lamentable results of the previous examinations of such idle students upon the compulsory lectures attended by them, will desire, for the sake of such results, to circumscribe the honorable freedom of the industrious. From my own convictions, I accordingly reject the compulsory lectures, and from my heart rejoice in the freedom of the better sort of students in making their selection. Still, I must repeat my observation, that they often hesitate about their choice, especially in the beginning of their studies; and that, on the other hand, they frequently wish, at the end of them, that they had attended many lectures whose value, and had not attended many others whose uselessness, they learned too late.

Let us consider, once more, the lectures of the philosophical faculty. The beginner, who hitherto, at the gymnasium, has had no choice as to what he shall study, and what not, has now before him the catalogue of lectures, for a selection at his pleasure. Most of them select

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* This new arrangement was announced to the students, July 20, 1844, in an excellent address, by my honored colleague, Prof. Doederlein.

under the advice of older students; and accordingly often fall into the hands of those who advise them, during the first year, to refrain altogether from study, and rest after the labor of the gymnasium. The better minded have to decide whether they will continue their studies at the gymnasium, or will suffer these to rest, for a time at least, while they pursue studies which were not taught at the school. So far as my experience goes, most of them select the former course, as if they were afraid of a journey into an unknown country.

In any case, most of them are in great need of good advice. But what instructor will show them the way? Will not the philologist recommend philological lectures especially, the historian historical ones, &c.? Not that this will be from vulgar and egotistical motives, but only from the natural and necessary preference of every one for his own department. Very few professors have so far mastered the different studies as to be capable of lecturing on a comprehensive system of hodegetics.*

It has been attempted to simplify and ease the selection, by having each of the three faculties, in the plan of study which they draw up for their students, recommend to them lectures upon such subjects in the philosophical faculty as are most closely related to their respective professional studies. The faculty of law, for instance, would recommend historical lectures; of medicine, natural historical; of theology, philological.

However simple this expedient may seem, it is still to be feared that these recommendations to the students of each faculty will cause them to turn their backs upon all studies not recommended, as being foreign to their purpose, which is far from the case. Natural science, for instance, will usually not be recommended to students of theology, law, or philology. In after life these students will commonly have no opportunity to become acquainted with these studies, nor could they do so at the gymnasium. It is only at the university that an opportunity offers to fill up these omissions in their education, and to acquire a knowledge of nature. Here are offered teachers and means of instruction. Ought theological students, &c., now, not to improve the opportunity, at least to gain a glimpse into a world which has hitherto been strange to them, and which will usually remain so, if they do not seize that occasion? I have taken this example because it occurs most readily to me, as professor in natural history.† The point will be made still clearer

* A very good arrangement to avoid this danger, prevails, for example, at Erlangen. Each professor of the philosophical faculty draws up a summary of the studies of his department, and a short introduction to it, to be studied. Collections of these are printed for the students.

† See "*History of Education*," vol. iii. part 1, p. 168.

by the following, which I extract from the introduction of my lectures on natural history.

In the gymnasium, I say, there is usually no preparation made for studying natural history. Let it now be imagined that students should come to the university who had not even learned *mensa* and *amo*. As little as these would be capable of profiting by lectures on Tacitus and Roman literature, would those unacquainted with the first elements of the knowledge of natural science be prepared for the higher courses on natural science.

Such should, as far as possible, make up for the omissions in their studies at the gymnasium, by lectures on natural history. These will afford them an intelligible glance into the creation; a general view of natural science. They will have penetrated into the vestibule.

If it be inquired of what use is this study, not merely to all students whatever, but to those destined for the profession to which it is related, the answer would be, in brief, as follows:

A young student of medicine will scarcely question the usefulness of the study of nature; indeed, his medical studies are, themselves, a department of the knowledge of nature. Why, then, should he not desire to be acquainted with studies so nearly related to his own as zoology, which is to introduce him to comparative anatomy, so necessary to him, as botany and mineralogy? These studies are important to the physician, not only in theory, but in practice; for he must be acquainted with the medicinal qualities of animals, plants, and minerals. And, moreover, if he has, by diligent study in natural history, trained his eyes and his understanding to a clear and thorough comprehension of animals, plants, and minerals, he has, at the same time, been preparing them to understand anatomical relations; and, above all, for acute observation of the symptoms of the sick.

To students of law, the study of nature seems much less important, professionally, than to physicians. And still, there is one point of view in which it has especial value for him. He can become acquainted, in it, with the just and loving laws of God, which are a pattern for all human laws. The whole world is governed by them, without change, and always. The law of the Lord is unchangeable. Thus invariable does it appear in astronomy, which this can, with mathematical certainty, "determine the places in the heavens, where sun, moon, and planets have stood, stand, and shall stand." It computes backward with certainty, that the eclipse of the sun foretold by Thales took place on the 17th of June of the year 603 before Christ; and Kepler computed forward, in 1627, that in 1761 the transit of Venus over the sun would take place. Thus God rules, without any variation.

And the earthly creatures, as well as the heavenly, reveal the fixedness of God's law. When the botanist* has described the species lily, by saying that its flower has a campanulate corolla in six parts, six anthers, a six-celled, three-sided capsule, &c., the definition applies not only to a German lily, but to one from Mount Carmel. And, in like manner, the careful, faithful representations of lilies in ancient pictures have also a corolla with six parts, six anthers, &c. Thus, the botanist's description applies to lilies of all countries and all times. The steadfastness of the law is clear. But an ignorant person, on hearing this, would say: All lilies, then, are alike; and, according to that, a great monotony must prevail throughout the creation. Such was the idea of the Electress who controverted Leibnitz's assertion that no leaf was exactly like another; but all her efforts to find two leaves entirely alike were quite in vain. And just as vain would it be to endeavor to find two lilies completely like each other, even if they grew on the same stem. The law of the Lord is without change; but this unchangeableness does not produce any unpleasant uniformity among the individuals of which each is a representation of the divine idea. The law of agreeable variety and free beauty is still more marked in the case of feathers. The animal creation exemplifies it still more; and most clearly of all, the human family. Here the law passes more and more out of sight, and freedom and independence supply their place to such an extent, that the supreme power of God is too often doubted and forgotten, in the life both of individuals and of the race.

Thus the laws and government of God unite things apparently irreconcilable—fixed laws and freedom. Thus they are a model for human laws; which should avoid tyrannical constraint and anarchical arbitrariness; should protect freedom, yet secure and maintain steadfast order. So lofty a model will be a light upon the path of him who devotes himself, with love and earnestness, to the study of law.

For students who intend to devote themselves to teaching, the study of nature has great value, for more than one reason.

It has already been observed how active a capacity and impulse there is in youth to examine and collect plants, minerals, and animals. In proportion as this has been recognized, has the necessity been felt of teaching natural history in the schools. As actual departments of training for the sciences, and for life, the natural sciences require also to be made elements of school education. We have seen that this demand grew to such a height, in the eighteenth century, that it became necessary to found real schools, although, at the same time, gymnasium

* See "*History of Education*," vol. iii. part 1, p. 178.

scholars also received instruction in natural science. Every student who proposes to offer himself for a place as teacher, either in the gymnasium or a real school, should bear this in mind.

Students in philology should also remember that a certain degree of attainment in real knowledge is absolutely necessary to any understanding of the ancients, which is to be actual, and not merely verbal. Altogether, apart from books pertaining directly to the natural sciences, such as Aristotle, Pliny, &c., some such knowledge is needed to understand the classics, which are universally and daily read, as Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, &c. Quintilian, indeed, says, that philology (*grammatice*) can not be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of music; "nor without a knowledge of the movements of the stars, can the poets be understood; for, not to go further, they often refer to the rising and setting of the constellations in defining time; nor can they be understood without a knowledge of natural philosophy; for in very many places, in almost all poems, are passages based on a profound knowledge of natural problems; as, for instance, Empedocles, among the Greeks; and Varro and Lucretius, among the Latins; who put precepts of wisdom into verse."*

If it is asked how far a knowledge of natural science is to be required of theological students, the readiest answer is, that much such knowledge is requisite for understanding the Bible.† It is well known that Luther studied natural history in connection with his translation of the Bible.

In their subsequent vocation, most theological students, when pastors, are also school-inspectors. At present, not only in cities, but in villages, many real studies are taught, especially relating to natural science. The inspecting pastor, therefore, needs a competent acquaintance with this branch of instruction, in order to judge whether the teacher instructs properly, &c. This he can only do by having himself studied natural sciences; for which, as we have seen, he finds scarcely any opportunity except at the university.

The study of nature, pursued in the right spirit and in the right manner, will, moreover, have the strongest and most wholesome influ-

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* Compare the remarks of Erasmus on real studies. ("*History of Education*," vol. i. p. 166.) In the third edition of my Geography I have cited many passages from the classics which require information on natural subjects; see, for instance, p. 10, remark 6; p. 20, remark 120; p. 62, remark 28; p. 79, remark 36; p. 283, remark 16, &c.

† Observe the number of articles on natural science in Winer's "*Dictionary of Natural History*;" I may refer also to Bochart's "*Hierozoikon*," to Rosenmüller, &c. The application of geological hypotheses to the interpretation of Genesis is of great importance; but here only demonstrated facts should be relied on, lest the pure truth be defiled and made contemptible by fantastic human conceptions—a most dangerous misalliance.

ence upon the development of a Christian theological character. On this subject, one of the greatest English natural philosophers says:* "Another thing, then, that qualifies an experimentarian for the reception of a revealed religion, and so of Christianity, is, that an accustomance of endeavoring to give clear explications of the phenomena of nature, and discover the weakness of those solutions, that superficial wits are wont to make and acquiesce in, does insensibly work in him a great and ingenious modesty of mind. And on the score of this intellectual, as well as moral virtue, not only he will be very inclinable, both to desire and admit further information, about things which he perceives to be dark or abstruse; but he will be very unapt to take, for the adequate standard of truth, a thing so imperfectly informed, and narrowly limited, as his mere or abstracted reason. . . . And though a vulgar philosopher, . . . may presume that he understands every thing, and may be easily tempted to think that he must not hope, nor desire to learn from less able men than his first teachers; and that that can not be true, or be done, which agrees not with his philosophy; yet a sober and experienced naturalist, that knows what difficulties remain yet unsurmounted in the presumedly clear conception and explications even of things corporeal, will not, by a lazy or arrogant presumption, *imagine* that his knowledge about things supernatural is already sufficient. . . . . And this frame of mind is a very happy one for a student in revealed theology. . . . An assiduous conversation with the exquisitely framed and admirably managed works of God, brings a skillful considerer of them to discover, from time to time, many things to be feasible, or to be true, which, while he argued but upon grounds of incompetently informed reason, he judged false or unpracticable."†

To these remarks of the excellent Boyle, I will add a single observation. The capacity for objective, independent truth, such as does not depend on man, seems to have been entirely lost by many persons who have occupied themselves exclusively with purely verbal studies. There are innumerable persons who assert that there exist only strictly individual beliefs; that some have one, others another; and that this variety is an evidence of the freedom of the modern method of investigation. This unfortunate belief has caused much trouble in theolo-

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* *Boyle's Works*, 5 vols. fol., Lond., 1744: vol. v. p. 56.

† I repeat, that these remarks are made of serious and modest consideration and investigation of *facts* in natural science; not of unreasoning, fantastic hypotheses, with no foundation whatever. These may lead astray silly laymen, and it is only when knowledge is the object that men acquainted with the subject will be followed. For this reason, visionaries have far more pupils—a larger public, than reasonable men.

gy, has opened the door to all manner of arbitrary views, and has loosened all those loving bands in which men are joined by the common recognition of eternal and holy truths. From such a wicked arbitrariness the earnest investigator of nature turns away; his observations do not entice him into error, because he only admits that his views are true when they have been proved by their agreement with the facts of nature. Before Kepler discovered his first astronomical law, that the paths of the planets are ellipses, he had determined upon another figure. As Tycho's observations did not harmonize with this, he rejected it and took the ellipse, which entirely harmonized with them. In a similar irrefragable manner do truths appear to us in crystallography; and to discover their beautiful laws, and candidly to recognize them when discovered, gives great pleasure and edification to the mineralogist.

It would be exceedingly beneficial to the young theologian, to be constrained by a knowledge of nature, to acknowledge some truth entirely independent of himself, and thus to become humbled. Under such discipline he would more nearly approach the "faith which precedes knowledge;" and would learn to approach the study of the Bible, not in presumptuous ignorance, criticising and censuring, but humbly, with holy awe for impregnable truth, fast founded, and higher than all reason.

What has been said may justify the wish, that in recommending to the students lectures by the philosophical faculty, the three other faculties may act with circumspection, and with reference to the connection—sometimes an obscure one—among different studies, and to their influence on the training of the students.

IV. Personal Relations of the Professors to Students.

From the foregoing it follows, that at present the students are regarded not as entirely free and independent men, but as youths, grown beyond school-discipline, it is true, but yet in process of development and progress toward manly self-dependence. The necessity will be recognized, of not leaving them to themselves during this dangerous process of emancipation; but of guiding it by laws and personal influence.

In this proceeding, however, paths lead off on both sides, by a tendency to do too much, and too little. Some govern too much by compulsory lectures, incessant examinations, and oversight of expenses; while others think every new student a quite free man, capable of advising for himself, and needing scarcely the most trifling guidance during his life as a student.

It is our wish, in the academical legislation, to regulate the life and studies of the students as judiciously as possible, without injuring their freedom; the best legislation must, however, interfere with a certain neutrality—with the cold heartlessness of the abstract. Misunderstandings can only be healed by paternal faithfulness on the part of the teachers toward the students. The latter are the congregations, of whom the former have the cure of souls, and for whom they must in future render an account.

Such is the sentiment expressed in the statutes of the university of Halle.* They also require of the professors unity of belief. But it is not enough, they add, for them to be pure in their teachings; they must, by an unblamable life, and serious and upright character, set a good example to the students, and not be a scandal to them; and must, by word and deed, promote piety and morality among them.

The statutes of the theological faculty of Halle go more into details under this general statement. The professors of this faculty, they enact, must maintain unanimity among themselves; must, with one accord, aid their students as if their own sons, with paternal counsel and assistance; and to this end shall consult together at the beginning of every half-year upon what lectures shall be delivered, in order to satisfy all the requirements of the students. Therefore it is necessary, they proceed, that the professors shall gain an intimate knowledge of the students. For this purpose they must, "in every week, upon a fixed day, devote an hour to the useful employment of carefully examining the progress of the students in knowledge and in life; the plan being so adjusted that each student shall come before them once in each quarter of a year. If the number of students should increase so that one hour is not sufficient, then more hours must be set apart for so indispensable a plan."

New-comers are to be questioned upon what they have studied at school or at other universities; and their mental capacity, their purposes, and their situation as to means, in order to the formation of an opinion as to what is to be particularly recommended to each one. Above all, love of God, and humility, are to be prescribed to them.†

In another place they say, that the students shall often be reminded by the professors, that in order to practical theology, elegant and

* The statutes are meant which were enacted in 1694, at the establishment of the university. (Koch, i. p. 466.)

† Koch, i. p. 488, &c. They recommended to the professors of theology to lay to heart an expression of St. Augustine, and to enforce it upon their students, viz.: "That they shall see, in proportion as they die to the present age; and that by as much as they live for it, they shall not see."

honorable manners and abstinence from worldly life will by no means suffice; but that it requires self-denial, which is the fruit of true conversion.*

The first impulse toward the peculiar character of the academical organization at Halle was given by Spener. As early as in 1690, before the founding of the university of Halle, he had advanced a proposal, that "at every university there should be appointed, at the public expense, a learned, wise, and pious theologian, who should not only examine the knowledge and capabilities of new-comers, but should especially give them correct ideas about theological knowledge, that they may learn how themselves to attain it, and how to study it in a proper order."†

It is evident that this reference is not to a merely scientific system of hodegetics. Spener's plan was to have only one man; for in that controversial period he might well despair of finding an entirely unanimous theological faculty to fulfill his wishes. How gratified, therefore, must he have been, when the theologians of the new university of Halle, such as Francke, Breithaupt, and Anton, united themselves with one mind to carry them into execution. They complied conscientiously with the statutes of their faculty, and even did more than the statutes required. They devoted some hours weekly to a meeting of the faculty in the house of their dean, examined new-comers, and caused each of them to give in a written account of his previous studies; and then they advised them in what direction to prosecute them, and what lectures to hear. All the theological students were obliged, every term, to advise with the professors, at a meeting of the faculty, on the lectures they had heard and were to hear. If it was found that a student was dissipated or idle, he was brought before the faculty and paternally admonished; and if this did not suffice, the case was reported to his friends.

It was also required, that the students should be in confidential communication, not only with the body of the faculty, but also with individual professors, on all matters relative to their lives and studies.

By these means the professors became thoroughly acquainted with the students; and if the faculty were applied to for testimonials relative to a stipend, they were, it is said, "able to use, in most of them, very definite expressions."

Thus do the statutes and other sources describe the religious care of the theological faculty of Halle, in the time of A. H. Francke.

Of course, such care in religious matters must have been intended

* Koch, i. p. 487.

† "*Francke's Institutions*," ii. p. 63.

to secure not only the fullest acquaintance with the students, but also a successful religious teaching and training of them. And now I can hear more than one reader ask, with meaning, whether I would see this plan of Francke introduced among us? The question is asked, in the conviction that its introduction would be, at least in our own times, impossible. To this opinion I must assent; and on the point, I cite Francke himself, who complains, as early as in 1709, fifteen years after the university of Halle was founded, that most of the students had lost very much of their zeal for good. He describes the coarse lives of the students, and observes, that the well-meaning care of the theological professors for the students was so little appreciated, that they decidedly objected to it, as an infringement upon their freedom as students; and that the good advice given to them produced no results. And he adds, "I can not think of this without great sorrow, and can not sufficiently wonder how it is possible that so little result has come from all our lectures and advice."*

With the best and purest intentions, a mistake had evidently been made, and a reaction was the consequence.† Instead of the prevailing wild student-life, Francke and his theological colleagues would have introduced, at one stroke, a still, pious, and almost conventual discipline. Devotional exercises were heaped upon devotional exercises. Pious emotions and excitements were encouraged in every way. Every occasion was seized for praying, preaching, exhorting, and singing. It is not to be wondered at that the student-life, based deeply on the custom of centuries and its accompanying coarse vices, diametrically opposed as it was to such a scheme as this, should have made a powerful opposition to Francke's efforts; so that he prevailed only with a quiet and meditative class of students. And it must be confessed, that he repelled not only the dissipated and wild ones, but also the pure, able, and talented.

I may thus be thought to retract the praise which I have bestowed upon the honest efforts of Francke and his friends, and their services to the students. By no means. The conscientious manner in which they performed their official duties, their true and paternal love for the students, render them rather models for all academical teachers; while their errors may, on the other hand, admonish us to proceed with circumspection, modest wisdom, and a Pauline accommodation; and to permit youth to be youth.

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* *Paranetical Lectures*, iv. p. 111.

† "*History of Education*," vol. ii. p. 147. I have here referred to Luther's sound views on education, and have shown that they were decidedly preferable to Francke's, in which there already prevailed the insipid and unmanly creed of that pietism which afterward displayed itself in so many caricatured phases.

Let us return to our subject, which may be put in the form of the following question: Is legislation and strict adherence to the laws, all that the university requires? I reply, by no means. At an early period, the effort was made to control the students by personal influence. But woe to the universities if, as was the case with the ancient bursaries, goats are made gardeners; where hirelings are set over the students, who regard not their good, but their own profit. It would be better for the students to be left entirely to themselves than to fall into the hands of such men.

At Rinteln, Marburg, and Helmstädt, new students were required to put themselves under the charge of some one instructor. But this seems to have occasioned great abuses, similar to the previous ones in the bursaries. A vigorous production* of the 17th century, apparently emanating from Helmstädt, gives strange accounts of the privileges of the so-called "professor-students," that is, students who boarded at the tables of the professors; and who, as the author says, "had therefore a precedence in all things, above the convictorists" (those who ate in companies together) "and citizen-students." Among these privileges are mentioned, that they have a higher place at church and at meetings, even at the Communion; that they are to take fencing-lessons only of the fencing-master; that their disputations are printed in folio, those of others in quarto; that they may wear their swords when visiting the magnificus;† not to mention some less elegant ones. Though this author may somewhat exaggerate, still his production indicates that the sacred vocation and authority of the teacher were most vilely abused.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Meiners made a proposition as laughable as it was exceptionable. This was, to have boarding establishments instituted at the universities, at which "board, lodging, and attendance should be so excellent, that the young people would desire places at them for these reasons only. Persons at these should have a certain precedence, and should assert it. It would be a great recommendation if either French or English should be constantly spoken at these boarding-houses. This would free them from all invidious appearances. Parents would tell their children, and the boarders their acquaintances, that that boarding-house had been selected only on account of the language."‡

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* "*Curious Inaugural Disputation on the Law, Privileges, and Prerogatives of the Athenian Professor-students, over the Citizen-students and Communists. . . . . By Schlingschlangschlorum.*" Athens here, as in Meyfart, must have meant an extinct German university; while Saalathen, Elbathen, &c., are designations for Jena, Halle, and Wittenberg.

† Rector. ‡ Meiners' "*Constitution, &c., of the German Universities.*" Göttingen, 1802.

Meiners printed this plan in 1802, while prorector at Göttingen. It agrees well with what he says of "a young man's success." This, according to him, "depends not merely on his capacity, knowledge, and moral excellence, but always in part, and sometimes entirely or chiefly, upon his deportment, and how he shows his bringing up."*

It is most injurious to students, whose manners are good, to be especially introduced into the social circle of the professors. Such students very often are entirely superficial, unstable, and afraid of labor; and rely for success upon some accomplishments in music, and dancing, or by a gift for uselessly passing the time away. Their instructors should rather remind such of the serious duties of their present and future vocations. To prefer such, on account of mere external show, to simple, straightforward, and able students, is most indefensible, not only with reference to those who are thus undervalued, but still more on account of those thus preferred, who can not but see, in such treatment, an approbation of their idle employments, which will, at last, leave them in lamentable ignorance and insignificance.

At a later period, Bavarian ministerial ordinances repeatedly recommended to the professors, especially deans of faculty, as much as possible, to watch over and direct the lives and studies of the students. The same requirement was made by the Prussian ministry, and especially in a rescript of 14th September, 1824. This observes that the management of the studies and of the students is, no doubt, intrusted to the academical authorities, but that this is far from being sufficient. The students often attend few lectures, or none at all; select them inappropriately, in an improper order, or attend negligently. The ministry believes that these evils can be cured, "by having at each university a number of professors to take more particular charge of the studies of individual students." And it is added, "this may be done, either by appointing for this purpose such professors as were deans of faculty when the present students commenced their course, so that at the end of their deanship they may continue in this special oversight, or by appointing, without reference to the deanship, or to any other academical or faculty office, professors specially fitted for the place, to be properly selected. In either case they will have the duty of guiding and overseeing every way the students put under their special charge, and in particular, of watching that each of them not only attends lectures, but makes a suitable selection of them, and attends them in a proper order and regularly. It would be necessary, to this end, that the professors should fully know what lectures have been

* Meiners' "*Constitution*," &c., p. 7.

already attended by the students put under their care; and should keep themselves assured that they are orderly and regular in attendance, that if they should fail in these particulars, they may, with paternal care, set them right. And it will likewise be necessary that no academical stipends shall be granted without their report; and that those which are given should be given only on the production of a half-yearly attestation to the recipients' studies." *

The good intentions of the ministry are too apparent in this paper to be mistaken. But no one, even moderately familiar with the usual circumstances and condition of a university, will be surprised that—by all indications at least—the plan of the ministry never went into execution. This may be concluded from a second rescript of 9th January, 1830, in which the professors of the university at Königsberg are required to assist the students in their studies with their advice. This says, "It can not be often enough repeated to the professors, that they are bound to exercise unremitting watchfulness over the industry, the learned studies, and the morals of the students; and that one advice, one admonition, given at the right time, and in the right manner, by a professor to a student, is more useful than any number of police ordinances." †

If this committee of professors, or ephorate over the students, had existed, this latter requirement would either not have been mentioned at all, or would have been, at least, expressed in another way.

Such an ephorate over the theological students at Erlangen was established in 1833. At its head was placed an excellent man, learned, upright, and intelligent, the late High Consistory Councilor Höfling, and under him four tutors (*repetenten*), one for the students of each of the four years of the course. These latter were mostly eminent men also; some of them of celebrity in the learned world. It may be imagined that though this arrangement may have been considered exceedingly improper by the idle students, yet that the industrious ones would have fallen in with it. This was far from being the case, these latter also felt themselves under constraint by it, and the idle contrived so to evade the means used for enforcing industry, as not to be reached at all. This is not the place to detail all the misadventures of this ephorate; suffice it to say, that after continuing fifteen years, it was discontinued. ‡

Thus we see that the most various efforts to gain a personal influ-

* Koch, ii. p. 190. † Ib., ii. p. 205.

‡ A fuller account of this ephorate will be found in the excellent biography of Höfling, by my respected friend and colleague, Prof. Nägelsbach, in vol. xxvi. of the "*Gazette of Protestantism*," Appendix to the July No., p. 9.

ence over the lives and studies of the students, have sometimes been thwarted altogether, and sometimes what was gained was imperfect in many ways, and of brief duration.

We ought not, moreover, to conceal the fact, that the students have considered all legislation for the oversight and regulation of their studies by the authorities as an attack upon their freedom as students, and have opposed it accordingly, however well meant.

They will, on the other hand, place confidence in professors who advise them truly, faithfully, and honestly, but not officially; I may say, without their official faces on. But, above all, the professor must have at heart the good of the students;* and must watch and pray that the confidence reposed in him by the students does not lead him into vanity, and an ambition to have many followers. If this should happen, he must find his reward in it only; and his influence upon the students can not be good; and for the reason that such a vain teacher will not remain open and true, but will flatter the students, in order to conciliate them, and fasten them to him.

But in this way a vain teacher makes vain scholars; who would consider any serious warning or admonition from any one else, no matter how true, well-meant, and sincere, a deep insult.

V. Small and Large Universities. Scientific Academies.

Our discussions of the various university laws, and other experiments and efforts to control and direct the lives and studies of students, will occasion many readers to imagine that one or another remark is applicable to small universities, but not to large ones; at least, what is said of the personal influence of the professors over the students. Just as there can be no watchfulness over souls, if the preacher's congregation is immoderately large, so a professor at Munich or Berlin can not attempt any personal influence upon so large a number of students; or can at most labor with those few who are especially recommended to him, or otherwise come into close contact with him.

Many persons, however, make no account whatever of any such influence. They consider the universities as institutions for the promotion of science, even to its furthest special departments; and the lectures are only of secondary importance to them. In this view, it is certainly easy to show that the purposes of a university will be better served at a large one than at a small one. They refer especially to the various important appurtenances of the larger universities; their rich

* Steffens was the model of a truly paternal friend of the students; exhibiting to them an indescribably pure goodness of heart and self sacrifice, as I can testify thankfully, from my own experience.

mineralogical and zoological collections, botanic gardens, physical apparatus, chemical laboratories, large hospitals, anatomical museums, &c. The smaller universities are contemned, because, as the proverb says, they cut their coat according to their cloth, and, having much smaller incomes, attempt only moderate things. And it is said that, by reason of these small revenues, they cannot procure the services of men of the highest grade; or, if they do accept situations, they commonly remain but a short time, the more eminent of them being invited to larger universities.

Before proceeding to a more careful comparison of the respective value of large and small universities, we must oppose the notions of the object of a university which are advanced by these advocates of large universities. Universities are by no means founded exclusively for the promotion of the sciences as such. That is the object of scientific academies; while universities are institutions for instruction. While the former consider the present aids to science only as means to be used for further attainments, as a *terminus a quo*, towards greater attainments, and are solely devoted to the extension further and further of the limits of the domain of science, and to perfect more and more fully, and establish more deeply and firmly, every particular department, the latter, the universities, have not all this for their immediate and direct object; they are, I repeat, institutions for instruction. The immediate business of the teacher is, to consider what has been already made clear and certain in his department; and to communicate this clearly and certainly to his pupils. He must not give them must, in which many impurities are still mingled, but well-worked and pure wine.

Science in itself is the object of the academician; the teaching of science, of the university teacher. This teaching is his official business; he ought not to lose sight of it. Complaints are justly made of such gymnasium teachers as lose sight of such teaching as is adapted to their pupils, and who deliver them lectures instead, idly anticipating the university. But university instructors are equally blameworthy, who lose sight of their proper occupation, and idly seek to make themselves academicians, by actual and purely scientific labors; in their chase after celebrity losing sight of their office as teachers.

One who is true to this object, however, will feel bound always to attain a more profound knowledge of his department, and to comprehend it more clearly, in order to be able to teach it more thoroughly and clearly. Upon such a conscientious endeavor a blessing will rest; and it will usually more promote scientific knowledge, than such infatuation after science and unloving neglect of pupils.

The academician requires a most extensive apparatus of books, natural objects, instruments, &c.; the newest and most abstruse. Desiring to advance further and further in his science, he must stand at the summit of it, and overlook his fellow-laborers in the earth below, in order rightly to perform his task as a member of the great republic of learning.

The university instructor, on the contrary, needs only a complete apparatus *for teaching*, of books, natural objects, instruments, &c.; an apparatus which, as to its purpose, differs much from that of the academician, and may usually be more modest and cheaper. The excessive riches of the apparatus at a great university is even a hindrance to the purpose of the instruction. The scholars are not capable of managing so much material. A light can be extinguished by too much oil, as well as by too little.

The affectionate care which the governments have of late bestowed upon the smaller universities in reference to their scientific departments, permits us to hope that these departments will gradually become capable of answering their purposes. Those at the head of them must, on their parts, apply judiciously the means granted them; must not waste them uselessly, nor seek impossibilities; nor make requisitions for their own department exclusively and without reference to the rest, and without looking to their prosperity also; which would indicate both want of fairness and of general scientific development.

Examples will make this clearer. Suppose I, as professor of mineralogy at Erlangen, had been unable to take pleasure in the collection of minerals there, having got it into my head that they were of very little value, because, for instance, they were so far behind the rich collection at Berlin; and that I was always thinking about the magnificent specimens of gold there, the hundred and five crystallized diamonds, and so many other treasures. This scientific envy would only injure my official usefulness. I ought rather to reflect thus: I receive so much a year for purchases for the collection of minerals; how can I use it to the best advantage? If I seek mostly for new and rare objects, and am ashamed that the collection should lack them, I can easily waste the whole amount upon a few newly discovered expensive specimens, which usually will have, for my pupils, a value relatively exceedingly small. As a teacher of mineralogy, I must buy what is of value to them. And, fortunately, it is precisely those which are cheapest; species which occur most frequently, being of the greatest significance in nature and in life. I should endeavor to make the collection of these as complete and good as possible; so that the pupil

may have before his eyes the laws of the progression of the species, especially in a well-arranged series of distinct crystals.

In like manner, the zoologist of a small university should not aim at a menagerie like that at London; the botanist should not demand immense, magnificent hot-houses, and a special palace for the *Victoria Regina;* but should endeavor, above all, to complete the flora of his locality, as being both cheapest and the most appropriate for his instruction. Nor should the instructor in medicine be disgusted because he does not find so many singular cases as occur in the great cities and their institutions. He should, first of all, learn to manage diseases that are not rare, but most frequent—dropsy, scarlet-fever, &c.

But I may be thought, in defending the small universities, to be making a virtue of necessity. By no means.

There is no more difference between the large and small universities, either, as to those studies which are taught by words only.

There is a difficulty at the large ones, for which, at present, we see no remedy, and which arises from the large number of students. I refer to what has already been said of the necessity for dialogic instruction in all studies where actual seeing is necessary to accomplishment; and in some of which the hands must also be instructed, as in practical chemistry and surgery. This is out of the question where the number of pupils is too large; and most of all, when they are beginners, who usually are unable to help themselves, and therefore need from the teachers assistance, and continual watchfulness over the course of their acquirements.

This is the case, for instance, with students of medicine. It is extremely necessary that, at the clinical lectures, they should themselves examine and treat the sick; but this is impossible when the instructor has a large number of pupils and spectators. A pupil of a celebrated medical professor related that he was accustomed, when the professor, with his crowd of students, came into the hospital, to fix himself, in advance, near some one bed, and to be content—and to be obliged to be—with hearing his teacher's observations on that one patient. Only those close about the professor were in any better case; and most of them who followed his long circuit at a distance, received little or nothing. This was at a large university. How often, on the other hand, have I heard the praises of the friendly and conscientious care with which, at the clinical lectures of the smaller universities, the students were personally instructed, and thus prepared for their future employment!

Similar praise is bestowed upon various departments of the smaller

universities. Not being over-filled, personal instruction of individuals is practicable, wherever they need it.

Lastly, I should remark, that in great cities the students usually live in a scattered manner, and are lost in the crowd of people. They fail to acquire the feeling of a university, the sense of membership of the community. Their university years do not assume, to them, any definite and peculiar character, as years, not only of learned labor, but of that serious training of the character which their collection together would promote, but which the dispersedness of a great city injures. Their teachers mostly remain at a distance from them, and so much the nearer are the temptations which offer, and even wickedly force themselves upon them.

If it is claimed that at large cities the students have opportunities of seeing and hearing works of art, it may be answered, that the students from the smaller universities go in great numbers to Berlin, Munich, Dresden, &c., to see and hear those very works, and return full of every thing which they have seen and heard.

The scientific riches of the larger universities can best be made use of by students who have prepared themselves for doing so at the smaller universities. Thus it is usual for medical students from the smaller universities, during the latter years of their student life, or even after their degree, to resort to Berlin, Vienna, &c., to become acquainted with the great institutions there; being ready to profit by them, even if they can obtain but little assistance. The same is true of those who have studied natural sciences at the smaller universities under their teachers; they are prepared to profit by collections, &c., without aid.*

In conclusion: a word on the assertion that the smaller universities contain no celebrated men; no virtuosos. This might easily be refuted by an enumeration of the crowd of eminent men who have taught at the smaller universities for centuries, from the time when Luther and Melancthon taught and labored at Wittenberg, down to our own. It is true that the eminent men are invited from the smaller to the larger universities. But they have usually acquired their reputation at the smaller; have labored there during their best and strongest years, unexhausted and efficiently. Fame usually comes late,—when they are going down hill; the invitation to the great university limps along, when they are longing for their evening rest. We often hear it remarked, that they are resting there on their laurels.

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* I repeat what I have already said, that for students of theology, law, and philology, the larger universities have not a shadow of advantage over the smaller.

VI. Elementary Instruction in Natural Science at the University.

In the time of Melancthon, a Wittenberg mathematical teacher delivered an address of invitation to the students. In this he praised arithmetic, and urged them not to be discouraged by the difficulty of that study. Its first elements were easy; multiplication and division, it is true, required more labor, but with attention could be acquired without difficulty. There are, no doubt, more difficult portions of arithmetic; but, he adds, "I am speaking of the beginning, which will be taught to you, and useful to you." In reading this we can scarcely believe our eyes.* We shall, however, not wonder, upon becoming better acquainted with the school instruction of that period. At the gymnasia, arithmetic was either not taught at all, or as an extra study.† The university teachers, therefore, were obliged to go over what had been neglected at the schools, and teach elementary portions which are now taught in the lowest common-schools.

Let us compare with this the task of a university mathematical teacher at the present day. He only inquires, What is the business of the gymnasium as to mathematical instruction; how far do they carry their scholars? And if the answer is, To the understanding and practice of plane trigonometry; his task is, to make the *terminus ad quem* of the school, the *terminus a quo* of his own teaching, and to take his pupils from plane to spherical trigonometry, and so onward.

It is not very long since the first serious introduction of instruction in natural science into the universities; and more importance is daily attached to it. For example, my official predecessor, Court-councilor Von Schubert, was professor of natural history at large, and, at the same time, of the special departments of zoology, botany, and mineralogy. As requirements became greater, botany was first set off, and Court-councilor Koch appointed professor of botany. When I took Schubert's place I stated that, besides natural history at large, I could attend only to the special department of mineralogy; and accordingly Prof. A. Wagner was appointed my assistant to the chair of zoology. When he was transferred to Munich, a special professorship of zoology was founded, which was given to Court-councilor R. Wagner.

Any one even moderately acquainted with the progress of natural history—who has merely heard of the immense number of species collected, examined, and described, in late times, will see that one profes-

* See "*History of Education*," vol. i. p. 319. The present essay belongs with the previous portion (vol. iii. part 1, p. 180), in teaching natural history, and continues it more into detail, as to the present condition of that instruction in the universities. † Ib., p. 265.

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VI. Elementary [illegible]

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This is the condition of the natural-historical departments in the universities, as to their scientific aims; and how completely have these become changed within the present century!

But the university teacher is concerned, not only with science, but with the teaching of it; not only with beasts, plants, and stones, but with pupils. And has there been a change here, also, within fifty years?

I answer: None whatever. As to natural history, they come to the university just as ignorant as they did fifty years ago, notwithstanding the demands of science have increased in such a great proportion. They bring just as much knowledge of natural history as the Wittenberg mathematician's scholars did of arithmetic: that is, none at all.

What *terminus a quo*, therefore, shall be selected for the instruction in natural history of the university? The no-point of complete ignorance. Elementary instruction must, therefore, be given, at any rate; just as the Wittenberg professor had to teach his students the four ground-rules.

However disagreeable this may sound, we must by no means overlook this necessity, but rather give it the more attention. We must be definite upon the beginning, progress, and purpose of natural-historical instruction at the universities. And as to the pupils, we shall not speak of those few who devote themselves entirely to natural history, but of those who pursue professional studies, especially medicine.

These, as we have seen, are, in Prussia and Bavaria, examined in zoology, botany, and mineralogy; and thus must apportion their time and labor among the three; and also, the requirements from them must be proportioned to their attainments in the same. They are also examined in physic, chemistry, and pharmacognosy; which, together with their professional studies, leave them not much time for natural history. The most valuable part of the lectures on it they hear during one short summer term; the more diligent repeating the course, as far as their professional studies will allow, during the next summer term.

Let me be permitted the following observations on this point. For teaching Latin, some sixteen terms are employed at the schools; being eight classes. And in one short term—or, at most, in two—the student is expected to acquire an unheard-of mass of knowledge of natural science, when not even the A B C of it has been taught him at school.*

* I am far from requiring that natural science shall be put on an equality with languages at the gymnasium. This would be very absurd; but the entire neglect of it, at this day, seems in-

When I was appointed professor of natural history, I set myself about considering my duties. Without confining myself strictly to the usual conception of "natural history," I determined to become, though unostentatiously, a supplementary instructor for the omissions of the gymnasium course, and to teach such studies as my pupils ought to have learned at the school: that is, mathematical and physical geography, mineralogy, botany, zoology, and lastly, anthropology. In this manner also, I became clear as to the just extent and the proper ultimate purpose of my instruction.

My lectures were intended, as I have more fully explained in another place,* to introduce youths before employed almost exclusively about words, and who knew of no organ for learning except the ear, to a department of learning entirely new to them, and prosecuted mostly by the eye. To oral explanations I added, as far as possible, the examination of minerals, plants, and animals. This was, however, only to open their eyes, as it were; for a thorough, permanent, and satisfactory acquaintance with the subjects in hand was not to be thought of; their eyes were too fast shut, and the time much too short. This practice was first commenced in the lectures on mineralogy, botany, and zoology, as connected with general natural history. The exercise of their eyes, before so neglected, and incapable of intelligent observation, was secured by examining minerals, plants, and animals, and was so managed as to proceed together with the elementary instruction in mineralogy, botany, and zoology.

Such lowest classes in natural history require a teacher who can deal with each scholar, with inexhaustible patience, and lead him to consider, in a proper order, the species in their scientific arrangement; while at the same time he goes forward in the development of his power of vison and of comprehension, and in knowledge of the subject.

In such exercises the pupil of twenty years of age has no advantage over one of ten; on the other hand, the younger has, usually, much more receptive capacity, and an apprehension of things, purer and not modified by reflection.

The teacher of these elements must have the feelings and sentiments of an elementary teacher; he must be interested as much in the development of his pupil as in his science; must be able to draw up

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defensible. See my observations (p. 140, part 1, of vol. iii. of this work) on instruction in natural knowledge at the gymnasium. So far as such studies are introduced there, however, it is naturally the duty of the university to make changes corresponding with the amount of knowledge brought from the gymnasium by the students.

* See "*History of Education*," vol. iii. part 1, p. 168.

as correct a monograph of his scholar as of a species. Of course he must not lecture, but must teach dialogically. And after this elementary instruction, higher classes must follow.

It is the business of the scholars in elementary zoology, to go, under the direction of their teacher, if not through the whole zoological collection, yet through the most important parts of it. Its system must be made known to them, not by instruction mostly oral, such as often follows a rapid display of the animals, but must be made real by thorough examination of a scientifically arranged collection; and from this actual intuition the teacher must deduce the positive verbal definitions of the various species, genera, &c., as well as by comparing them together, a knowledge of the differences of the same.

The second class in zoology will study comparative anatomy; using, at first, Linnæus' Descriptive Zoology, and afterward Cuvier's "*Anatomie Comparée;*" the knowledge of the more important species of animals being now supposed. It is now also time to begin with organic chemistry and physiology.

The elementary instruction in mineralogy begins with a knowledge of the species by their external distinctions. Among other things, there is now necessary a knowledge of the forms and families of crystals, which can scarcely be gained at all except by the eye; and skill in recognizing them in the minerals themselves. From this elementary class different paths lead to the higher classes. The physical knowledge of the crystals leads to pure mathematical crystallography; mineralogical chemistry seems as necessary a complement to knowledge of the exteriors of minerals, as in organic chemistry, to descriptive zoology and botany. In this elementary course on mineralogy the scholar also receives the beginning of the more important departments of physical instruction, as electricity, magnetism, optics; and it is likewise a necessary preparatory school for geognosy.

Botany must also begin with the simplest acquaintance with the principal genera and species; to proceed either on the Linnæan system, or by a selection of the most distinct families of plants. Excursions and the botanic garden must be made use of at the same time. In the garden, all the species of one genus should stand together, as far as possible; and the scientific arrangement should be clearly distinguishable by the eye. A plan of the garden should also be lithographed, giving the genera as they stand on each bed. With this plan in hand, and with the names of the species on each bed, the pupil can easily make his own way, even with little aid from his teacher.

The elementary course on botany should last from planting-time till seed-time; to instruct the pupil not only in the recognition and

description of the species, &c., but in the development of plants, from their sprouting until the ripening of the seed.

In higher classes, the chemistry, physiology, and geography of plants will be taught.

Elementary instruction in mineralogy, botany, and zoology should be, in my opinion, as simple as possible; and not perplexed by premature hastening into branches which belong further forward. For example, mineralogical chemistry, as I have remarked, must follow descriptive mineralogy, which relates to external characteristics. The former, without actual chemical operations, is nothing but a description of operations, a statement of analytical results—nothing but mere words. Any competent person will testify that it is out of the question to pursue a thorough course of mineralogy and one of mineralogical chemistry at the same time. A brief anecdote will show why the former must precede. A certain chemist published an analysis of zircon, which gave a constituent not before found in zircon. A second distinguished analyzer, therefore, examined a number of zircons, but could discover not an atom of this constituent. This incomprehensible enigma was very simply solved, by the fact, to wit, that the mineral analyzed by the first chemist was not zircon; he having misnamed the mineral for want of thorough mineralogical knowledge. A correct determination of the mineral must precede the analysis of it; mineralogy must precede mineralogical chemistry. In the same way the anatomist might err if he had misnamed the animal he was anatomizing, from lack of knowledge of descriptive zoology.

VII. Students' Songs.

Popular songs, which are extensively sung at any period, reveal the tendencies of the people. "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Sometimes these are sad remembrances of a greater and better time past, lamentations over its transientness, longing after a better future, or joyous pleasure in the present. The unfortunate years of the French tyranny were already approaching when the Germans sang, "Life let us cherish, while yet the taper glows;" under the domination of Napoleon, was to be heard, in every street, "It can not always thus remain;" but, in 1815, the victors sang Schenkendorf's song, "How to me thy pleasures beckon, after slavery, after strife."

If we had a complete collection of the songs which the German poets have sung at different times, we should obtain profound views of the condition of the universities at those times. A chief chapter in the history of these songs includes the years of the war, 1813 to 1815.

In earlier times the students sang songs animated with the spirit of

the Burschen: beer, tobacco, idleness, dueling, were celebrated in a vulgar manner; and some most obscene songs, even, were in vogue. The reverse of these indecent songs were lamentably sentimental ones, in which the singer, putting himself in the future, looks back, with sorrow, to the pleasant life of the universities, and paints the Philister-life as quite the opposite of his lost academical paradise. There were some of them which celebrated the sickness which follows a day spent in dissipation.

I am not exaggerating; the Commers-book contains my evidence. For instance, how often, among others, were numerous reckless and abandoned parodies on the psalm, *Ecce quam bonum* (Behold how good, &c.), sung.

The pitiable young men of that period had no pure and lofty ideal; no patriotism nor religion inspired them. It was only here and there that a better spirit prevailed in their songs,—where and how could it have been displayed in their lives? In the "Country's Father" they sang:

> "Life and goods
> For thee to give
> Are we all as one agreed,
> All prepared to die we're found,
> Fearing not the deadly wound,
> If the fatherland hath need."

But it must not be supposed that this stanza proceeded from the same feelings with the watchword of the war of freedom, "With God, for king and fatherland." Very distant was any such conception, in a time when there was no opportunity to die for their country except by enlisting in a standing army; a most frightful thing to a student. The display of aspiration after the patriotic purpose of this poem, then, must be circumscribed by the narrow limits of student-life, where the singers with drawn swords, and a row of hats stuck on them, thought little enough of fighting or dying for their fatherland. The *Præses* of the meeting sung:

> "Then bring him up; his head I'll decorate
> By laying sword-stroke on his pate.
> Hail to our brother! long live he,
> And hounds-foot, who insults him, be."

But we hear nothing of the *Dulce et decorum pro patria mori*, and are transferred from the atmosphere of holy and noble patriotism to the wild, unholy sphere of the Comment; to the sphere of a false honor, recognized neither by Christians nor heathens, and, least of all, by God.

With the sad year of 1806 began a new period for the universities; by the awakening, in many students, of a deep and pitiful love for their

poor enslaved country. This was proved by the engagement of all the students to whom it was possible, in the war, in 1813.

At their return to the universities, in 1815, there came into vogue a new and loftier class of songs. Most of the previous student songs were disused, and their places supplied by patriotic songs by Körner, Schenkendorf, Arndt, and others. The same young men who had fought in the battles of the war of freedom, sung these songs with enthusiasm, and handed them down to subsequent generations. The influence of the Turners and of the Burschenschaft was prominent in causing this state of things.

The song-books published just after the war are very characteristic. One published by Binzer and Methfessel, in 1818, contained "ancient and modern student songs, drinking songs, patriotic songs, and songs for war and for the Turners." But it was a heterogeneous mixture. Many of the old student songs, such as "Ça ça, we've feasted," or, "Crambamboli," seem much too vulgar by the side of such lofty and heroic ones, inspired by patriotism, as "A higher sound is heard," "Sad foreboding, deadly weary," and "In a good hour are we united." The butterfly was still in the *pupa* condition. Still, some of the older songs admitted are inspired by nobler feelings, and express a noble love of country; as, for instance, "Place you, brothers, in a circle."

I need scarcely say that such men as Methfessel and Binzer would not admit any indecent songs, or even any in the least ambiguous; but they adhered too closely to university traditions in admitting songs there for many years.

In the same year, 1818, when Methfessel's book appeared, a collection was published at Berlin, entitled "*German Songs for Young and Old.*" This does not profess to be a Commers-book, and the editors were, therefore, not tempted to insert those weatherbeaten old songs; but the collection deserves mention here, because made by Turners and members of the Burschenschaft, and in great reputation among the students. It included the best popular and patriotic songs, especially such as related to the glorious war of freedom. There were also some choice religious hymns. These, indeed, could not properly be omitted; for if the motto of the Turners, "Bold, free, joyous, and pious," was true, they must naturally publish, not only, "bold, free, and joyous" songs, but "pious" ones also.

If this patriotic spirit had but continued to be more and more profoundly inwrought with Christianity! But the times were not ready for this, and therefore the young men fell into error. Sand's fearful crime, as we have seen, was a source of incalculable evils to the universities.

There next followed a period during which there was an end of innocent songs and singing; a period during which one part of the young men was absorbed in troubled melancholy and gloomy brooding over the future of the country. During this appeared, in 1819 and 1820, A. Follenius' "*Free Voices of Bold Youth.*"

These songs mark a turning-point. On one hand, they belong to the past, the period of the war of freedom; as, for instance, a number of songs by Körner, Schenkendorf, and Arndt. On the other hand, the writers, despairing of the present, turned their eyes toward a presumed better future, for whose introduction they called enthusiastically, and with a demoniac force in their poetry. There is no more despair about foreign dominion. Chivalry, empire, revolution, popular republicanism, freedom, and equality, rush confusedly about together in their enthusiastic compositions, elements most various, and even most inconsistent. Even Christianity is drawn into the elemental storm; that is, the name, for the thing itself is distorted and deformed beyond recognition.

Excellent melodies doubled the influence of these songs; their wretched convulsive perplexities were, as it were, thus gilded over.*

While this collection had a character in part only too distinct, that which succeeded it was without one. It contained songs of the most various periods, and most various and even opposite character.

After the year 1830, however, new elements are found in the song-books; radical songs, namely, by Herwegh and similar poets, marked, not by the earlier stormy poetical power, but by a profoundly bitter, and even malicious character. The confusion was increased by the addition to the previous enthusiastically patriotic songs, characterless cosmopolitan ones were added. We find Arndt's "What is the German Fatherland?" and "What do the Trumpets sound?" Körner's

> "This is no war to which the Crowns are knowing,
> A crusade is it—'tis a holy war," &c.

And in the same collection we find the Marseillaise! Did not these catholic-minded editors, then, know who are meant, in the Marseillaise, by the

> "féroces soldats
> (Qui) viennent jusque dans vos bras,
> Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes—"

by the "horde d'esclaves, de traîtres," &c.? And if they did know, what is the name which their insertion of it deserves?

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* For a correct opinion as to these songs, see the account of Karl Follenius and his friends *ante*, pp. 111, 125, &c.

With patriotism disappeared also lofty purity of morals and piety. The ancient vulgar songs which the Burschenschaft had driven away, make their appearance again in the modern song-books, with additional ones of the same kind. The beastly indecency of the ancient ones is, however, most prominent; and becomes doubly reckless and bad.

At a very recent period have been put forth, by students' societies, song-books which adhere to Christian and to strict moral principles. In some incomprehensible way, however, have crept into these books, among songs of the most beautiful character, a few stray ones of a diametrically opposite character. It is much to be wished that this error could be cured in a new edition, and the appearance of evil removed.

FAREWELL.

A heavy responsibility rests on every writer on pedagogy; a responsibility which increases if his book has any influence on actual life.

May this work of mine, and especially the latter part of it, give pain to no reader. I have written nothing without consideration and reflection; yet I can say, with the psalmist, "Lord, who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults."

And I say this, even in reference to those busy years of inquiry which I passed at Breslau and Halle, after the war of freedom; especially during that wretched period which came upon the universities after Sand's unrighteous deed. And still, during the most friendly and open intercourse with loved students, I was obliged to keep silence respecting many bitter truths, which, however, if said, would only have awakened or increased ill-feeling.

I hope that that severe discipline taught me moderation and religious modesty, which will prevent me from inconsiderate haste, even in statements most interesting to my heart.

It was my repulsive and troublesome task to describe the frightful condition of the life of the students, as it appeared, especially during the seventeenth century, in the most frightful period of the history of our country. With correspondingly greater pleasure I considered the many efforts which, at the beginning of this century, and during and after the war of freedom, were made for good purposes, by the students. During the first part of this time, there prevailed an active and laborious attention to science, and in the ancient and modern classics; and the young were also deeply interested in the profound and poetical study of natural philosophy. Love of their country, however, was asleep, although afterward only too sadly awakened; Christianity wore the color of a poetical romance, its moral side being more

out of sight; and the life succeeding that at the university, was thought of only unwillingly.

During the second part of this period, prevailed the powerful patriotism and strict morality kindled by the war of freedom. The romantic element, on the other hand, decreased; and Christianity appeared no longer in the character of romance, but rather suffered the *chlorosis* of a moralizing rationalism.

During about the last twenty years, the youth of the universities have passed into a third stage; I refer to the associations which have been founded under the name of Christian.

A holy courage is needed to serve and contend under that name.

> "A coward knave, who still doth stand,
> When 'Forward!' doth his chief command."

A students' association which professes that Christianity is its chief aim, has indeed aimed high. But the higher its purpose, so much the more earnest and efficient does its life become. May they always be thoughtful of the warning words:

> "Let our thoughts still watchful be,
> If our hearts for truth shall care,
> If our souls depend on Thee,
> If we *seem*, or if we *are*."

This is not said in the sense of a false pietism; it is an urgent admonition to do the truth (John iii. 21).

It should not be supposed that the previous noble aims of the youth of the universities have entirely perished, or that they are to be reckoned of a grade inferior to the magnificence of Christian enterprise. This would be altogether to misunderstand Christianity. Love of country will never be repressed, but sanctified and enlightened by Christianity. For my love of my country is the first element of love to my people; to the people among whom God has caused me to be born, to be useful and helpful to my neighbor; it is my preparatory school for eternity.

In like manner it would be a pseudo-pietistic barbarism to reject science and art; they should be purified and sanctified and made an acceptable offering to the Lord, from whom come all good gifts, and likewise all natural endowments, so far as they are good.

My love to many members of these Christian associations at the universities, upon which I heartily ask God's blessing, would not suffer me to refrain from these observations. May He preserve them, in this world of investigation, preserve them from vanity and love of life, and

grant them heroic minds in the difficult age in which we live, and strengthen and establish them.

To those dear young men who preserve, in the depths of their hearts, a love to their fatherland, I would say, preserve this love, and labor with reference to the nation. But should iniquity so increase as to force us to take up arms, then fight bravely to the death for your beloved fatherland, as the German youth fought in the war of freedom. But remain ever mindful, that after this brief life, you must journey to another fatherland, a heavenly. Love not, therefore, the temporal fatherland, as if it were eternal. As you have been instructed in Christianity from your youth, you know what is requisite to attain the heavenly citizenship.

Youths who, like myself and my student companions, devote themselves especially to science, should apply themselves with such industry as Bacon requires from those who devote themselves to philosophy. A superficial study of philosophy, he says, leads from God; a thorough one, to Him. Toward Him, because it leads not only to knowledge of divine things, but to self-knowledge; to perception that our knowledge is only a fragmentary collection. Every right-minded investigator must sooner or later humbly confess, "How vast is that of which I know nothing!" Then awakes the longing, with winged speed to comprehend those secrets which the most laborious application will not enable us, within this temporal life, to comprehend. Weary of our earthly tabernacle, we long for the freedom of the children of God; and sigh, with Claudius,

> "O thou land, the truthful and the real,
> Thou that dost eternal be,
> How I long to see thy bright ideal—
> How I long for thee!"

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF BOSTON.

Lion Andrew

VII. THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF BOSTON.

THE Public Library of the City of Boston is one of the broadly beneficial results* of Mons. Alexander Vattemare's labors in behalf of a system of international exchanges. At a public meeting of the citizens of Boston, called to consider the expediency of establishing such a system, held at the Masonic Temple, on the evening of the fifth of May, 1841, and presided over by the mayor, (Hon. I. Chapman.) Mons. Vattemare, of Paris, unfolded his plan, which contemplated a union of the literary and scientific societies of Boston, with their various and scattered libraries, into a grand central institution, and the erection of a building by the citizens, or the government of the city, for the accommodation of the united libraries and collections of the various societies, to which the whole people should have free access forever. The subject, after a resolution of thanks to M. Vattemare, and a pledge of cordial co-operation, was referred to a committee. consisting of Walter Channing, M. D., Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, Rev. George W. Blagden, and Charles Francis Adams, Esq., who, at a subsequent meeting, reported in favor of the project. They submitted detailed plans and estimates of the cost of a building, with ample accommodations for a large public library, paintings, statuary, etc. The committee urged the subject with the hope that soon such an institution might arise, "a monument of the public interest in good learning, and a noble means of gratifying that interest."

Nothing further was done in the matter in six years. In the mean time, a collection of valuable books, numbering about fifty volumes, was received from M. Vattemare. The fact was communicated to the City Council by his Honor, MARTIN BRIMMER, the mayor, in a message, on the twenty-eighth day of November, 1843. The books were presented, through the intermediation of M. Vattemare, by the Municipal Council of the City of Paris, in exchange for works which had been transmitted to that distinguished body on the suggestion of the same gentleman. They were deposited in the mayor's office, in the City Hall.

* To M. Vattemare's personal labors, with the Executive, Members of the Legislature, and especially of the Library Committee of the Legislatures of several states, and to his donation of books, from time to time, in pursuance of the system of International Exchanges, inaugurated by him, we may attribute, in no small measure, the recent development of our State Libraries.

A further donation from the same city arrived on the second of September, 1847. These were rare and useful works, relating to the internal police of France, statistics upon subjects of general and local interest, and historical works, illustrated by engravings, making a collection of ninety-six volumes.

His Honor, JOSIAH QUINCY, Jr., the mayor, Aldermen THOMAS WETMORE and WILLIAM PARKER, and Councilmen RICHARD B. CARTER, GIDEON F. THAYER, and WILLIAM EATON, were appointed "a committee to report what acknowledgment and return should be made to the City of Paris, and to furnish a suitable place within the City Hall for the safe keeping of these volumes." Upon their recommendation, the mayor was authorized to make a suitable acknowledgment, and to transmit a number of volumes to the authorities of Paris. It was thus:

Ordered—That the room in the third story and south-east corner of the City Hall, be appropriated as the place of deposit for the donations of the City of Paris and any other books of a similar nature that may belong to the city.

On the fourteenth of October, in the same year, the mayor sent a message to the City Council, strongly urging the formation of a public library, and announcing that "a citizen," (since ascertained to be Mayor Quincy himself,) "has offered to give to the city five thousand dollars, for the purpose of making a commencement, on condition that ten thousand dollars be raised for the same purpose, at large, and that the library be open to the public in as free a manner as consistent with the safety of the property."

This message was referred to the committee above named, with the addition of the President of the Common Council, BENJAMIN SEAVER, Esq., Messrs. SAMUEL E. GUILD and JAMES WHITING, with instructions "to consider the expediency of commencing the formation of a public library, under the control and auspices of the city, with authority to receive donations for the same, either in books or money." At the conclusion of an elaborate report, the committee recommended the passage of the following orders, which were unanimously adopted:—

Ordered—That the City of Boston will accept any donations from citizens or others, for the purpose of commencing a Public City Library.

Ordered—That whenever the library shall be of the value of thirty thousand dollars, it will be expedient for the City to provide a suitable place and arrangements to enable it to be used by the citizens with as great a degree of freedom, as the security of the property will permit.

The subsequent history of the Public Library of the City of Bos-

ton, down to the year 1856, will be found in the second volume of this Journal, (p. 203,) in an article by GEORGE S. HILLARD.

On the first day of January, 1858, the building erected by the City of Boston, for the accommodation of the PUBLIC LIBRARY—at an expense of $363,633.83, including the lot, which cost, with drainage and damages, $116,582.76—was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies and addresses; the latter by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in behalf of the Commissioners charged with the erection of the building, by the mayor, Hon. Alexander H. Rice, and by Edward Everett, President of the Board of Trustees, on receiving the keys.

PLANS AND DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDING.

The lot on which the Public Library stands, facing the Common, measures, on Boylston street, *one hundred and seven feet three inches*, and on Van Rensselaer Place, *one hundred and eight feet and eight inches*, with an average depth of *two hundred and thirteen feet*.

The building is rectangular, being *eighty-two feet wide, and one hundred and sixteen feet long*, exclusive of the towers at the rear corners, which are *fourteen feet and six inches in length, and eighteen feet in width*. The architecture is of the Roman Italian style. The foundation, upon which the walls rest, is composed of blocks of granite, about four feet in length, set and bedded in hydraulic cement. Upon these is laid a base course of hammered granite, above which, the exterior walls, excepting the front, are plain, being constructed of the best quality of faced bricks, with dressings of Connecticut sandstone. The front of the basement is constructed of the best quality of Rockport granite, finely hammered. Two stories in hight are seen from the front. In the first story in front are four windows, with a door in the center. The windows are circular-headed, capped with ornamental archivolts, supported on carved scroll-brackets, and crowned with treble keystones. The doorway is also circular-headed, and its style ornate, having deeply molded and carved jambs, with a carved and vermiculated architrave, and with projecting canopies or hoods, supported on brackets and crowned with keystones, all of which are ornately carved.

In the second story of the front are three large windows and two conspicuous niches. The niches are constructed of freestone, with heavy, projecting bases, carved in foliage and finished with ornamented architraves. Between the first and second stories are a rustic belt and a heavy, projecting balcony, inclosing the front windows of the main hall, and supported upon carved scroll-brackets. The corners or angles of the building are finished with heavy rustic work, the whole being surmounted with a rich Corinthian cornice.

The roof is constructed of iron, covered with copper. The lantern, by which the main hall is chiefly lighted, occupies the center of the roof, and is *forty feet wide, ninety feet long, and ten feet high*. It is built of bricks, and freestone, with a roof of iron, covered with copper.

The building is entirely fire-proof. It is thoroughly ventilated through the vaultings of the walls, by openings at the bottom and top of each of the rooms.

The corner-stone is a massive, hammered ashler of Connecticut sandstone, weighing five tons, and is securely laid at the north-east corner of the foundation. In the lower face of the stone, within a cavity, is a box, containing a sil-

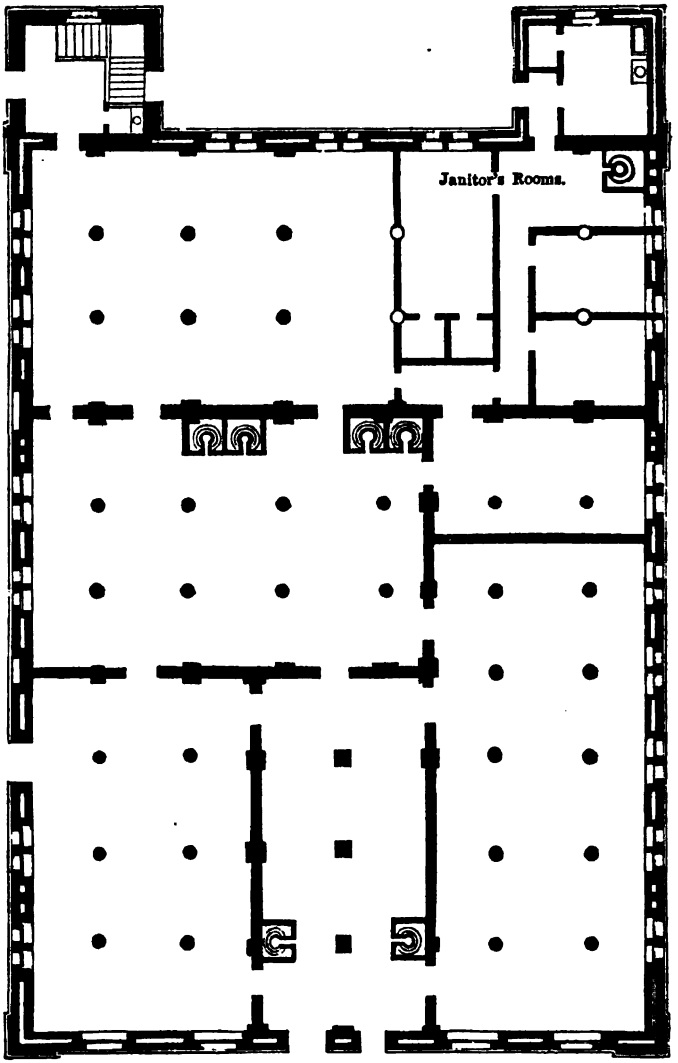

Fig. 2.—Basement.

ver plate, suitably inscribed, various city documents, coins, medals, photographs, etc. There is, also, in the same cavity a leaden box, containing a copy of each of the weekly and daily newspapers published in the city, seventy in number.

The front of the building recedes fifteen feet from the line of Boylston street, the intervening space being inclosed by a massive fence, of Italian style, constructed of freestone and iron. On either side is a space for light and air, and in the rear is a large area, which has been filled, graded, and prepared for flowering plants, ornamental shrubs, etc. These grounds are protected by an iron fence, resting upon a granite base.

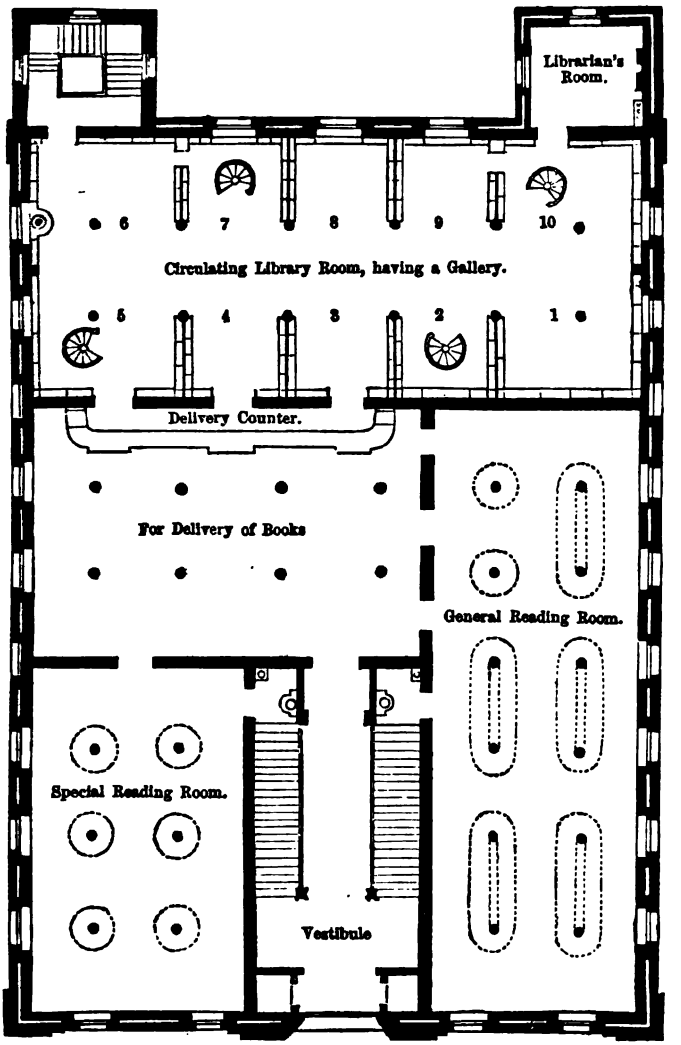

Fig. 3.—First Floor.

From the top of the building a magnificent panoramic view can be obtained, embracing the whole of the city, the harbor, and the surrounding cities and towns.

The basement, which is light and airy, is almost entirely below the grade of Boylston street. It is *eleven feet high*, in the clear, to the spring of the groined arches, and contains six large and convenient rooms, which will be used for unpacking, and storing books and newspapers, and for other conveniences of the library. The furnaces for warming the apartments and the rooms for fuel are

also in this portion of the building. The basement is approached from Van Rensselaer Place by doors in the towers. There is also an entrance on the easterly side of the building.

The first story is *twenty-one feet and six inches high.* The floor is constructed with groined arches. This story contains five apartments, separated by brick partitions. They are designated as follows:—vestibule, general reading-room, special reading-room for ladies, room for conversation and the delivery of books, and room for the circulating library. A spacious entrance, through three sets of richly-carved doors, leads to the vestibule, which occupies the central portion of the front part of the building, and is *twenty-two feet wide, forty-four feet deep, and twenty-two feet high.* It contains the main-staircase, which commences with two flights, each six feet wide, both leading to a platform, at an elevation of ten feet, from which a single flight, ten feet wide, ascends to the main hall. In the original design of the architect, which was altered by the Commissioners, the grand hall was directly accessible from the vestibule by slightly winding staircases, and the view from the entrance-door to the main ceiling was unbroken.

The staircase is constructed of iron, laid on brick arches, and bedded in cement, in order to prevent the noise usually made in passing over iron stairs. The flooring of the vestibule is of encaustic tiles. The walls, to the hight of the platform above mentioned, are plainly finished in block-work, and thence to the ceiling with Corinthian pilasters in scagliola and arched panels, formed with archivolts, supported upon pilasters and imposts, the whole being crowned with a full, rich Corinthian cornice and entablature, supporting an ornate ceiling, laid off in square panels, deeply sunk, relieved with heavily-carved moldings, pendent drops, etc.

The vestibule is lighted, in the evening, by two lanterns, with carved rosewood columns, standing upon newel-posts of Italian marble.

The room for the delivery of books, which is also the conversation room, is entered from the vestibule, and occupies the central portion of the east side of the building. It is *thirty-four feet wide, fifty feet deep, and twelve feet high.* This room forms a kind of inner vestibule, with delivery counters for the circulating library, and entrances to the general and ladies' reading-rooms. It is finished in a plain manner. The floors and bases are marble, and the walls and ceiling are laid off in panel-work.

The special reading-room, for ladies, occupies the north-east front corner of the building, and is *twenty-seven feet wide, forty-four feet deep, and twenty-one feet and six inches high.* It is intended to accommodate one hundred readers, having six circular tables, for books and papers, surrounding the elaborately ornamented iron columns which support the ceiling. The walls and ceiling are tastefully laid off in panel-work, exquisitely tinted and gilded. The arrangements for lighting this room, as well as all the other rooms, are complete and ample.

The general reading-room is in the north-west corner of the building. It is *twenty-eight feet wide, seventy-eight feet long, and twenty-one feet and six inches high.* It is finished and furnished in a style similar to the special reading-room, having every needful accommodation, with water-closet, etc. It will accommodate two hundred readers.

Almost all the walls, ceilings, and finish throughout the building have been neatly tinted in encaustic colors, relieved with gold.

The room for the circulating library occupies the remainder of the first floor,

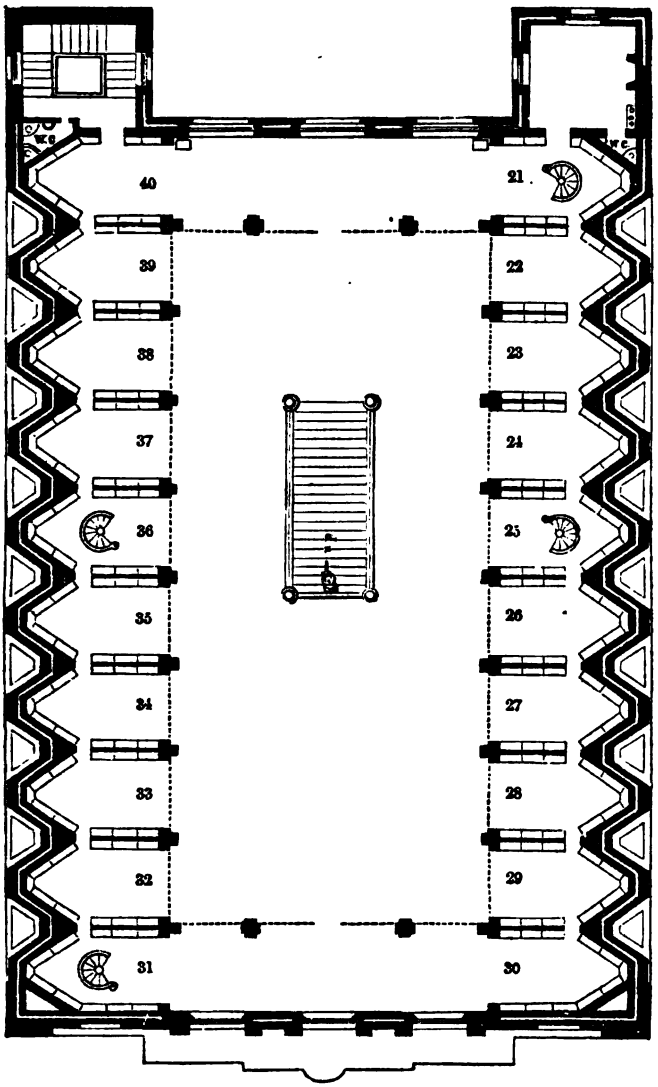

Fig. 4.—Principal Floor.

being upon the south end of the building. It is *seventy-eight feet long, and thirty-four feet wide.* It has shelves for forty thousand volumes, and will contain the books most frequently demanded for home use. It is plainly finished, with iron balconies and circular stairs, and is connected with the basement and upper parts of the building by an iron staircase in the east tower, and with the main hall by circular iron stairs. It may also be put in communication with the main hall by means of the dumb-waiters, which connect the rooms on all the floors.

Beneath the principal story, and immediately over the delivery room, is an

entresol, or half-story, *nine feet high*, in the clear, and *thirty-four feet square*. It contains a work-room, store-rooms, etc., and is entered from the balconies of the circulating library room. A flight of circular stairs also connects it with the main hall above.

The principal floor, and the floors of the alcoves in the large hall, as well as the basement floor, are constructed with iron girders and beams, with segmental brick arches, turned between the beams.

The entire upper story is occupied by the large hall for the reference library. This hall is finished in the Roman Corinthian ornate style. It has a clear space of *thirty-eight feet wide, ninety-two feet long, and fifty-eight feet high*. This space is surrounded by three tiers of alcoves, thirty of which are arranged on each side. Each alcove is *nine feet wide, fourteen feet deep, and twelve feet high*, in the clear. On both ends of the hall are two corridors, to correspond in hight with the alcoves.

The partitions between the alcoves are faced with three-quarters diameter, full, enriched Corinthian columns, standing upon pedestals of the finest Italian marble, highly polished. The columns, capitals, bases, and pedestals, occupy nearly the hight of the three stories of alcoves, and support semi-circular arches, with rich archivolts, keystones, etc. These, in turn, support a full, rich Corinthian cornice, without an architrave, whereon rests the lantern. The lantern is finished with coved angles, having perpendicular, circular-headed windows, with arches intersecting the coved angles, and separated by heavy ribs, supporting a deeply-sunk diamond-panel ceiling, relieved with richly-carved moldings, pendent drops, etc.

The floor of the clear space is of marble, and that of the alcoves is of the best southern pine, bedded in cement, on brick arches. The alcoves will contain more than two hundred thousand volumes, but only those on the floor of the hall are now shelved for books. Each alcove, besides being lighted from the clear space, is also illuminated by a skylight, admitting direct light from the roof of the building. As the alcoves are constructed, in the rear, in the form of a V, there are no dark corners. All the alcoves are inclosed by iron railings in front, and have openings for the free passage, from one to another, of persons connected with the library. There are four flights of circular iron stairs, connecting the several tiers of alcoves and galleries.

In front of the northern balcony is a large, marble-faced time-keeper, and at the southern end of the hall is the seal of the City of Boston, beautifully and correctly engraved. Over the seal is a splendid bust of JOSHUA BATES, the noble benefactor of the institution.

All the shelves in the building are of wood, and are covered with a fire-proof solution of glass.

By a vote of the Trustees, the shelves are permanently fixed in their places, and are arranged upon a plan called "the decimal system;" invented and applied, several years since, to the Public Library, by Dr. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, one of the Trustees and Commissioners. This arrangement of the books is peculiar to the library, and has been partially in operation at the temporary library rooms in Mason street, from the first institution of the library. Besides the alcoves on the floor of the principal hall, there are to be, in each of the two galleries, an equal number. The hall is so contrived that it will have ten alcoves on each of its sides, and the same number in each of its galleries, making sixty alcoves in all. Each alcove will contain ten ranges of shelves, and each range ten shelves, making just one hundred shelves to each alcove.

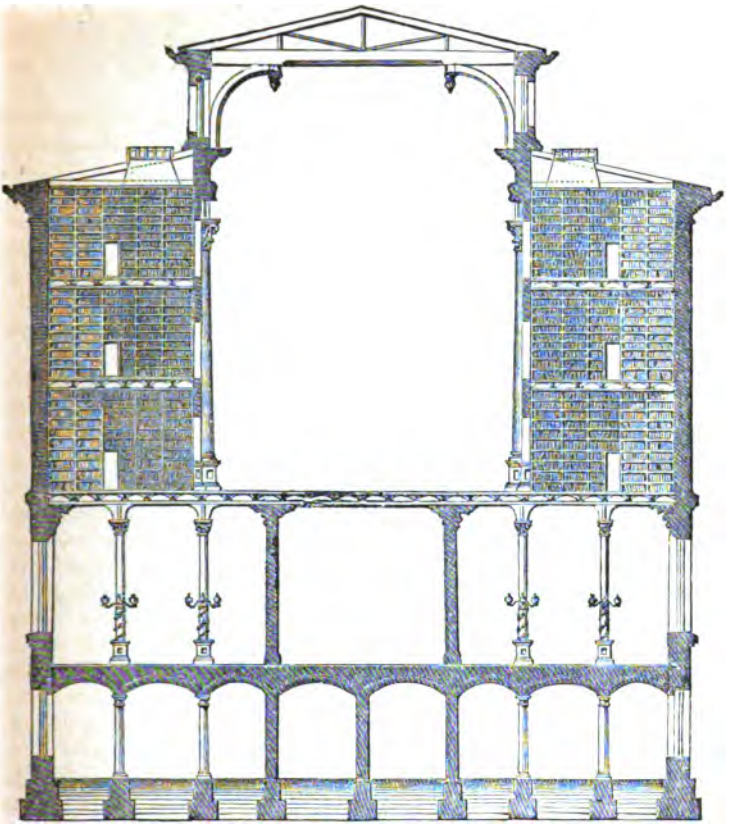

Fig. 5.—Transverse Section.

The shelves are so numbered, that the figures in the place of hundreds denote the alcoves, the figures in the place of tens the ranges, and the figures in the place of units the shelves. By this means, a book, if in place, can be found almost instantly. For instance, if a book is on the 2236th shelf, any one will know that it can be found on the 6th shelf of the 3d range of the 22d alcove. The figure in the place of thousands will show where the row of ten alcoves to which it belongs can be found. As there are twenty alcoves in the lower hall, all under the figure 1 in the place of thousands will show that the alcove is among the ten on the floor; and all under figure 2 and over 1 will show the alcoves in the gallery of the same hall. Again, all under figure 3 and over 2, in the same position, will show the first row of alcoves in the principal hall, those under 4 the second row, etc. The object of this decimal arrangement of shelves is to render the library more manageable than it could be under any other plan now in use, and also to simplify all the details connected with its administration.

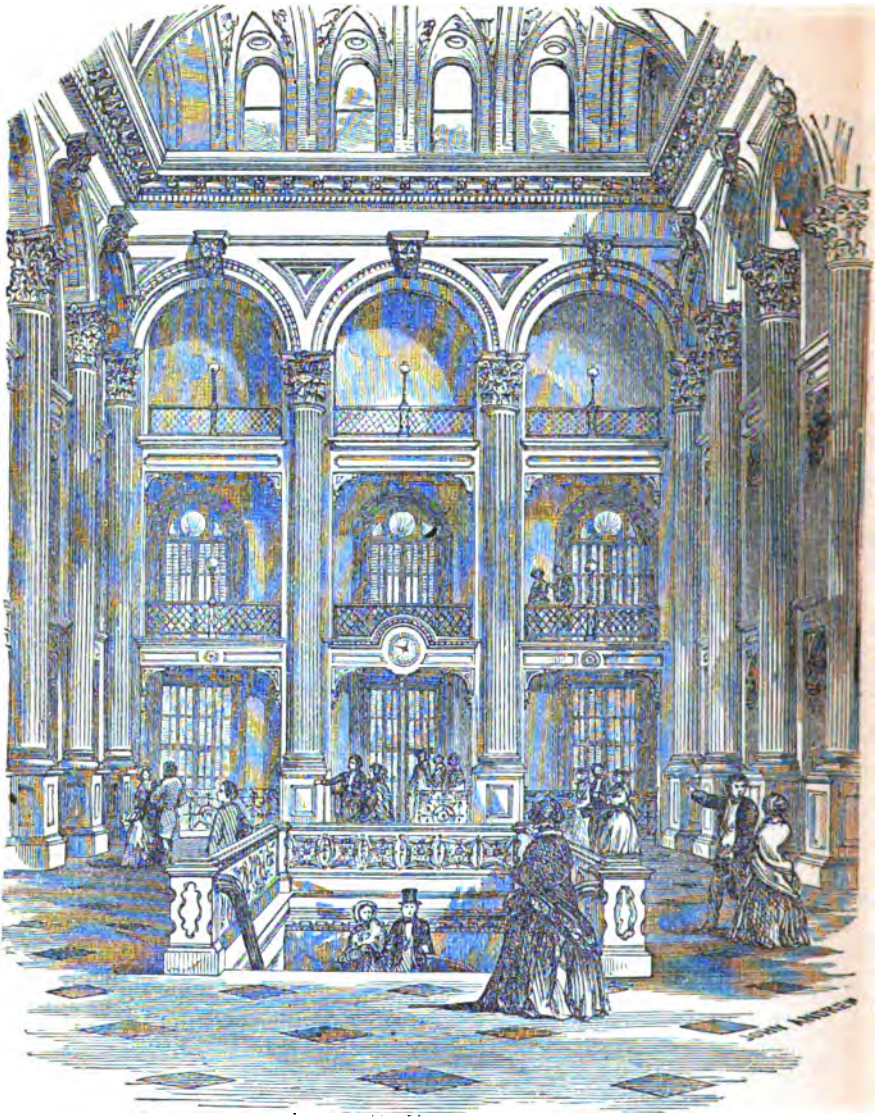

Fig. 6.—Interior of the Principal Story.

The west tower is six stories high. The lower story is of the same hight with the basement; and, with certain other rooms, is for the Janitor and his family. The second and third stories, of the same hight with the first story of the main building, are approached from the floor and balcony of the circulating library room, and are for the Librarian. The remaining three stories are included within the hight of the principal hall, with floors corresponding to those

of the alcoves and galleries. These will be used as rooms for the Trustees, and the general purposes of the library. The east tower is occupied by an iron staircase, arranged upon its sides, and ascending from the ground floor to that of the upper gallery of the large hall. The space in the center is intended to be used for hoisting boxes, etc.

CONDITION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, JANUARY 1, 1858.

Number of volumes in the library,	59,970
Number of pamphlets belonging to the library,	16,212
Whole number of names registered in the reading-room for the general use of the library,	15,699
Whole number of accounts opened for borrowing books,	14,394
Whole number of books borrowed in 1857,	92,233
Average number of volumes daily borrowed,	320
Largest number of books borrowed in one day,	730
Number of volumes, etc., received since January 1st, 1858, in response to the vote passed at the dedication of the library building,	1,471

LIBRARY FUNDS.

BIGELOW FUND. This is a donation made by Hon. JOHN P. BIGELOW, August 5, 1850, when Mayor of the City. The income from this fund is to be appropriated to the purchase of books for the increase of the library.

One certificate of City six per cent. stock, payable to the Chairman of the Committee on the Public Library, for the time being, for $1,000

BATES FUND. This is a donation made by JOSHUA BATES, Esq., of London, in March, 1853. The income only of this fund is to be, in each and every year, "expended in the purchase of such books of permanent value and authority as may be found most needed and most useful."

One certificate of City six per cent. stock, payable to the Mayor of the City, for the time being, for 50,000

PHILLIPS FUND. This is a donation made by Hon. JONATHAN PHILLIPS, of Boston, in April, 1853. The interest on this fund is to "be used exclusively for the purchase of books for said library."

One certificate of City six per cent. stock, payable to the Mayor of the City, for the time being, for 10,000

Besides the above, the following donations in money have been made to the Public Library, and the amounts have been appropriated to the purchase of books, according to the intention of the donors:—

JAMES BROWN, June 28, 1852,	$500
SAMUEL APPLETON, September 24, 1852,	1,000
JAMES NIGHTINGALE, March 5, 1853,	100
NATHANIEL I. BOWDITCH, November 4, 1853, value,	200
J. INGERSOLL BOWDITCH, December 4, 1853,	300
Mrs. SALLY INMAN KAST SHEPARD, September 17, 1855,	1,000
Also, a bequest of the late Hon. ABBOTT LAWRENCE, dated January 27, 1855, not yet received by the City Treasurer,	10,000

EXTRACTS *from the Addresses delivered on the occasion of the Dedication of the Public Library of the City of Boston, on the* 1*st of January*, 1858.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President of the Board of Commissioners, charged with the erection of the building, on delivering the keys to the mayor, spoke as follows:—

Welcome, fathers and mothers of our city; welcome, young ladies and children of the schools; welcome, lovers and patrons of literature and learning, of science and the arts; welcome, friends to good manners and good morals, and to those innocent recreations and ennobling pursuits by which alone vulgarity and vice can be supplanted; welcome, pastors and teachers of our churches and colleges; welcome, rulers and magistrates of our city, of our commonwealth, and of our whole country; welcome, citizens and residents of Boston, one and all, to an edifice which is destined, we trust, to furnish a resort, in many an hour of leisure and in many an hour of study, not for yourselves alone, but for those who shall come after you, through countless generations; and where shall constantly be spread, and constantly be served, without money and without price, an entertainment ever fresh, ever abundant, and ever worthy of intelligent and enlightened freemen. * * *

This substantial and spacious building owes its existence exclusively to the enlightened liberality of the municipal government. And I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to acknowledge most gratefully, in behalf of the Board of Commissioners as now composed, and of all who have been associated with us during its existence, the unhesitating promptness and unanimity with which every appropriation which has been asked, or even intimated as desirable, has been granted by successive City Councils. * * *

When a celebrated ruler and orator of Greece was arraigned for the costliness of some one of the many magnificent structures which are associated with his administration, and whose very ruins are now the admiration of the world, he is said to have replied, that he would willingly bear all the odium and all the onus of the outlay, if the edifice in question might henceforth bear his own name, instead of being inscribed with that of the people of Athens. But the people of ancient Athens indignantly rejected the idea, and refused to relinquish, even to the illustrious and princely Pericles, the glory of such a work.

Nor will the people of Boston, I am persuaded, be less unwilling to disown or abandon the credit which is legitimately theirs, for the noble hall in which we are assembled;—and while the munificence of benefactors, abroad and at home, and the diligence and devotion of Trustees or of Commissioners, may be remembered with gratitude by us all, the city herself—"our illustrious parent," as she was well entitled by our venerable benefactor, Mr. Jonathan Phillips—will never fail to claim the distinction as exclusively her own, that with no niggardly or reluctant hand, but promptly, liberally, and even profusely, if you will, she supplied the entire means for its erection.

These empty shelves will soon be filled. Gems and jewels more precious than any which the mines of either continent can ever yield, will soon find their places in the caskets and cabinets which have here been prepared for them; and living jewels, like those of the Roman matron of old—even the sons and daughters of our city—will soon be seen clustered around them.

It was a poetical and beautiful conceit of the great philosopher of our motherland—of Bacon, I mean, the contemporary and fellow-countryman of our Pilgrim Fathers—that "libraries are as the shrines where all the relics of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that without delusion or imposture, are preserved and reposed." But Cicero, methinks, did better justice to the theme. We are told that, when that illustrious orator and statesman saw the books, which composed his precious private library, fairly arranged in the apartment which he had provided for them, in his villa at Antium, he wrote to his friend Atticus, "*Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus.*"

"Now that my books have been put in their places by your learned Greek, Tyrannio, a soul seems to have been added to my dwelling."

Yes, my friends; within these walls shall soon be gathered, not merely the mighty masters of philosophy and rhetoric, of history and poetry, whom the Roman Cicero recognized and reverenced as introducing a soul into his dwelling, but the great lights of all ages, the wise and learned of all climes—and those, especially, who have adorned a civilization, and vindicated a liberty, and illustrated a Christianity which that Cicero never conceived of, shall be congregated around them. Here soon shall many a waiting heart be kindled into something of the exultation of that good old Bishop of Norwich, when he exclaimed, on the sight of a great library, "What a happiness is it, that, without all offense of necromancy, I may here call up any of the ancient worthies of learning, whether human or divine, and confer with them of all my doubts!—that I can at pleasure summon up whole synods of reverend fathers and acute doctors, from all the coasts of the earth, to give their well-studied judgments on all points and questions which I may propose!"

And not the reverend fathers and acute doctors only shall answer to our call;—but here also the poets of all ages shall be ever ready to sing to us their choicest strains;—the dramatists of all ages to rehearse to us their richest scenes of wit or of woe;—the orators of all ages to recite to us the triumphant argument, or the thrilling appeal, which may have shaken empires from their base, or changed the current of the world's affairs. Here, too, the practical inventor and ingenious mechanic shall exhibit to us his specifications, his plans, and his drawings. Here the great interpreters of Nature shall unfold to us the mechanism of the heavens, the testimony of the rocks, and the marvels and mysteries of animal and vegetable life. Here the glowing pictures of fiction and fancy shall pass and repass before our vision, beneath the magic wand of a Scott, a Dickens, or a Cooper;—the living portraits of sages and patriots, of other lands and of our own land, be displayed to us by a Guizot or a Brougham, a Carlyle or a Campbell, a Sparks or an Irving;—and the grander panorama of history be unrolled for us by a Gibbon or a Grote, a Hume or a Macaulay, a Bancroft, a Prescott, or a Motley.

May God, in his goodness, grant that increased supplies of wisdom, and knowledge, and virtue, for us and our posterity, may be its rich and abundant fruits;—that it may be so sanctified by His grace to the highest interests of the whole community, that here, at least, the tree of knowledge may never be disunited from the tree of life;—and that, constituting, as it will, the complement and the crown of our great republican system of popular education, it may do its full part in bearing up and sustaining, for a thousand generations, a well-compacted and imperishable fabric of freedom;—of that freedom which rests upon intelligence, which must be regulated by law, and which can only be maintained by piety, philanthropy, and patriotism.

At the close of Mr. Winthrop's address, His Honor, Alexander H. Rice, mayor of the city, on receiving the keys of the building, made a very appropriate address, from which we give the closing paragraphs:—

Our city has sometimes been called the Athens of America; sometimes in compliment; let it never be in derision. The real claim to that shining title must rest upon the culture which is bestowed upon the institutions and the arts, which suggest a resemblance to the charming "Eye of Greece." In the rising greatness of that peerless city, we are told that the enlightened and patriotic arbiter of its fortunes, the patron of literature and learning, not only reclaimed the works of Homer from threatened oblivion, but established a public library at Athens, open to the free use of its citizens, and by these acts established there the home of the Muses. The golden age of Cimon and Pericles followed—the age of the Gymnasium, of the Academy, of the Agora, of the Temple of Eleusis, of the Parthenon, and of the Propylæa, and of all the culture which produced and surrounded them—that age of dazzling splendor which has not yet ceased to excite the wonder and admiration of mankind. I may not pause to compare the civilization of that age with ours, in all that is useful and beneficent to man; but if, in our contemplations of the glory of that era, there come to us impressions of

exhaustless wealth, vast extent, and resources unapproachable to us of the present, let it be remembered that the wonderful Athens of history contained a population less than that of Boston to-day, and that the number of those who might exercise the rights of citizenship therein was less than our number of voters. How far the free library of Pisistratus affected the character and fortunes of the Grecian city, neither history nor tradition discloses; but we know that it preceded its power and splendor, and that these all came from the brain and the hand of man. Whether the noble institution, whose flattering auspices we here hail to-day, shall be the harbinger of a more illustrious future to our Athens, may depend, in some degree, upon the patronage which shall await upon these halls; for the power of knowledge is essentially the same in every period of time, though the fruits of its cultivation may be changed by the altered conditions of the race and the age.

But time forbids that I should pursue the theme; a single word more, and I have done. While here, gathered in joyous assemblage to-day, there are those—some of whom are before me, others are absent and distant—all of whom should have a place in our memories. It was the custom at certain Athenian festivals for the knights to make the circuit of the Agora, beginning at the statue of Hermes and paying their homage to the statues and temples around it. On this new year's festival, now first celebrated within these walls, since we have not yet their statues about us, let us summon to our thoughts, in living personality, the images of all the noble benefactors of our Public Library, the contributors of funds, of books, and of valued service; and let us pay to each the homage of our hearts' best gratitude, as they pass through the courts of our memories. Length of days and happiness to the living—fresh laurels for the memory of the departed—praises to Heaven for their gifts and their example.

Hon. Edward Everett, President of the Board of Trustees, on receiving the keys from the mayor, delivered an address, from which the following passages are taken:—

The City of Boston, owing to peculiar circumstances in its growth and history, has been, at all times, as I think, beyond most cities in the world, the object of an affectionate attachment on the part of its inhabitants—a feeling entitled to respect, and productive of good, even if it may sometimes seem to strangers overpartial in its manifestations. It is not merely its commanding natural situation, the triple hills on which it is enthroned, its magnificent bay and harbor, and the group of islands and islets that sparkle like emeralds on their surface—not merely this most admirable Common, which opens before our windows, delightful even at this season of the year, and affording us in summer, in its noble malls and shady walks, all that the country can boast of cool, and beautiful, and salubrious, transported to the heart of the city; "the poor man's pleasure-ground," as it has been well called, though a king might envy it;—nor the environs of our city, of surpassing loveliness, which inclose it on every side in kindly embrace; it is not solely nor principally these natural attractions which endear Boston to its citizens. Nor is it exclusively the proud and grateful memories of the past—of the high-souled fathers and mothers of the land, venerable in their self-denying virtues, majestic in the austere simplicity of their manners, conscientious in their errors, who, with amazing sacrifices, and hardships never to be described, sought out new homes in the wilderness, and transmitted to us delights and blessings which it was not given to themselves to enjoy—of those who in succeeding generations deserved well of their country—the pioneers of the Revolution, the men of the stamp-act age, whose own words and acts are stamped on the pages of history, in characters never to be effaced—of those who, when the decisive hour came, stood forth in that immortal hall, the champions of their country's rights, while it scarcely yet deserved the name of a country; it is not exclusively these proud and grateful associations, which attach the dutiful Bostonian to the city of his birth or adoption.

No, Mr. Mayor, it is not exclusively these, much as they contribute to strengthen the sentiment. It has its origin, in no small degree, in the personal relation in which Boston places herself to her children; in the parental interest which she cherishes in their welfare, which leads her to take them by the hand almost from the cradle—to train them up in the ascending series of her excellent free schools;

watching over them as a fond father watches over the objects of his love and hope; in a word, to confer upon them a first-rate school education at the public expense. Often have I attempted, but with very partial success, both in this country and in Europe, to persuade inquiring friends from countries and places where no such well-organized system of public education prevails, that our free schools do really afford to the entire population means of elementary education, of which the wealthiest citizen is glad to avail himself.

And now, Mr. Mayor, the enlightened counsels of the City Government are about to give new strength to those ties of gratitude and affection, which bind the hearts of the children of Boston to their beloved city. Hitherto the system of public education, excellent as it is, and wisely supported by a princely expenditure, does but commence the work of instruction and carry it to a certain point; well advanced, indeed, but far short of the goal. It prepares our young men for college, for the counting-room, for the office of the engineer, the *studio* of the artist, the shop of the artisan, the laboratory of the chemist, or whatever field of employment they may be destined to enter; but there it leaves them, without further provision for the culture of the mind. It disciplines the faculties, and forms a taste for the acquisition of knowledge, on the part of our young men and women; but it provides no means for their exercise and gratification. It gives them the elementary education requisite for their future callings, but withholds all facilities of access to those boundless stores of recorded knowledge, in every department, by which alone that elementary education can be completed and made effectual for the active duties of life.

But to-day our honored city carries on and perfects her work. The Trustees, from their first annual report to the present time, have never failed to recommend a first-class public library, such as that, sir, for whose accommodation you destine this noble building, as the completion of the great system of public education. Its object is to give to the entire population, not merely to the curious student, but to the inquisitive member of either of the professions, to the intelligent merchant, mechanic, machinist, engineer, artist, or artisan, in short, to all of every age and of either sex, who desire to investigate any subject, either of utility or taste, those advantages which, without such an ample public collection, must necessarily be monopolized by the proprietors of large private libraries, or those who by courtesy have the use of them; nay, to put within the reach of the entire community advantages of this kind, far beyond those which can be afforded by the largest and best provided private libraries. * * *

I am aware that there is still floating about in the community a vague prejudice against what is called book-learning. One sometimes hears doubts expressed of the utility of public libraries; opinions that they are rather ornamental than necessary or useful; and the fact that our time-honored city, never indifferent to the mental improvement of her children, has subsisted more than two centuries without one, is a sufficient proof that, until within a very few years, their importance has not been particularly felt. There is perhaps, even now a disposition to claim some superiority for what is called practical knowledge—knowledge gained by observation and experience, (which most certainly the Trustees would not disparage,) and a kind of satisfaction felt in holding up the example of self-taught men, in supposed contradistinction from those who have got their knowledge from books; and no name, perhaps, is so frequently mentioned in this connection as that of Franklin, who, because he had scarce any school education, and never went to college, has been hastily set down as a brilliant example to show the inutility of book-learning. It has been quoted to me in this way, and to show that libraries are of no use, within three days.

Now, Mr. Mayor, I need not tell you that there never was a greater mistake in point of fact. A thirst for books, which he spared no pains to allay, is the first marked trait disclosed in the character of Franklin; his success throughout the early period of his life can be directly traced to the use he made of them; and his very first important movement for the benefit of his fellow-men, was to found a public library, which still flourishes;—one of the most considerable in the country. Franklin not a book-man! whoever labors under that delusion, shows that somebody else is not much of a book-man, at least so far as concerns the biography of our illustrious townsman. We happen to have a little information on that subject in a book written by Franklin himself.

Hear his words: "From my *infancy* I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in purchasing books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's Works, in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them, to enable me to buy R. Burton's '*Historical Collections.*' They were small Chapman's books, and cheap; forty volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted, [and this is a sentence that might be inscribed on the lofty cornice of this noble hall,] that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way. . . . There was among them Plutarch's Lives, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of Defoe's, called an '*Essay on Projects*,'* and another of Dr. Mather's, called an '*Essay to do Good*,' which" did what, sir?—for I am now going to give you, in Franklin's own words (they carry with them the justification of every dollar expended in raising these walls,) the original secret of his illustrious career—what was the effect produced by reading these two little books of Defoe and Cotton Mather? "They perhaps gave me a turn of thinking, which had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life."

Yes, sir, in the reading of those books was the acorn, that sprouted into that magnificent oak; there was the fountain-drop, which a fairy might sip from a buttercup, from which has flowed the Missouri and the Mississippi—the broad, deep river of Franklin's fame, winding its way through the lapse of ages, and destined to flow on, till it shall be ingulfed in the ocean of eternity. From his "infancy," sir, "passionately fond of reading;" nay, with the appetite of a vulture, with the digestion of an ostrich, attacking the great folios of polemic divinity in his father's library. Not a dull boy, either, sir; not a precocious little book-worm; fond of play; doesn't dislike a little mischief; sometimes, as he tells us, "led the other boys into scrapes;" but in his intervals of play, in his leisure moments, up in the lonely garret, when the rest of the family were asleep, holding converse in his childhood with the grave old non-conformists, Howe, and Owen, and Baxter—communing with the austerest lords of thought; the demigods of puritanism—

Non sine dis animosus infans.

Franklin not a book-man? Why, he goes on to tell us that it was "this bookish inclination which at length determined his father to make him a printer," against his own inclination, which was for the sea; and when he had thus by constraint become a printer, his great consolation was, as he says, that "I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my chamber reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing."

Then he made the acquaintance of Mr. Matthew Adams, an ingenious, sensible man, "who had a pretty collection of books." He frequented the printing office, took notice of the bright little apprentice, and "very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read." Having taken to a vegetable diet at the age of sixteen, he persuaded his brother to allow him in cash half the price of his board, lived upon potatoes and hasty pudding, soon found that he could save half even of that little allowance, (which could not have exceeded two-and-sixpence a week, lawful money,) and this poor little economy "was an additional fund for buying books." What would the poor, under-fed boy, who was glad to buy books on the savings of his potato diet, have said, could he have had free access to a hall like this, stored as it soon will be with its priceless treasures? Further, sir, while working as a journeyman in England, he says, "I made the acquaintance of one William Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books;"—(somewhat, I suppose, like our friend Burnham, in Cornhill;)—"circulating libraries were not then in use, but we agreed that, upon certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any of his works. This I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could."

* We have never seen Defoe's "*Essay on Projects*," or the man or woman who had. The Essay is not contained in our edition of Defoe's Works, in twenty volumes.

Finally, sir, as I have already said, Franklin's first important movement for the good of his fellow-men was the foundation of the public library in Philadelphia. At his instance, the members of a little club, to which he belonged, tradesmen and mechanics of narrow means, threw into common stock the few books which belonged to them. A subscription was obtained from fifty young men, principally tradesmen, of two pounds each, and ten shillings per annum, and with this little fund they began. "The books were imported, the library was opened one day in the week for lending them to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned." "This was the mother," says Franklin, "of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It has become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and, perhaps, have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges."

No, sir; if there is one lesson more than another directly deducible from the life of Franklin, it is the close connection of a thoroughly practical and useful life and career with books, libraries, and reading. If there is a thing on earth which would have gladdened his heart, could he have anticipated it, it would be the knowledge that his native city, in two generations after his death, would found a library like this, to give to the rising generation, and to the lovers of knowledge of every age, that access to books of which he so much felt the want. And could it be granted to him, even now, to return to his native city, which dwelt in his affections to the close of his life, his first visit would be to the center of the ancient burial-ground, where, in after life, he dutifully placed a marble slab on the graves of his parents; his second visit would be to the spot in Milk street where he was born; his third to the corner of Union and Hanover street, where he passed his childhood, in a house still standing; his fourth visit would be to the site of the free grammar school-house, where, as he says in his will, he received "his first instruction in literature," and which is now adorned with the statue which a grateful posterity has dedicated to his memory; and his last and longest would be to this noble hall, where you are making provision for an ample supply of that reading of which, "from his infancy, he was passionately fond."

The shades of evening are falling around us; those cressets, which lend us their mild and tasteful illumination, will soon be extinguished; and the first day of the new year, rich in the happy prospects we now inaugurate, will come to a close. May the blessing of Heaven give effect to its largest anticipations! A few more days—a few more years—will follow their appointed round, and we, who now exchange our congratulations on this magnificent new year's gift of our City Fathers, will have passed from the scene; but firm in the faith that the growth of knowledge is the growth of sound principles and pure morals, let us not doubt, that, by the liberality of the City Government and of our generous benefactors at home and abroad, a light will be kindled and go forth from these walls, now dedicated to the use of the FREE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, which will guide our children and our children's children in the path of intelligence and virtue, till the sun himself shall fall from the heavens.

After reading the extracts from Franklin's "*Autobiography*," Mr. Everett added:—

In your presence, Mr. Mayor, and that of this vast assembly, on this first of January, 1858, I offer this copy of Franklin's "*Autobiography*," in Spark's edition, as a new year's gift to the Boston Public Library. Nay, sir, I am going to do more, and make the first, and perhaps the last, motion ever made in this hall; and that is, that every person present, of his own accord, if of age—with the consent of parent or guardian, if a minor—man, woman, boy, or girl, be requested, on going home, to select one good book, and, in memory of the poor boy, who half-fed himself to gratify his taste for reading, present it as a new year's gift to the Boston Public Library.

In consequence of this motion, many books (over 1400 in one month,) were received in the library, as donations.

VIII. JOSHUA BATES.

[By Prof. Ticknor, in Appleton's "*New Encyclopedia.*"]

Joshua Bates, whose munificent and unconditional donation of fifty thousand dollars to the city of Boston, in behalf of a Free Public Library, gave the decisive and guiding impulse to that enterprise, was born at Weymouth, in 1788—the only son of Col. Joshua Bates. He received his early education from the Rev. Jacob Norton, who gladly rendered this service to the most considerable among his parishioners. At the age of fifteen, however, and only a short time before the death of his father, the young man entered the counting-house of William R. Gray, Esq., an accomplished man of business in Boston, where he received his first training in affairs, and where he, at once, showed not only a remarkable capacity for commerce, in its widest and most generous extent, but a singular facility for acquring the knowledge needful for a commercial career. There he soon attracted the notice and regard of Mr. Gray's father, afterward lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and, during the middle and all the latter portion of his life, the leading merchant of New England. Into his employment Mr. Bates soon passed, and even before he had attained his majority was much trusted by both father and son, in difficult and large affairs. But troublesome times soon came; the embargo, the non-intercourse, and the war with England. Mr. Gray, who usually had, at least, forty square-rigged vessels afloat, suffered from frequent captures, made both by France and England, and dispatched Mr. Bates to the north of Europe, to protect his interests there—complicated in themselves, and much disturbed by the course and consequences of the war. This brought him into relations with some of the great commercial and banking houses of Europe, especially those of the Hopes and the Barings; and, having the control of Mr. Gray's affairs all over Europe, for several years after the peace, he was lead to a connection so free and intimate with them, that they too became aware, as Mr. Gray had long been, of his remarkable talent and judgment in whatever related to the commerce of the world.

In the year 1826, through the influence of Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co., he formed a house in London, in connection with Mr. John Baring, son of Sir Thomas Baring, under the firm of Bates & Baring.

On the death of the late Mr. Holland, these gentlemen were both made partners in the house of Baring Brothers & Co., of which Mr. Bates has ever since been an active and efficient member, and to which his uncommon abilities, knowledge, and judgment have given not a little of the power it now exercises over the greater interests both of Europe and of America. On one occasion, at least, this action has been direct and official. For when, in the year 1854, a commission was arranged, with full powers to make a final settlement of all claims from citizens of the United States on the British government, and from subjects of Great Britain against the United States, but chiefly for spoliations committed during the war of 1812–14, Mr. Bates, under the provisions of the treaty, was appointed umpire between the English and the American commissioners, in all cases where they should disagree. The position was an honorable and delicate one, involving not only great pecuniary interests of individuals, but the feelings of the respective countries toward each other, which might easily have been roused by imputations of injustice or unfairness. The two commissioners, as had been foreseen, often disagreed. Mr. Bates decided between them, plainly, promptly, and faithfully; and it is enough to say of his decisions, that the voice of complaint regarding them has not been heard in either of the countries between which he was thus called to hold the balance.

While he was yet a young clerk in Boston, and living at a distance from his family and its resources, he was eager, as he always had been at home, to improve himself by severe self-culture. He sought, therefore, on all sides, for good books and for a good public library. Neither was easily to be had. There was, at that time, hardly an institution in New England deserving the name of a public library, and certainly none that was accessible to him or to any young man in Boston, whose position was like his. The books, indeed, he got, and so laid the foundations for his future success; but he never has ceased to remember the difficulties he encountered in obtaining them. When, therefore, in 1852, he chanced, by a mere accident, to read the official report of a plan for establishing a free public library in the city of Boston, he was struck with the project as one which, if it could be carried out in the spirit in which it had been conceived, would be of permanent benefit to the city, and especially to the young men there who might be situated as he had been, above forty years earlier. He determined, therefore, at once, that such a project should not fail for want of means, and wrote immediately to the mayor of Boston, offering to contribute $50,000 toward its success, annexing no conditions to his munificence, except that the income of his fund

should annually be spent in the purchase of good books, of permanent value and authority, and that the city should always provide comfortable accommodations for their use, both day and evening, by at least one hundred readers. Nor did he stop there. As soon as a suitable building was undertaken, he began to send books for it in no stinted numbers; so that, when its halls were dedicated, January 1, 1858, between 20,000 and 30,000 volumes, over and above all that had previously been purchased by the resources of his fund, were waiting to be placed on its shelves. His wise beneficence, therefore, which gave the decisive and guiding impulse to this important institution, and which still continues to foster and enlarge it, will, in all future time, render the city of Boston his grateful debtor, and preserve, through the successive generations of its people, a fresh recollection of the large space he filled in the interests of the stirring age in which he has lived.

Mr. Bates was married, in 1813, to Lucretia Augusta, of the Boston branch of the Sturgis family, by whom he has only one surviving child, Madame Van de Weyer, wife of the eminent statesman, who has more than once been called to administer the government of Belgium, and who is now its representative at the court of St. James.

IX. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES.

(THIRD ARTICLE.)

BY REV. THOMAS HILL,

Waltham, Mass.

To the second great division in the hierarchy of science we have given the name of Natural History. The word Physics might also have been used, but, in either case, the meaning of the term is to be so far extended as to include all the studies of the material world in its natural state. Inasmuch as matter is formed and governed in subjection to the laws of space and time, this study of the material world logically demands a previous knowledge of mathematics; and no natural phenomenon is understood until the geometrical or algebraical law, suggested and exemplified by it, has been, at least partially, comprehended. In proportion as the scholar's knowledge of mathematics is enlarged, his power of comprehending the physical universe is increased. And, inasmuch as a knowledge of geometry is the earliest mathematical acquirement, those parts of natural history which depend upon the perception of forms may be earlier acquired than those which depend on mechanical, chemical, or physiological considerations.

Thus, although the fundamental principle of our classification places mechanics before chemistry, and chemistry before biology, our fundamental principles of education allow, and require, some instruction in botany and zoology before any is given in chemistry or mechanics.

A perfect knowledge of animals requires a knowledge of the vegetable world, which is their food; a perfect knowledge of plants requires a knowledge of their chemical constituents, and of their chemical relation to the soil and to the air; a perfect knowledge of chemistry requires a knowledge of mechanical forces. Thus, in the hierarchy, mechanics is the first department of Natural History. But we must, of course, be understood as now giving to the word mechanics a much wider signification than usual. We are including the consideration of all those phenomena of nature that arise from mechanical laws, that is, from forces whose prime effects have been shown to depend on motion. A discussion of the boundary between mechanics and chemistry, showing, for example, why we place color under mechanics,

and taste under chemistry, although interesting in a metaphysical view, and necessary for a clear understanding of the philosophy of our subject, will not be required in a purely practical consideration of the course of studies, such as we are now engaged upon.

There have lately been published several treatises on the philosophy of common things, some of which, although crowded with errors and puerilities, have a very extensive circulation. Others, free from these faults, are defective from their not containing the most fruitful facts and principles of mechanics. It is not surprising that text-books on these subjects should be grossly deficient, when we recollect that in geometry and arithmetic, the oldest and simplest sciences, it has been very difficult to find perfectly unexceptionable treatises, and still more difficult to find teachers who will use the best books in the best manner. We trust that, through the increasing attention now given to education, and especially through the influence of normal schools, recognizing teaching as a distinct and high profession, we may hereafter have better text-books upon all subjects, and also teachers capable of teaching in the best way, even if the manuals for instruction should be imperfect. In all departments of Natural History the best text-books are the objects themselves of which you would teach.

The earliest instruction of a child in the direct principles of mechanics should begin, we think, at the age of seven or eight years, and at first be incidental, that is, founded on the occurrences of the moment. In his use of little bricks for building, for example, he will have practical lessons, from which the teacher may deduce and render clear to the pupil some of the principal properties of the centre of gravity, and of the states of stable and unstable equilibrium. In playing with marbles and balls, opportunities occur for showing distinctly to a child the law of the composition of forces, the accelerating effect of a constantly acting force, the increase of momentum by the increase of velocity, and the like. The laws of elasticity also, and of the reflection of motion, may be exemplified in the rebounding of balls, the return of echoes, and the use of mirrors. Of course, it will be worse than useless to give to the child simply stereotyped phrases, or vague and indistinct ideas, such as are too often found in popular text-books; but, if the teacher has himself clear ideas on these subjects, he will find the child eight or ten years old ready to receive them. Even the principal laws of optics, of acoustics and thermotics, may be thus incidentally taught. The optical toys, which are in almost every household, musical instruments, burning-glasses, and the phenomena of dew, rain, frost, and snow, will give the needed opportunities. Only let the caution be continually borne in mind

that it is much better to confess to a child your own ignorance of a subject, than to attempt to give an answer to his questions while your own views are ill-defined and unsatisfactory.

One of the earliest studies, commencing, perhaps, at the age of seven years, should be geography. Let it be taught, at first, by the aid of a globe, without reference to maps. The immense magnitude of the earth will be apprehended by the child only when, in later years, he has travelled distances that have an appreciable ratio to the earth's circumference. At first he must be content with understanding accurately its form and motions. In describing these, the teacher should be careful to use the globe only as an illustration, not as though it were the thing of which he is speaking, else the child will never transfer his conceptions from the globe to the earth. In the course of thirteen years' service upon a school committee we have never found a teacher who gave to the scholars a clear conception of the physical boundaries between the five zones, and but few who even attempted it. The differences of climate and the number of degrees of extent are taught, but the child does not know what appearances of the heavenly bodies decide the position of the tropics and polar circles. Nor do we find that scholars in general gain any clear conception of the actual direction of places. Their views, being derived from maps, are necessarily erroneous. From one of the Holbrook Co.'s globes a child can readily be made to see that a straight line from one point on the globe to another, would always go through a portion of the earth, so that to point directly towards any distant place he must always point more or less downward.

The following extract from the instructions of the school committee in Waltham to the teachers of the sub-primary schools will serve as an example of the mode of teaching geography: "Begin with the globe; set it where the sun may shine upon it; bring Waltham to the top, and make the north pole point to the north. Lay a marble on the top of the globe, and show them that the light and shadow on the marble and on the globe are similarly situated. Explain the roundness of the earth; that it is only a bigger globe, under the little globe, as that is under the marble; and that the light and shade fall on it as they do on the globe and marble, making night in the shadow, day in the sunshine. Give them vivid conceptions of the size of the earth, by showing them how small upon the globe would be the landscape visible from Prospect Hill; how near to the point which represents Waltham would be the point representing the distant Monadnoc. Show them in what countries the sun is then rising, and in what setting, and where it is vertical, by simple reference to the

light and shadow on the globe; and, after an hour's attention to other studies or amusements, return to the globe, and show them how the light has travelled round. Show them, according to the season of the year, whether the north or south pole remains in light or shadow all the day. Repeat this lesson at all seasons of the year, but especially do not forget it at the equinoxes and solstices. Explain how reflection from the globe diminishes the intensity of the shadow on the marble, and the reflection from the window-seat partially enlightens the under side of the globe, while there is no window-seat under the earth to reflect light upon China and New Holland. Make the amount of reflection from the window-seat more apparent to them by covering it alternately with a black veil and a white handkerchief. In like manner, although the globe will, after sunset, be in the shadow of the earth, there is no larger body below the earth to cast a shadow on our antipodes.

"Take your children occasionally to walk; go on the hills; show them how the presence of a brook or river can be foretold from the extent of the valley, the nature of the soil, and the kind of vegetations, whether forests or grass; show them the roundness of the earth from the increasing dip of the horizon, as you ascend; make them perceive how beautiful the illusion by which we always exaggerate vertical heights and under-estimate horizontal distances; call their attention to the differences in soils, and in the rocks, and point out the effects of soil and of location upon vegetation."

The earliest lessons in astronomy may be given at a very tender age. As by the globe in the sunshine the best illustration of day and night can be given, so the idea of the moon and her motions is best communicated by procuring a ball a little over one quarter the diameter of the globe, and holding it about one hundred and ten times its own diameter from the globe. If now the moon is visible when the sun is shining, let the pupil lay the side of his head upon the globe, while the teacher holds the ball at the proper distance, in such a position that, to the child, it shall appear to be just over the moon. The sunshine upon the ball will appear to him to be of the same size and shape as the visible part of the moon. The endeavor in astronomy, as in geography, should be to lead the child's mind away from the illustration to the thing illustrated. For this reason it will be with difficulty that the school-teacher can go in astronomy to any advantage beyond the relations of the sun, earth, and moon. In order to give clear conceptions concerning the planets, stars, and nebulæ, the teacher must meet the pupils in the evening, when those bodies are visible. But it is of so much importance that the child should have

early a distinct conception of the relations of the solar system that few teachers would be unwilling to perform this extra labor. Astronomy and geography are to be used as the most powerful of all studies to develop the imagination; that is, the ability to conceive clearly and distinctly unseen phenomena.

Chemical relations are more abstruse than mechanical. It requires some maturity of mind in order to distinguish chemical compounds from mechanical mixtures; and yet, at the age of nine or ten years, the simplest phenomena of chemical change begin to excite the child's curiosity; and it will be greatly to his advantage if that curiosity is gratified with correct explanations and sound principles, instead of being lulled by a plausible pretence of explanation. Oxidation, especially in the forms of combustion and rust, is the most prominent instance of chemical metamorphosis, and will afford to the skilful teacher the opportunity of giving, in what we have called an incidental way, many of the fundamental principles of chemical affinity, atomic proportion, atomic combinations, the stability or instability of chemical equilibrium, and so on. We acknowledge that this implies a large amount of intellectual life in the teacher; but one who is intrusted with the direction of these earliest movements of the expanding mind should be a person not only of some acquirements, but of some intellectual vivacity. Nothing more surely characterizes a skilful teacher than the ability to seize upon the right moment and the right occasion for illustrating the principles which he wishes to impart. One perpetual danger, it must not be forgotten, attends these essays to give the first instruction to a child — the danger of extinguishing its natural thirst for knowledge. This may be done by diverting the attention to other themes, by discouraging or disgusting the mind with difficulties, or by communicating knowledge in such a way as to puff up the child with the conceit that he now understands the whole science of which you have given him some of the simplest rudiments. The art of giving instruction may be compared to that of letter-writing, of which it is humorously said that the great secret is to make the recipient "wish there was more of it."

Inasmuch as botany, while it depends in its physiology upon chemistry, classifies plants solely by texture and form, a knowledge of the common weeds and flowers, trees, mosses and lichens, of the neighborhood, may be given to a child as soon as it is old enough to distinguish them. In the tabular view there is an accidental error, making the incidental instruction in biology commence at a later period than we should advise. From the day that the child enters the sub-primary

school we would have it receive oral instruction, illustrated by living plants, if possible, or by dried specimens, or even by drawings, in systematic botany. At first the child may simply be taught to recognize the plants as individuals; so that he may be able to say, "This is a twig of sugar-maple, and this a sprig of white-birch; here is a bird-foot violet, and there a dandelion." But the plants must be recognized out of doors, as well as in the house, that the child may early learn to notice and enjoy the differences of form and color in the general appearance of the growing tree or plant.

In the first volume of Agassiz' Contributions to the Natural History of the United States, he shows that of the six divisions of animals (branches, classes, orders, families, genera, and species), the family is characterized by a resemblance of general form. There is, doubtless, a close analogy in the principles of classification that must be adopted in botany, to those which Agassiz develops for zoölogy. As a general rule, the plants which belong to one family are recognized by a general resemblance of form in the flower, fruit, and seed; while, to distinguish a genus, attention must be paid to detail; and, in the formation of a class, attention must be paid to organization. Hence the family, both in botany and zoölogy, is the most apparent of the higher groups in classification, and the best adapted, by its obvious dependence upon form, to be the starting-point for a child's comparisons. It is not to be brought, as an exception to this remark, that some of the great families contain tribes bearing no obvious resemblance to each other, but rather should this analogy to zoölogy be taken as an evidence of the necessity for elevating some of the sub-families in botany to the rank of families.

The second step, therefore, in botanical instruction should be to add to the name of the plant the name of its family, and a perception of the family likeness; so that the child can say, "This is a hazel; it belongs to the oak family, and shows its likeness to the oak in its catkins of staminate flowers, and in the involucre surrounding the nut; this is an alder, which belongs to the birch family, and shows its relation by having both its pistillate and staminate flowers in scaly catkins, having two or three blossoms under each scale." Of course, the teacher must remember the caution which we uttered, in speaking of chemistry, and not allow the child to think that a few words, such as those here given, can embody all the points of resemblance which characterize a family. Much less should the child be permitted to learn any truth of this kind by rote. Verbal memory has an important place in a true scheme of education, as we shall endeavor to show

in our next article. But the very object of introducing geometry, botany, and zoölogy, into our course of studies is defeated, when the pupil is required to commit the words of the text-book, or formulas given by the teacher, to memory. Yet, so accustomed are some teachers to this mode of instruction, so incapable, apparently, of conceiving of any better plan, that we have known a teacher require her pupils to repeat the words of Dr. Gray's "How Plants Grow;" evidently thinking that she was thus using, while she was abusing, that excellent little book.

The book just named may be taken up, as the third step in botanical study, at the age of ten or twelve years. If deferred to a later period the study becomes distasteful, as the habit of observation becomes weaker from the distraction of the mind by other cares. It is easy to give to the child, during the ten years between five and fifteen, a perfect familiarity with three or four hundred species of common plants, such as he meets in every walk. This labor spread over so long a series of years would be by no means onerous; and the names and facts impressed upon the mind in that tender period will never be forgotten. If it be objected that there is no text-book prepared for the use of children too young to use "How Plants Grow," we reply that the plants themselves should be the text-book. The only artificial help in teaching botany to children in the sub-primary school, which, we think, would prove really valuable, would be a series of thirty or forty charts, each containing the illustrations of some one important family, — magnified drawings of the peculiarities in the organs of fructification characterizing each family, — with, perhaps, a drawing of a few of the common species.

Zoölogy is not forced upon the child's attention so frequently as botany in the natural world. Yet, from the motion, and still more from the intelligence, of animals, they are even more interesting to the child than plants. Moreover, although physiology demands a knowledge of chemistry, yet the classification of animals, like that of plants, depends principally upon organic structure, and upon the relation of the creatures to the outward world. The child of five years old is, therefore, interested to notice the difference between animals, and to learn their names. In a country school-house, in the month of May or June, it may be that the songs of thirty or forty different species of birds are heard in the course of a single day. It would be no waste of time, but, on the contrary, a thing of inestimable value, should the teacher enable his pupils to distinguish these birds by their song, learn their appearance and habits, and the families into which they are grouped. The fear is sometimes expressed, by our poets,

lest a scientific acquaintance with flowers should destroy their beauty; and lest the song of the bird might have less melody when the songster had been burdened with a barbarous Latin name; but among our acquaintance we have not found these fears realized. On the contrary, a thorough scientific acquaintance with the beautiful objects of nature only increases the pleasure which we take in beholding them. The syntactical parsing and metrical analysis of an ode will not injure our appreciation of its melody and its sentiment, provided the composition has true lyric merit. The beautiful in nature will bear the closest criticism, and the longest investigation, without ever "palling upon the sense." "Nature," says the Concord seer, "never became a toy to a wise spirit." The wisdom and beauty, embodied in each organic work of nature, is "not only vast, but infinite," so that there is no possibility of exhausting it.

The insects in any given country are, at least, as numerous as its plants. The mysteries of insect transformation, the wonderful mechanical instincts that many of them display, the brilliancy of the colors of some, and the pertinacity with which others thrust themselves upon our notice, render insects peculiarly fitted to engage the child's attention, and to serve as a basis for incidental instruction in zoölogy. In this class of animals the orders are more conspicuously distinguished than the families; and it will, perhaps, be best to content one's self, at first, with teaching the child to refer insects to their orders. Insects are so easily preserved in their natural appearance, that we should suppose each school might have a small collection of the most common species to be seen in the neighborhood, grouped in their orders and families, to serve as a reference for any insects which the child might catch and bring in. We are aware of the vastness of the field of zoölogy, and of the impossibility of a child learning to recognize more than a very small proportion of the insects of his neighborhood. Yet, on account of this very magnitude, we would say, let his attention be early directed to this field; so that, if it should prove to be one in which he is peculiarly fitted to labor, he may have the advantage of an early beginning. We would also repeat the caution to be exact in the ideas which are given to the pupil. The main object in these first scientific lessons must be to induce the spirit of exact, patient observation; calling the child's attention to differences as carefully as to likenesses, and to the fact that the likeness in one part does not necessarily imply a likeness in other parts. The foliage of two trees may be almost identical, while the flowers and fruit are exceedingly diverse. While this spirit of patient and exact observation is cultivated, general principles, already discovered by

the inductive philosophy, and firmly established, may incidentally be placed before the mind of the pupil, a clear guide to his sense and reason.

Comparative anatomy will thus be naturally begun at an early period. The homology of the parts in vertebrate animals with those of the child's own body will naturally be the subject of continual lessons, and the difference between these or the organs of insects and crustaceans must also be pointed out. Human anatomy and physiology have been introduced into many of the schools of New England during the last fifteen years with very great zeal; they would be much more effective, more interesting, and more valuable, if they were preceded by the lessons concerning which we have now given these brief hints. It is against the course of nature to call the child's attention too early to the functions of its own body. A better result, intellectually and morally, might be attained if the teachers and parents took care of the diet and exercise of the child, his clothing, and the temperature and ventilation of the rooms in which he sleeps and studies, until at least the age of thirteen to fifteen years. The mind would then have been prepared by previous studies for understanding the subject intellectually, while the greater development of the observing powers would prevent the danger of premature and excessive habits of mental introversion. The study of our own bodies approaches nearer to psychology, forming a natural introduction to it, and should, therefore, come last in the studies of Natural History. The study of anatomy and physiology naturally and inevitably leads the child to a psychological investigation into the facts of consciousness involved in the exercise of many of the functions of his own frame. In the tabular view (vol. VI. p. 188) the words Anatomy and Physiology ought to extend into the first years of the high school.

The importance of beginning botany and zoölogy in the very earliest years of school life, as we intended to have placed them in our tabular view, cannot be fully estimated without taking into consideration also their connection with the other branches of education. The habit of constant, attentive observation, surely learned in no other way than through early practice in these sciences, is of immense value in every walk of practical or speculative life. The habits of animals, and the manifestation of their various gifts of instinct and intelligence, are the best stimulants and aids to psychological research, as we intend hereafter to show. So, also, in theology, there is nothing more certainly adapted, in a scheme of intellectual education, to foster reverential views of the being and providence of God, than to observe the

lilies of the field how they grow, and to consider how He openeth his hand and satisfieth the desire of every living thing. But this consideration will be brought again into notice when we approach the fifth division of our hierarchy.

In their relation to the mathematical and to the artistic culture of the child botany and zoölogy have also a peculiar value. Leaves and flowers, and insects, are admirable objects, from which the child may make his first attempt at drawing, — and the forms of organic life constitute the most beautiful of the unsolved problems which are now presented to the geometers of our race. The pressed leaves and mounted insects, kept in the school-room as types and standards for botanical and zoölogical reference, may also be used as drawing-patterns of the highest excellence. The insects could not be safely removed from the glass case in which they should be kept; but the pressed leaves, as being more easily replaced, if injured, might be taken to the child's desk, or to the blackboard. Nor is it unworthy of notice that the exercise of recognizing birds by their notes is of great value in the cultivation of a quick and exact musical ear.

Finally, among the prominent advantages of this early introduction of the studies of Natural History, must be placed the fact that it accords with the child's tastes, as well as with the natural order of intellectual development. All children are pleased with crystals, plants, flowers, insects, birds, and beasts, and are interested in intellectual and spiritual truths only when dressed in living figures. By following, therefore, the example of Nature, and speaking in parables to those who cannot understand the truth in other forms, we not only adopt the most successful mode of conveying the truth, but one of the most efficacious of all modes to afford the child the means of present and future happiness.

Of the course of instruction above the primary schools we need not particularly speak, since the general principles are easily applied to the whole course. We should simply say, that, in proportion as the pupil's mind enlarges, the course of physics should deal more with general laws, and less with the details by which those laws are established. This is, of course, on the supposition that the education is designed for the general purposes of liberal culture. Physics and Natural History have been unjustly neglected in many plans of education; but it would, by no means, restore the course of study to a right balance, if, after introducing these sciences in their proper place in the earlier years of school life, we should afterwards allow them to expand and fill the years of the collegiate term, when the student

ought to be more fully employed in political, psychological, and theological inquiries. In the grammar and high school, after a proper preparation in the younger grades, we can readily give as much of the mechanical sciences as it is profitable to teach to those who have no special aptitude for the studies. With the preparation now given in the primary and sub-primary schools, this is impossible; and a part of the collegiate course is of necessity occupied in giving instruction in the physical sciences better adapted to children than to youth. The preparation of such excellent text-books as Guyot's Earth and Man, and of Agassiz' and Gould's Zoölogy, is thus rendered a thankless work; these books which are adapted for the widest usefulness, are, by the insufficient preparation of the younger scholars, confined to a few of the more advanced high schools and academies. Changes in the system of public education are usually made with difficulty, and it is, doubtless, well that it is so; since otherwise our schools would suffer, even more than at present, from the eccentricities and errors of those who have control over them. At present the legal guardians of the school, the teachers, the scholars, and the parents, constitute four classes, who resist any change whether for better or for worse. In the changes which we are, in these papers, advocating, the difficulty will be still greater, from the fact that the proposed alterations imply an alteration from the very beginning of the educational course; and our views concerning the high school are perfectly impracticable, unless the children in the high school have been from infancy accustomed to exact observation, rapid and accurate conception, and familiarity with the results of cautious and sound inductive reasoning. So far from this being the case in the ordinary schools, that we may more truly say the child is taught to neglect observation, to abstract his mind from things to books, to repeat words without clear conceptions, to adopt the results of hasty and unsound speculations. If the reader think this language too strong, let him reflect that into not one school in a thousand are crystals, minerals, plants, insects, &c., brought for examination; — let him remember that among the teachers not one in twenty even knows the difference between a moss and a lichen, a bug and a beetle, a moth and a butterfly, and not one in fifty but would reprove a child for bringing such things into the school-room; — let him recall the fact that, in spelling, the child is systematically taught to deny the truth of his own sense of hearing; so that, by the age of fifteen, nine-tenths of our children have begun to hear, in the spelling and in the pronunciation of words, sounds that do not exist, and not to hear sounds that are distinct; — let him remember that in the majority of schools drawing is not taught, and, when taught, it is

usually drawing from a copy, so that it feebly exercises the observing powers, or it is inventive drawing, which does not develop the observing powers at all; — let him remember how much time is given to arithmetic, not to counting beans, arranging them in groups, &c.; but to abstract arithmetic, which, even in its so-called practical examples, usually excites the conception only of the names of number, or of the appearance of the Arabic notation; to arithmetic, which was introduced into primary schools only after a long struggle against the tyranny of grammar, and has now become a King Stork more intolerable than the King Log; — let him remember that geography is the only science of observation in our schools, and that geography is often a mere getting of words by rote, and even at best, in the primary schools, only occupied with the observation of maps, instead of the observation of things; — let him remember all this, and he will, at least, see how poorly the primary and sub-primary schools prepare the child for any scientific studies in the grammar and high school.

For this reason, in all these papers, we occupy ourselves more especially in indicating what we conceive to be the true mode and time of beginning each study, and pass by the studies of the high school and college; not that we take less interest in the studies of the more advanced student, but because we are convinced of the absolute necessity of beginning well, if we would produce the highest educational effect. Each day's mental state depends, in part, upon the previous education; and we cannot say how early this process of education begins to influence the mental development. For our part, however, we have long held, what we find to have been the opinion of Comenius (Amer. Journ. of Ed., vol. v., p. 281), that education begins before birth, and is received through the mental and physical condition of the mother.

X. ASSISTANTS AND DISCIPLES OF PESTALOZZI.

[THE following remarks will appear as a Preface to a volume of Biographical Sketches of several of Pestalozzi's Assistants and Disciples—made up of articles originally prepared for this Journal.]

PESTALOZZI'S power, as a doer of good, was based upon his untiring energy and his impregnable benevolence and faith in human nature. His intellectual endowments, in the endeavor to develop into a complete system the principles which he felt so strongly, failed him, and he continually became obscure and contradictory. His method of instruction was as spontaneously and unpremeditatedly the result of instinct, as the benevolence which inspired him; but he was unable to state its principles philosophically, or to develop his methodology logically.

Thus he was obliged to rely, to a degree unusual for the leader of a great reform, upon assistants, even for the statement of his views, and the details of his modes of operation; and, accordingly, an account of himself, and of his labors, must, in order to be complete, contain an apparently excessive proportion of narrative relating to them.

In finding such assistants, Pestalozzi was remarkably fortunate. Niederer, Schmid, Krüsi, Buss, Tobler, and many more of the numerous teachers at Burgdorf and Yverdun, were all men of remarkable capacity, either for some one department of investigation and instruction, or for good qualities of mind and heart, which endeared them to Pestalozzi, each other, and the pupils; often for both. And still more remarkable than such endowments is the eminent and persevering self-denial with which some of them—as Niederer—giving up positions of comfort and influence, already secured, entered the ill-managed and disorderly institution, and remained there, year after year, sometimes with small salaries and sometimes with none, and not even always finding abundance of ordinary food, through evil report and good report, until absolutely convinced that their usefulness in it was ended. Nor was this all. With the single exception of Schmid, Pestalozzi's teachers resigned to him whatever of fame and profit might have come from the manuals they compiled in their respective studies, and the books were published either as by Pestalozzi himself, or as the productions of the institution. Accounts of these assistants will be found in the following pages; some of them reasonably complete, but some, owing to the scarcity of accessible materials, somewhat scanty.

The present work also contains short biographies of some of the more prominent of those who were instrumental in propagating Pestalozzi's views and methods in Germany. The introduction of his system into Germany constitutes the most remarkable chapter in the history of modern education.

Of this chapter, a portion, complete within itself, and both interesting

and important, consists of the introduction of Pestalozzianism into the kingdom of Prussia.

During the subjugation of Germany under Napoleon, the minds of the best and ablest of the Prussian statesmen and philosophers were most eagerly occupied in inventing means which, if not available for an immediate struggle for independence, should at once begin the work of raising the moral, mental, and physical character of the nation to a standard of elevated development, which might insure such a struggle in future, and its success.

Among the instrumentalities used for this purpose, which, together, amounted almost to an entire reorganization of the kingdom, the improvement in education, resulting from the introduction of the Pestalozzian system—and still more of the spirit of that system—occupied a prominent place. To the King and Queen, to the ministry of education, to Fichte, in short, to the most influential public men of that day, Pestalozzi's views seemed to promise the happiest results; and, with a rare liberality and decision, measures were at once taken to prove them experimentally and thoroughly.

These measures were two: the employment of an able Pestalozzian in founding or reforming institutions already existing, and the sending to Yverdun young men of promise, to draw their inspiration, as teachers, from the fountain-head of the new method.

Carl August Zeller was chosen to perform the former task, and was, in the year 1809, invited from Wirtemberg, where he had been laboring zealously among the teachers to introduce the new method, to Königsberg, in East Prussia, on terms honorable to the government and to himself. He was received with enthusiasm, and set himself earnestly to work, lecturing, instructing, reorganizing, with untiring zeal, industry, and efficiency. Notwithstanding a few errors of judgment, his labors gave a great and lasting impulse to education in that portion of Prussia; and one at least of the institutions he founded, at Karalene (*i. e.*, Livonian for "Queen,") in the government of Gumbinnen, is yet useful as an orphan-house and teachers' seminary.

The second measure taken by government was the sending of young men to be educated as teachers in the Pestalozzian principles. Those selected were mostly chosen from among the most promising of the theological students. Two, Marias Schmid and Dr. Harnisch,* were sent to Plamann's institution, at Berlin; the remaining ones, Henning, Dreist, Kawerau, Krätz, Rendschmidt, Preuss, Patzig, Braun, Steger, Marsch, Ksionzek, the brothers Bernhard, and four already teachers by profession, Hänel, Titze, Runge, and Baltrusch, were sent to Yverdun at various times during a series of years, their expenses being paid by government. Upon their return, they were employed in various institutions for the training of teachers, most of them with success. Thus a large body of

* Wilhelm Harnisch, the well-known educator, from whose "*Present Condition of the Prussian Common School System*," (Leipzig, 1844,) much of the information in this article is derived.

competent instructors in the new method was, in a comparatively short time, scattered among the Prussian schools; the spirit of the Pestalozzian method satisfied the needs of the age; and, with the powerful twofold aid of popular favor and the earnest influence of the whole power of the government, it speedily took possession of the entire common school system. Every where, the authorities co-operated zealously with the teachers under the new methods. Queen Louise, and under her influence the King, took so deep an interest in the reform, that they often visited the schools where it was introduced. The Queen, especially, often remained in them for hours; caused reports to be made to her on the progress of the schools generally; and was judicious and liberal in encouraging and rewarding instructors and educators.

While these measures effectually inaugurated the new system, a share of the credit of it is due to those teachers and school officers who, though not themselves trained under Pestalozzi, and not always accepting his methods of instruction, in every particular, yet entered fully into his spirit, and labored in union with his more immediate disciples, with a zeal and efficiency, perhaps, rather increased than decreased by the free development of the individualities of their various views. Indeed, one of the most valuable features of what may be called the Prussian-Pestalozzian system, was its deliberate and careful but free advance toward such improvements upon the system of Pestalozzi himself; a proceeding which has secured the highest excellence of the original system, has added to it much that is valuable, has insured that vivid and interested activity in the teachers which is the first requisite of successful instruction, and has prevented the decay and deadness into which servile followers of exclusive rules must necessarily fall.

The praises thus bestowed upon the Prussian common schools, as thus reformed, reflect no blame upon those teachers and conductors who neglected, or even opposed, the new methods. The principal among these were followers of Basedow and the Philanthropists; institutions of this class were the Schnepfenthal Institution, and the Hartung School, and the Real School, at Berlin; and among the men were Nolte, Zerrenner, and Dinter.*

The introduction of the Pestalozzian system into the schools of Prussia, may be said to have been in progress from 1812 to 1825; at the end of which time it had, substantially, possession of the whole common school system. Dr. Harnisch enumerates, as among the chief advantages resulting from it, 1. Patriotic feeling, causing more thorough study of the German language, home geography, &c.; 2. Giving a high value and place to vocal music, as a study; 3. The same of drawing, especially under the teachings of Peter Schmid; 4. Introduction of thorough musical instruction; 5. Introduction, or readoption of thorough system of bodily training.

* However strongly Dinter may have professed to hold on to the old ways, no avowed Pestalozzian ever labored more devotedly in the spirit, and with the aims and methods of Pestalozzi, as our readers will see in the memoir, p. 231.

From Prussia the principles and practice of the school of Pestalozzi were widely diffused in other countries, through travelers, often coming exclusively for the purpose of investigating the Prussian system, and sometimes sent by foreign governments for the purpose. Dr. Harnisch gives a long list of names of visitors to a single seminary only, mostly of persons eminent in education, among which are mentioned those of Hon. Horace Mann, and Profs. Stowe and Bache, from the United States.

The present occasion does not admit of any extended reference to the further spread of Pestalozzianism. We can only say that prominent among those who transferred the system into France, was Victor Cousin, whose able report is well known; and Chevalier Jullien, who, at an earlier date, drew up an extended report upon the school of Yverdun, and the educational principles and methods of Pestalozzi. The labors of Dr. Biber, Mr. Greaves, and at a later date of Dr. Mayo and Miss Mayo, and of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, M. Tilleard, and Mr. Tait, have done much to spread the system in England. And among its advocates and propagators in America were William Russell, editor of the "*American Journal of Education;*" Warren Colburn, whose celebrated arithmetics are strictly Pestalozzian; A. Bronson Alcott; W. C. Woodbridge, the geographer and editor of the "*Annals;*" and Lowell Mason, the veteran and efficient instructor in vocal music.

It should be added, that the present work does not contain sketches of those who applied Pestalozzi's principles to reformatory schools proper, charitable schools, &c., for the reason that the accounts of those persons are contained in the editor's volume on REFORMATORY EDUCATION.*

* Papers on Prevention, Correctional, and Reformatory Institutions and Agencies for Juvenile Delinquency. New York, F. C. BROWNELL, 1859, 360 pages.

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JOHANNES NIEDERER.

JOHANNES NIEDERER, whose reputation as a teacher is nearly connected with that of Pestalozzi, and stands high amongst those of his fellow-laborers, was born in 1778, in Appenzell. Having completed his studies, he was already settled as pastor when the fame of Pestalozzi's plans and labors reached him, and set his whole soul in motion. Unlike those who can not soon enough shake the dust of the school from their feet to seat themselves in the pulpit, Niederer resigned his pastorate in 1800, and hastened to connect himself with Pestalozzi. In the institution of the latter, he had special charge of the religious instruction. His manner in giving this, and in his whole labors as a teacher, is so well described by his efficient fellow-laborer, Krüsi, in his recent "*Recollections of my pedagogical life and work*," (*Erinnerungen aus meinem pädagogischen Leben und Wirken*,) p. 39, that we shall make an extract: Krüsi says, "To be present at the religious instruction of Niederer, and at his confirmations, was sure to have a good influence upon the heart. Good preparatory instruction in intellect and language was necessary, in order to appreciate it, it is true; but this was to be enjoyed in the institution. Although he soon passed over the history of creation, the gospel of John, and the sermon on the mount, yet the instruction he derived from these sources as to the faith, had a complete character, and afforded deep views of the essence of religion and of the scope of human duty. I several times attended the whole course; and how highly I valued the privilege may be inferred from the fact that I forthwith sent three of my children to attend, that they might learn from him the happiness of religion. Niederer filled an important part in Pestalozzi's institution and history. He earnestly devoted his time and strength to the subjects of religion, language, literature, and philosophy. He first studied Pestalozzi's works, in their various applications to pedagogy, politics, legislation, &c., not resting until he had ascertained the central point from which they all radiate; for to consider them only in their separate character, was insufficient for him as a thinker and investigator. But he did not limit his labors to writings and thinking only, nor even to the numerous studies successfully pursued in the institution, and the labors to be pursued in various directions, and amongst various materials, with reference to those

studies; but embraced, in the scope of his inquiries, the nature, existence, powers, and weaknesses of man; his course of development, his future fate and destiny, in the individual, the nation, and the race.

Niederer possessed the fullest confidence of Pestalozzi, who consulted him on all occasions, and saved himself by his means from many mistakes. Niederer opposed himself to any views or efforts within the institution which threatened to break up or hamper its usefulness, and was variously active in contending against them.

In literature, Niederer has been less active than was to be wished from a man so rich in endowments and experience. Besides a series of small treatises, we have only one larger work: "*Pestalozzi's educational enterprise in its relations to cotemporary civilization,*" (*Pestalozzi's Erziehungsunternehmung im Verhältniss zur Zeitcultur,*) Stuttgart, 1812, 2 vols. The wish was often, and with good reason, expressed, that he would publish a scientific exposition of pedagogy on Pestalozzi's principles. A biography of the great teacher himself, from his pen, would have been gratefully received. Still more welcome, had it pleased him to write it, would have been an account of his method of religious instruction; especially now, when so many are endeavoring to fix that most important of all departments of instruction upon a half-ascertained psychological basis, and to entangle it with religious parties. He however died, in 1843, without having performed this work.

Niederer's wife, previously Rosette Kasthofer, of Berlin, where she was born, 3rd November, 1779, conducted for a long time the girls' school established by Pestalozzi at Yverdun, along with his boys' school. The institution was, however, transferred to Geneva, where it is now established. Madame Niederer has also established, in connection with it, a seminary for young women intending to become teachers; and in both she is yet laboring, with youthful freshness and enthusiasm. In 1828, was published a valuable work by her: "*Glances at the system of female education. For educated mothers and daughters,*" (*Blicke in das Wesen der weiblichen Erziehung. Für gebildete Mütter und Töchter.*) Berlin: Rücker. She has also published "*Dramatic Games for the Young,*" (*Dramatische Jugendspiele.*) Aarau, 1838, 2 vols.

We find the following estimate of Niederer, by Pestalozzi, expressed at different times.

"The mode in which Niederer looks at my work can not be separated from that in which I myself see it. His views are almost all the results of his reflections. I scarcely know what it is to reflect. My opinions and views are almost all the results of immediate intuition and of excited feelings. Moreover, I did not understand his

language; but his Vindication taught me to understand it. I could not satisfy myself with reading that production. I found myself, in it, almost in every line, more clearly and distinctly stated, and more profoundly comprehended, than I had comprehended and expressed myself, on systems of education, on maternal instinct, on the nature and organization of schools, on my institution, in short, on all the principles and views which were in point at the time."—*Fortunes of My Life.*

"He has, at the same time, peculiarities which I often endure only with difficulty, since they are diametrically opposed to mine. But his friendship surpasses all the friendship that I have enjoyed or even dreamed of in my life. What more can a man do for a friend, than for his sake to give up a certain, quiet, and agreeable mode of living, and to put himself into a condition uncertain, unpleasant, oppressive, and in many respects dangerous? This Niederer has done. For my sake he gave up the pastorate where he was living, efficient, respected, and happy, joined himself to me and my poverty, threw himself into all my embarrassments, at a period when my work was not yet ripe in itself, and when I was almost wholly deprived of all external aid and co-operation in it. At that time he was the only man of any degree of literary cultivation who took a place at my side, and took part in all the perils to which my undertaking could and did expose him. And his friendship extended beyond me personally, and to the purpose of my life, in regard to which I so often saw myself deserted. He is drawn toward me personally as little as I toward him. I might say that, in this respect, we were not as near each other as is to be expected from men living so near; but his life is a friendship: his endurance and perseverance for my objects—even the contest which he continually keeps up with himself and with me, for the promotion of the purpose of my life—even his opposition to and arguments against me individually, when he finds himself in conflict with my designs—show the noble, remarkable, and pure character of his friendship. If he withstood me less, he would love me less."—*Declaration Against Canon Bremi's Questions*, p. 28.

"As early as at the beginning of our association in Burgdorf, there came amongst us a young clergyman, of thorough education, full of fire, power, and quiet though strong efficiency, and observed in silence the course of our labors. In this first stage of his design, he resembled nothing less than one seeking a predominant influence upon the general and practical course of our undertaking. On the contrary, his whole conduct indicated, at the beginning, very clearly, that he was investigating the psychological basis of the principles and essence of our idea of elementary training, more seriously, broadly, and

deeply than any one before him, by means of a free, individualized, and independent reflection upon them. By this course he very soon elaborated a system of his own, as to our idea of elementary training, which, it is true, was not made inwardly complete and outwardly applicable by any basis whatever of practical experience, but which inspired him with such a visionary enthusiasm for its infallibility and applicableness, that all at once he suddenly began to take an active and powerful part in the whole extent of our operations; so as gradually to acquire a universal and predominating influence over them, and to gain my own confidence to a high degree. His singular character inspired him with the definite design of opposing the weaknesses, faults, and defects of my establishment, by means of scientific expositions of the idea which lay at the base of our undertakings. He believed confidently that, by the magic touch of his lucid ideas, or frequently even by significant words, he could prevent the increase of that fatal influence whose greatness he deeply felt; and that, by verbal elucidations, he could control what he could not lead intellectually by the weight of his influence, nor practically manage, and could least of all carry forward by his creative energy by actual executive measures. Niederer's requirement of absolute acquiescence in his views, arose from ideas which he had not made clear and definite to himself in their whole extent and connection; for he was prone to lose himself in metaphysical expositions of his ideas, which he was neither fitted to do by possessing a solid substratum of intuitional knowledge, nor competent to express in any manner by simple, clear, and intelligible language, and thus to make properly comprehensible. Most of the objects he sought and urged were, to us, mere atmospheric phenomena, without any connection whatever with the basis of our actual life. He was, throughout, unfitted and almost incapable of giving the slightest practical demonstration of his high-sounding ideas. This he knew himself; and often required with earnestness that others should not only receive, as he did, what he had constructed in his ideal manner, but also that they should work them out in actual practice to his satisfaction, and that without requiring much co-operation from him." —*Fortunes of My Life*, p. 29.

JOHANNES BUSS.

JOHANNES BUSS, an assistant teacher of Pestalozzi, especially in teaching drawing, was born at Tubingen, in Wurtemburg, in 1776. His father held a subordinate place about the theological school, and thus secured for the son better opportunities of early instruction than are usually enjoyed by persons in his condition. In the grammar school he acquired, before he was twelve years old, considerable knowledge in Greek and Hebrew, logic and rhetoric. His father applied for his gratuitous reception in an institution recently established by the reigning Duke Charles, at Stuttgardt, but this was refused; and about the same time an edict was promulgated, prohibiting children of the middle and lower class from embracing a literary career. The youth, although disappointed, did not despair, but applied himself to the study of drawing. This he was obliged to give up from the want of means, and at the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to a bookbinder—an art by which he hoped yet to get the means for a literary career.

We continue the narrative, in Buss's own language, down to his connection with Pestalozzi.

Having served my apprenticeship, I began to travel; but growing melancholy and sickly, I was obliged to return home; and here I made a new attempt to get rid of my trade, hoping that the little knowledge of music I had retained would enable me to earn my bread in Switzerland.

With this hope I went to Basel; but my circumstances, and the events of my past life, had given me a degree of shyness, which foiled me in all my attempts at money-getting. I had not the courage to tell the people all that a man must say to obtain from them what I wanted. A friend of mine, who met me by accident at that moment of embarrassment, reconciled me for a short time to the bookbinding business; I entered once more into a workshop; but the very first day I sat down in it, I began again to indulge myself in my dreams, thinking it still possible that a better chance might turn up for me in time, although I was quite aware that I had lost too much of my skill in music and drawing to rely upon those two attainments for an independent subsistence. I consequently changed my place, in order to gain time for practice in both, and I was lucky enough to get two spare hours a day, and to form acquaintances, which assisted me in my progress.

Among others I was introduced to Tobler, who soon perceived the gloom by which I was oppressed; and having ascertained the cause, was desirous of assisting me in gaining a more favorable position. When, therefore, Krüsi informed him that Pestalozzi stood in need of a drawing and music-master for the full organization of his new method, his thoughts immediately turned toward me.

I was, as I have before stated, fully aware of my deficiencies; and the hope that I should meet with an opportunity of improving myself, had no small share in my determination to go to Burgdorf, in spite of the warnings which I

received from several quarters against forming any connection with Pestalozzi, who, they told me, was half mad, and knew not himself what he was about. In proof of this assertion they related various stories; as, for instance, that he once came to Basel, having his shoes tied with straw, because he had given his silver buckles to a beggar on the road. I had read "*Leonard and Gertrude*," and had, therefore, little doubt about the buckles; but that he was mad, that I questioned. In short, I was determined to try. I went to Burgdorf. I can not describe the feelings I had at our first interview. He came down from an upper room with Ziemssen, who was just then on a visit with him, his stockings hanging down about his heels, and his coat covered with dust. His whole appearance was so miserable that I was inclined to pity him, and yet there was in his expression something so great, that I viewed him with astonishment and veneration. This, then, was Pestalozzi? His benevolence, the cordial reception he gave to me, a perfect stranger, his unpretending simplicity, and the dilapidated condition in which he stood before me; the whole man, taken together, impressed me most powerfully. I was his in one instant. No man had ever so sought my heart; but none, likewise, has ever so fully won my confidence.

The following morning I entered his school: and, at first, I confess I saw in it nothing but apparent disorder, and an uncomfortable bustle. But I had heard Ziemssen express himself, the day before, with great warmth concerning Pestalozzi's plan; my attention was excited, and, conquering in myself the first impression, I endeavored to watch the thing more closely. It was not long before I discovered some of the advantages of the new method. At first I thought the children were detained too long at one point; but I was soon reconciled to this, when I saw the perfection which they attained in their first exercises, and the advantages which it insured to them in their further progress. I now perceived, for the first time, the disadvantages under which I myself had labored, in consequence of the incoherent and desultory manner in which I had been taught in my boyhood; and I began to think that, if I had been kept to the first elements with similar perseverance, I should have been able afterward to help myself, and thus to escape all the sufferings and melancholy which I had endured.

This notion of mine perfectly agrees with Pestalozzi's principle, that by his method men are to be enabled to help themselves, since there is no one, as he says, in God's wide world, that is willing or able to help them. I shuddered when I read this passage for the first time in "*Leonard and Gertrude*." But, alas, the experience of my life has taught me that, unless a man be able to help himself, there is actually no one, in God's wide world, able or willing to help him. I now saw quite clearly that my inability to pursue the plan of my younger years in an independent manner, arose from the superficiality with which I had been taught, and which had prevented me from attaining that degree of intrinsic power of which I stood in need. I had learned an art, but I was ignorant of the basis on which it rested; and now that I was called on to apply it, in a manner consistent with its nature, I found myself utterly at a loss to know what that nature was. With all the attention and zeal I brought to the subject, I could not understand the peculiar view which Pestalozzi took of drawing, and I could not at all make out his meaning, when he told me that lines, angles, and curves were the basis of drawing. By way of explanation, he added, that in this, as in all other matters, the human mind must be led from indistinct intuitions to clear ideas. But I had no idea, whatever, how this was to be done by drawing. He said it must be done by dividing the square and the curve, by distinguishing their simple elements, and comparing them with each other. I now tried to find out what these simple elements were, but I knew not how to get at simple elements; and, in endeavoring to reach them, I drew an endless variety of figures, which, it is true, might be called simple, in a certain sense, but which were utterly unfit, nevertheless, to illustrate the elementary laws which Pestalozzi was in search of. Unfortunately he was himself no proficient either in writing or drawing; though, in a manner to me inconceivable, he had carried his children pretty far in both these attainments. In short, months passed away before I understood what was to be done with the elementary lines which he put down for me. At last I began to suspect that I ought to know less than I did know; or that, at least, I must throw my knowledge, as it were, overboard, in order to descend to those simple elements by which I saw him produce such powerful, and, to me, unattainable

effects. My difficulties were immense. But the constant observation of the progress which his children made in dwelling perseveringly on his "elements," brought my mind, at last, to maturity on that point; I did violence to myself, and, abandoning my preconceived notions of the subject, I endeavored to view all things in the light of those same elements; till, at last, having reached the point of simplicity, I found it easy, in the course of a few days, to draw up my sketch of an alphabet of forms.

Whatever my eyes glanced upon from that moment, I saw between lines which determined its outline. Hitherto I had never separated the outline from the object, in my imagination; now I perceived the outline invariably as distinct from the object, as a measurable form, the slightest deviation from which I could easily ascertain. But I now fell into another extreme. Before I had seen nothing but objects; now I saw nothing but lines; and I imagined that children must be exercised on these lines exclusively, in every branch of drawing, before real objects were to be placed before them for imitation, or even for comparison. But Pestalozzi viewed his drawing-lessons in connection with the whole of his method, and with nature, who will not allow any branch of art to remain isolated in the human mind. His intention was, from the first beginning, to lay before the child two distinct series of figures, of which one should be contained in his book for the earliest infancy, and the other should furnish practical illustrations for a course of lessons on abstract forms. The first were intended to form, as it were, a supplement to nature, in giving children an intuitive knowledge of things and their names. The second was calculated to combine the practical application of art with the theoretical knowledge of its laws, by connecting the perception of abstract forms with an intuitive examination of the objects that fitted into those forms. In this manner, he meant to bring nature and art to bear upon each other; so that, as soon as the children were able to draw a line, or a figure, real objects should be presented to them, so exactly corresponding as to render their imitation a mere repetition of the same exercise which they had before performed in the abstract.

I was afraid lest, by giving the child real objects, his perception of the outline should be disturbed; but Pestalozzi did not wish to cultivate any power against nature, and he said, concerning this subject: "Nature gives no lines, but only objects to the child; the lines must be given to the child, that he may view the objects correctly; but to take the objects from him, in order to make him see lines only, would be exceedingly wrong."

But there was another difficulty in which I had entangled myself. Pestalozzi told me that children must learn to read those outlines like so many words, by denominating the different parts, the lines, angles, and curves, with different letters, so that their combinations may be as easily expressed in language, and put down in writing, as any other word by the composition of its letters. In this manner an alphabet of forms was to be established and a technical language created, by means of which the nicest distinctions of the different forms might be clearly brought before the mind, and appropriately expressed in words calculated to illustrate them by the difference of the formation.

Pestalozzi persevered until I understood him. I saw that I gave him a great deal of trouble, and I was sorry for it. It was, however, unavoidable; and but for his patience we should never have made an alphabet of forms.

At last I succeeded. I began by the letter A. I showed him what I had done; he approved of it, and now one thing followed from the other without any difficulty. In fact, the figures being once completed, the whole was done; but I was unable to see all that I had done; I had neither the power of expressing myself clearly on the subject, nor the capability of understanding the expression of others.

To remedy the defect under which I labored is, however, one of the most essential objects of Pestalozzi's method, which connects language throughout with the knowledge gained from nature by the assistance of art, and supplies the pupil at every stage of instruction with appropriate expressions for what he has learned.

It was an observation which we all of us made upon ourselves, that we were unable to give a distinct and accurate account, even of those things of which we had a clear and comprehensive idea. Pestalozzi himself, when explaining his views on education, had great difficulties in finding always the precise term which would convey his meaning.

It was this want of precise language, in fact, which caused me to remain so long in the dark concerning the nature of my task, and prevented me from perceiving what Pestalozzi's views were on that subject.

After I had overcome all these difficulties, my progress was rapid, and I felt every day more the advantages of his method. I saw how much may be done by precision and clearness of language on the subject of instruction, whether it be one of nature or of art, to assist the mind in forming a correct notion of forms and their proportions, and in distinguishing them clearly from each other; and I could not, therefore, but be aware of the paramount importance of enlightened and careful instruction in the signs which language supplies for the designation of things, their properties, relations, and distinctions. Experience confirmed the conjecture which I had formed, that children taught upon this method would make more accurate distinctions, than even men accustomed, from early life, to measuring and drawing; and the progress which many of our children made was beyond comparison, greater than that which is commonly obtained in schools.

It is very true, I saw the whole of Pestalozzi's method only through the medium, as it were, of my peculiar branch of instruction, and judged of its value by the effects which it produced in particular application to my art. But my anxiety to enter fully into the spirit of it, led me, in spite of that limitation, by degrees to investigate the bearing which it had upon other branches; and, at last, assisted by the practical illustrations which drawing afforded me, I succeeded in comprehending Pestalozzi's views on language and arithmetic. I saw that, as it was possible to proceed from lines to angles, from angles to figures, and from figures to real objects, in the art of drawing, so it must likewise be possible, in language, to proceed by degrees from sounds to words, and from words to sentences, and thereby lead the child to equal clearness on that subject. As regards arithmetic, I was laboring under the same error as before, with reference to the intuition of objects. As I looked at these without reference to their outline, so did I view numbers without a clear notion of the real value or contents of each. Now, on the contrary, I acquired a distinct and intuitive idea of the extent of each number, and I perceived, at the same time, the progress which the children made in this branch of instruction. At length, it seemed to me a point of essential importance, that the knowledge and practice of the elements of every art should be founded upon number, form, and language. This led me to understand the difficulties with which I had so long been struggling in my own department. I saw how I had stuck fast from want of clearness of language, and how I was impeded by a confused idea of number. It seemed very obvious that the child can not imagine, with any degree of precision, the division of any figure into its component parts, unless he have a clear idea of the number of those parts; that, for instance, if he is in the dark as to the extent of the number four, he must be equally in the dark on the division of any figure into four parts.

I felt my own mind daily clearing up; I saw that what I had attained had in itself a power, as it were, to carry me further and further; and applying this experience to the child, I came to the conviction, that the effect of Pestalozzi's method is, to render every individual intellectually independent, by awakening and strengthening in him the power of advancing by himself in every branch of knowledge. It seemed like a great wheel, which, if once set going, would continue to turn round of itself. Nor did it appear so to me only. Hundreds came, and saw, and said: "It can not fail." Poor ignorant men and women said: "Why, that's what I can do myself at home with my child!" And they were right. The whole of the method is mere play for any one who has laid hold of the first elements, and has followed its progress sufficiently to be secured against the danger of straying into those circuitous paths which lead man away from the foundation of nature, on which alone all his knowledge and art can securely rest, and from which he can not depart without entangling himself in endless and inextricable difficulties. Nature herself demands nothing of us but what is easy, provided we seek it in the right way, and under her guidance.

One word more, and I have done. My acquaintance with Pestalozzi's method has in a great measure restored to me the cheerfulness and energy of my younger days, and has rekindled in my bosom those hopes of improvement for myself and my species, which I had for a long time esteemed as vain dreams, and cast away, in opposition to the voice of my own heart.

JOSEPH SCHMID.

JOSEPH SCHMID, one of the best known of Pestalozzi's assistants, was a native of Tyrol, and, when he entered the institution as a scholar, was a Catholic, and excessively ignorant. He possessed great native talent for mathematics, and this, together with his habits of industry, order, and thoroughness, raised him in time to the rank of the most influential of Pestalozzi's teachers. Although his talents as a mathematician, and still more his great business capacity, rendered him quite indispensable as a member of the institution, yet his conduct, and his demeanor in his intercourse with his fellow-instructors, became so unsatisfactory to them, that in 1810 he was dismissed from the institution. He soon after established himself as teacher of a school at Bregenz, and vindicated himself by publishing a work entitled "*My Experience and Ideas on Education, Institutions, and Schools.*"

But the absence of his financial guidance brought the institution to such a point of confusion, that, notwithstanding the deep ill-feeling against him on the part of the teachers, he was recalled five years afterward, in 1815. From this time onward, he was in opposition to all the remaining teachers, except Pestalozzi himself, who unflinchingly stood his friend to the day of his death. But the dislike of the other teachers against him, although unable to eject him from the institution, resulted, with other causes, in its ruin. Twelve of the teachers, including Blochmann, Krüsi, Stern, Ramsauer, Ackermann, &c., left at one time; having drawn up and signed a document attributing their departure to the faults and misconduct of Schmid. Others were appointed in their places, but the day of the institution was over, and it gradually sank into entire decay.

Schmid now conceived the idea of an edition of the complete works of Pestalozzi, and himself made the arrangements with the publisher, Cotta, and applied for subscriptions in all quarters, with so much vigor and success that the net profits of the undertaking to Pestalozzi were 50,000 francs. He also appears to have assisted in revising and rewriting portions of the works; which, however, do not contain a number of important compositions by Pestalozzi, while some of Schmid's own, embodying them, are published among them.

Schmid's personal appearance was somewhat striking. He was

muscular and strong, of dark complexion, and keen black eyes, with a harsh voice, and a sharp look. Of his life, subsequent to the year 1817, we have no precise information. We give below Pestalozzi's own estimate of Schmid, as published in 1825:—

"I must trace from its source the powers which seemed the only ones capable of holding us together in these sad circumstances. While we were at Burgdorf, in the beginning of the evil consequences of our unnatural union there, there came to us, from the mountains of Tyrol, a lad showing not a single trace of the exaggerated refinement of our time, but endowed with inward gifts whose depth and subsequent use were anticipated by none—not even by myself. But some unexplained feeling drew me toward him on the first instant of his appearance in our midst, as I had never been drawn to any other pupil. His characteristics were, from the first, quiet, efficient activity, circumscribed within himself; great religious fervency, after the Catholic persuasion, and of a simple but powerful kind; and eager efforts after every attainment in learning or wisdom which he judged necessary. In the exercises in elementary means of education, mental and practical, he soon surpassed all his teachers, and soon even became the instructor of those who a little before had looked upon him as the most uncultivated child they had ever seen in our institution. This son of nature—who even at this day owes nothing to the culture of the time, and, in all that he has accomplished, is as ignorant of the usual outward forms of every intellectual science as he was the day he came from the mountains into our midst, with his *Ave Maria* in his mouth and his beads in his pocket, but with a powerful intellect, a peaceful heart, and courage ready for every struggle—soon excited, by his whole conduct amongst us, extraordinary expectations; and, on my part, that close friendship which I felt for him almost as strongly in the first hour of our meeting.

Schmid passed the years of his youth in these quiet but active labors; and, recognized at his first appearance as an extraordinary child of nature, his mind, developed in the power of thinking and managing by many experiences of practical life, could not fail soon to recognize the unnaturalness and weakness of our organization, and of all our doings and efforts. As soon as the influence of his preponderating powers had insured him a recognized right to do it, he did not delay to declare himself, with Tyrolian open-heartedness, against the presumption of the one-sided and narrow views of the tablet-phantasts, and of the equally narrow and one-sided as well as superficial praises of our methods of intellectual instruction; and, most of all, against the continually-increasing inefficiency, love of mere amusement, disorder, insubordination, and neglect of positive duties there-

with connected. He required, without any exception, of each and all of the members of our association, from morning to evening, the thorough performance of all the duties properly pertaining to the members of a well-ordered household. He was equally clear and distinct in rejecting every boast of the elevation and importance of our principles and efforts, which was not proved amongst us by actual facts, as idle babble; and was accustomed to ask, when any thing of this kind was said, 'How is this put into practice? What use is made of it?' And, if the answer did not please him, he would hear no more of the subject. This conduct, however, very soon and very generally gave very great offense."—*Fortunes of My Life*, pp. 22 to 24, 34, 35.

HANS GEORG NÄGELI.

Hans Georg Nageli, by whose compositions and teaching the Pestalozzian method of instruction was applied to the study of music, was born, May 17, 1773, at Wetzekon, a village in the canton of Zurich, of which his father was pastor. After receiving his rudimentary education at home, he went to Zurich in 1786, to continue his studies; but homesickness soon drew him back to his father's home, where he devoted himself carefully to the study of music, and in 1790 he again resorted to Zurich, when in a few years we find him in a music store and musical circulating library of his own, and at the same time giving lessons in singing. He became a composer and publisher of music, and in 1800 he established a periodical principally, devoted to his favorite art. His song, "Life let us cherish," accompaniments of harp and harpsichord, published in 1794, passed the parlor, and the fireside, and the social gathering of rich and poor, all over Europe; and the same popularity has marked other productions of his.

Nägeli was one of the earliest founders, even if he did not originate, the Swiss musical league or union, which set the example of great musical festivals, attended by concourses of people, practically engaged in or lovers of the art. He went out frequently to give instruction to musical societies in the different cantons, to lecture on the subject to conventions of teachers, and, in 1810, published, in connection with M. T. Pfeiffer, "*The Theory of Instruction in Singing, on Pestalozzian Principles*," (*Die Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen*,) by which a new epoch in this department of education was introduced. The treatise was the best realization of the method of Pestalozzi, and soon made singing a regular study in the popular schools of Europe, particularly those of Switzerland and Germany. By the efforts of William C. Woodbridge and Lowell Mason, the method of Nägeli was introduced into the United States; and, in consequence, the study of music became much more philosophical and general, and is fast passing into the course of instruction in our common schools.

Nägeli died at Zurich, on the 26th of December, 1836, from a cold he contracted in discharge of his duties as a member of the council of education.

JOHANN RAMSAUER.

JOHANN RAMSAUER was born in May, 1790, in Herisau, in the Swiss canton of Appenzell, where his father carried on a small manufactory, and a trade in the machines and tools used in spinning and weaving-factories. In his fourth year he lost his father, whose business was continued by his mother. He was the youngest of her seven remaining children; and was occupied in the labors of the establishment, and in accompanying his older brothers and sisters to market. At home he learned to work, and to be orderly, industrious, and obedient. At eight he was sent to a wretched school, where, in two years, he learned, with great difficulty, to write and read ill. During this period of his life he learned much more from the good examples set him at home than from the incompetent schoolmaster. In the "*Brief Sketch of My Pedagogical Life*," furnished originally for Diesterweg's "*Pedagogical Germany*," we are told:—

"When the French Revolution, during the years 1796 to 1799, caused stagnation of trade, general loss of employment, and even famine and all sorts of misery throughout Switzerland, especially the eastern part, there gradually wandered away, out of the cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, and Appenzell, five thousand three hundred boys and girls of from seven to fourteen; partly to Basle and Neuenburg, but chiefly to the great cantons of Zurich and Bern, where they were received humanely, and in most cases treated even with parental kindness and fidelity. Although I did not belong to such a troop of utterly destitute children, my mother yielded to my often-repeated request to be also allowed to emigrate; and thus, in February, 1800, I left my home and wandered off with forty-four boys of from ten to fourteen years old." He entered, while a boy, a school at Burgdorf, which Krüsi was teaching; and soon after that of Pestalozzi. "In the public school, where Pestalozzi taught six hours daily, I learned, school-fashion, no more than the rest. But his holy zeal, his deep and entirely self-forgetting love, and his earnest manner, impressive even to the children, made the deepest impression upon me, and knit my childish, grateful heart to his forever." He continued for several years at Burgdorf, as scholar, table-waiter, and under-under-teacher. Ramsauer became a favorite scholar of Pestalozzi, and accompanied him, often acting as his private secretary,

during his stay at Burgdorf, München-Buchsee, and Yverdun. At the latter place he acquired a knowledge of mechanics, with the view of assisting in a school planned by Pestalozzi for the education of the poor. He left Yverdun in April, 1816, to become a teacher in a school newly established at Würzburg; departing from Pestalozzi with great reluctance, but feeling that the influence and character of Schmid rendered him of little further use there, and in part induced by the privilege of free attendance upon lectures at the University of Würzburg.

Here Ramsauer lived happily, making short journeys from time to time, giving private instruction, acquiring new knowledge from the university lectures, of a kind which afforded a useful complement to his previous practical studies, and growing so rapidly in reputation that, in October, 1818, of four invitations to other situations as teacher, two were from Stuttgardt, one inviting him to become instructor of the princes Alexander and Peter of Oldenburg, and another to become head of an important school for the elementary instruction of children of the educated classes. Both these invitations he accepted, and went to Stuttgardt in March, 1817.

While here, he undertook a third employment as teacher in a new real school; his own institute being discontinued, and the male pupils entering the real school, while the female ones, whom he continued to teach, attended the *Katharinenstift*, a female school established by the Queen of Wirtemburg, and opened with an address by the queen herself.

The young princes of Oldenburg leaving Stuttgardt in 1820, for the court of their grandfather, the Duke of Oldenburg, Ramsauer attended them thither, to continue their education in mathematics, drawing, and gymnastics. Some months afterward he opened a school for girls of the educated classes, which he was still conducting with success in 1838.

In 1826 he was appointed teacher of the duchesses Amalia and Frederica of Oldenburg, whom he instructed for ten years. Afterward he established in Oldenburg a school for the daughters of persons of the educated classes. Here he published his "*Instruction in Form, Size, and Substance;* being the elements of Geometry methodized. With fifteen lithographic plates. 1826." He had before published his work on "*Drawing,*" in two volumes, thirty-one lithographic plates.

Ramsauer sums up his pedagogical experience as follows:—

1. I learned, in my father's house, up to my tenth year, to pray and to obey.
2. In Schleumen, to run, climb, and jump.
3. With Pestalozzi, from my eleventh to my twenty-sixth year, to work, to think, and to observe.

4. During my various journeys, to be independent, and to help myself.

5. In Würzburg and Stuttgardt, to be more modest, and to some extent a knowledge of the world and of family life.

6. In Oldenburg, the word of God; to endure good and evil with equanimity, well-knowing whence and why they come; and in many ways the knowledge that we live upon a beautiful and wonderful earth, but that to care and strive for things connected with it, is a troubled life; that it is well worth while to pay regard to the spirit of the age; and that it is possible to live very happily here below, and, at the same time, to prepare one's self well for the better future life.

We give some further extracts from the "*Sketches*," which may be interesting to readers connected with the work of education.

I have already said that the finer social graces must either be inborn or developed by culture. Even of the simple politeness of a boy's manners this is true. I have found this always to be the case. Those to whom this gift is natural are usually of rather weak or superficial intellects; but, as the saying is, they get well through the world—that is, easily attain eminence in society. This opinion has led me to another and a more important one, namely, that in practical life it is of little moment whether one has "a good head," (*ein guter kopf.*) It is of much greater importance, however, what is one's character for truthfulness and perseverance; and much more, that he keep his faith. Through this last, if it be of the right kind, comes the blessing. As to the point of practical efficiency, every one of even moderate experience in the world will agree with me that those men who have filled important places in the world, are indebted to their truthfulness, perseverance, and uprightness, much more than to their "good head," or their "genius." This is especially true of those of the burgher class. Even in the elementary school, this truthfulness and perseverance can be cultivated, proved, and established; but it is home education which must do most of it.

It has often troubled me to hear of a "smart boy" (*guten kopfe,*) in a family or school, and to see those undervalued who lacked such a qualification. Such conduct discourages those reckoned inferior, (who subsequently very probably may excel them,) and only makes those possessed of this apparent talent conceited and heartless. Faith and good feeling forbid such doing; unless we are born merely for the span of present existence! Young teachers, just commencing, are especially prone to fix upon such smart boys; but commonly deceive themselves, by setting a high value upon a mere partial quickness of apprehension. There are even teachers, whether from the fear of men or from some other discreditable weakness, who praise every thing they see in their scholars; or who, after they have complained to their colleagues about scholars all the year, will, at the end of the term, make out for them certificates of unqualified excellence.

I have known not only hundreds but thousands of proofs that, however unpleasant a strict teacher my be to a bad scholar, such a scholar will, in the end, feel toward him more respect, and gratitude, and love; provided only that the strictness was just—that is, without respect of persons, partiality, or passionateness. Even the most spoiled of children will endure ten times more from such a teacher than from another, provided only that the parents acquiesce in it.

There are also teachers who lay great stress upon learning quickly; forgetting that the most superficial scholars are often the quickest. Such will find, by experiments enough, that these forget just as quickly; while things acquired with more pains remain longer in the memory, and are better understood. The principal thing is thoroughness; it is this only which truly educates—which tells upon character. Merely to know more or less is of little significance; whoever imagines that he knows very much, does, in fact, know pitifully little. This thoroughness should be a characteristic even of the lowest elementary school; and is a constituent of what I have already referred to as perseverance. A condition preparatory to this thoroughness is, that the scholar be constrained (without any apparent force, however,) into thinking and laboring independently. Thus I have often said to an indolent or compliant scholar, who imitated others rather too easily, "Your own eating must make you fat; that you

know very well. Just so, your own thinking must make you wise; and your own practice must make you dexterous."

A condition of thoroughness is repetition; constant repetition. This means is, to many teachers, too wearisome, or too slow: the latter, to those who instruct mechanically only; the former, to those who have never perceived and learned for themselves, but only out of books. But a teacher whose heart is really in his work will be drilling often and earnestly, and always in new ways; so that both the scholar and he himself will always be getting at a new and interesting side of the subject. But a teacher who labors in two or three departments of study with vivacity and pleasure, and gives really thorough instruction—such as really educates—will naturally have neither time nor wish to expend several hours daily in a club or in other mere amusements. His greatest happiness will be in his calling; and in daily progress in whatever is truly useful for time and eternity. Such a teacher will live as much as possible amongst his own children, if he has them; and the more he does so, the better will he comprehend other children, and, therefore, the better will he manage them.

Among my own children, as well as among those of others, I have repeatedly experienced that there is a school understanding, a conversation understanding, and a life or practical understanding; all three very clearly distinct, especially the first and the third. If the teacher only understands the first of these, he only half-understands even that; and is in great danger of exacting too much or too little from his scholars. In like manner, parents are liable to do the teacher injustice, if they judge of their children only by their words and actions at home. Girls especially, who in school hardly dare open their mouths, often appear astonishingly quick and intelligent outside; so that those will be much deceived who overlook the multitude of cases in which children imitate the words and actions of adults, and pass off their sayings for their own coin. The school understanding is the most suitable for scholars; as their passions are less liable to come into play in connection with it, and all matters which are regularly arranged and under rules assist its onward progress. From this difference it often follows that the same scholar who is industrious, efficient, and intelligent in school, and seems there to be far forward for his age, is wholly a child when outside of it, childish and simple (as he should be,) and apparently quite backward in understanding, and this especially where he needs to govern himself and to exhibit character.

Such experiences of a hundred others will lead every observing teacher—I do not state this as any thing new, but merely as something of psychological importance, and therefore not susceptible of too frequent repetition—to require from his scholars neither too much nor too little, and to hope from them neither too much nor too little. And I believe that the frequent enforcement of such experiences would materially ease the difficult calling of the teacher, especially at its commencement, and would save beginners our trouble at Pestalozzi's Institute; that is, from spending all the first years of their work in proving and experimenting, without the advantage of being able to learn of their predecessors.

KARL AUGUST ZELLER.

Karl August Zeller, High School Councillor and Royal Councillor of the Kingdom of Prussia, was born August 15th, 1774, in Ludwigsburg, Wirtemberg. He was educated in a theological seminary, and in 1798 received an appointment as teacher and assistant preacher in the evangelical congregation at Brunn. In 1803, he proceeded to Pestalozzi's establishment at Burgdorf, for the purpose of making himself acquainted with his new system of instruction. An offer, which he accepted, to accompany a young man of the Von Palm family upon his travels, gave him occasion, while at Tubingen in the winter of 1804, to establish a charity school for the purpose of trying Pestalozzi's plans, and afterwards, at the request of some of his scholars at Brunn, a Sunday-school. Both are described in a work dedicated to that friend of education, the late Pauline, Princess of Detmold, who gave him the appointment of Councillor, and retained a decided interest in his prosperity until her death.

Zeller became pastor at St. Gall, and teacher in the gymnasium there, in 1805. In 1806, he became acquainted, in Zurich, with the Senator Rusterholz, who had a scheme for educating all the teachers of the cantons in normal schools, which he was prevented from carrying out by sickness. Becoming much interested for the sick man and his designs, he agreed to remain in Zurich and endeavor to assist him; to which coöperation the authorities of the cantons agreed.

The first course of instruction was opened in 1806, with thirty pupils, by a commission of school councillors, under the presidency of Superintendent Gessner. The lectures, here devoted to the principles of correct school discipline, gave Zeller an opportunity of composing his "*School for Teachers.*" After the decisive experiment of this course, seven thousand florins were appropriated to defray the expense of a Normal School, Pestalozzi's arithmetic was introduced, and a plan of teaching drawn up by Zeller was printed and introduced into the parochial schools of the canton. A second and a third part to this treatise soon followed. Being appointed Director of the Normal Institute, he trained, in 1807, among others, a Catholic clergyman, sent to him by the government of Lucerne, and who was followed by three canons from the same canton, who had been studying at Kreutzlingen in the

Thurgan, under the patronage of Von Wessenberg. Meanwhile, a favorable report was made by a commission of clergymen upon the result of the first three courses of the normal school; and, whereupon, Zeller published a work on the subject, in the form of letters addressed to the Princess Pauline. Three courses of lectures now followed, one of which was delivered before the Swiss Diet, and the attention of the Confederation was thus drawn to the subject of them.

The year 1808 found Zeller with Pestalozzi, teaching and learning, and enjoying himself amongst the children. In returning, he passed through Hofwyl, where a young Bernese gave him fifty *carolines*, with the request that he would undertake a school for teachers among his country people in that neighborhood. Upon the invitation of the consistory, who added thirty carolines, forty teachers assembled, and remained under his instruction ten months. A French teacher, under an assumed name, also attended this course, and afterwards pursued his vocation in his own country. By reason of the open recognition by the Bernese government of his efforts, in spite of malicious opposition, and having a little before received a call from Zofingen, Zeller had meditated spending the remainder of his life as a Swiss burgher; but the visit of the King of Wirtemberg to Hofwyl gave another direction to his life.

The king had attended five of his lectures, and was so much pleased with what he saw and heard, that he declared that he could not permit Zeller to remain in that place. In fact, he shortly after received the appointment of school-inspector at Heilbronn, and, two months later, an appointment at Königsberg from the Prussian minister of state, Von Schrötter, whom War-councillor Schiffner had made acquainted with the "*Letters to the Princess Pauline.*" Not yet actually employed in Heilbronn, Zeller requested permission to accept the latter; but an order to the teachers of the vicinity to assemble there, and to himself as the proper schoolmaster to instruct them, was the answer. Forty-two teachers assembled, including one minister, and remained, at their own expense, six weeks. The assembly was characterized by the same pleasant activity, good nature and success, which had appeared in Switzerland.

In April, 1809, with the office of Councillor in the government of East Prussia, he was authorized to organize the Orphan House at Königsberg as a model school, in which young clergymen and teachers might be instructed, with courses of lectures on the administration and instruction of schools, and traverse all the provinces of the kingdom for similar purposes. On condition that he should deliver one more course of lectures to clergymen of all three confessions, the King of Wirtemberg at length

allowed him to accept the appointment. Fifty-two eminent clergymen and six teachers assembled, and remained under his instruction during four weeks. A commission from the High Consistory of the kingdom and from the Council of Catholic Clergy held an examination upon the result, and Zeller, accompanied by one of Pestalozzi's pupils, now for the first time proceeded to the Baltic.

The new organization of the orphan home at Königsberg in a short time excited so much interest, that a considerable number of official persons were desirous of some report upon Zeller's methods and organization. Further; the noble and intellectual men who were laboring with Scharnhorst to reëstablish the warlike fame of Prussia, learned hence to consider the relation between a correct school discipline and military discipline. October 7, the king, queen and ministry, made a personal inspection of the school, and the dignity of High School Councillor, conferred upon the director, showed their gratification with the visit. In May, 1810, the institution had so grown that the first course of lectures was attended by a hundred and four deans, superintendents and pastors, and the second by seventy clergymen and teachers.

In 1811, he organized a second institution at Braunsberg for the province of Ermeland, and a third at Karalene, for Lithuania. He would gladly have remained in the latter pleasant place, but his official duties would not permit. He was intending to go to Stettin also, but the approach of Napoleon's expedition to Russia prevented. An "extraordinary compensation" was now decreed him, in consequence of this disappointment, and as a testimony of the satisfaction of the king and the ministry with the results of his exertions in East and West Prussia and Lithuania. This was the gift of the domain of Munsterwalde, near Marienwerder, on the condition that he should continue to perform the functions of his appointment. He accordingly published a manual for the Prussian army-schools, and a work upon his experiments in organizing the school of correction at Graudenz, containing a statement of the methods upon which all his labors hitherto had been conducted.

For several years Zeller resided at Kreutznach, Wetzlar and Bonn, busily engaged in writing and in the support of his numerous family. His only son devoted himself to the study of theology at Bonn, and at the same place, his wife, the mother of his seven children, died. He became desirous of revisiting his native country; and, having been raised by the King of Prussia to the third class of the "red order of nobility," he removed to Stuttgart in 1834. His last labors were devoted to his own country; the institution at

Lichtenstein owes to him its foundation and progress, a building worth eleven hundred florins, and continued care and advocacy. The requirements of his situation obliged him to remove to Stuttgart again in the autumn of 1837.

His very busy and varied life came to an end in the beginning of the year 1847, while he was absent from home on a short journey; a life that knew no rest, and whose quiet pulses often seemed like restless wandering; a life which, without despising an open recognition of its deserts, yet often forgot itself in true sacrifices for the sake of doing good; that willingly bestowed its strength wherever any beneficial purpose was to be served, and especially if any alleviations in the condition of the children of the poor common people were in prospect. His mission was, not to maintain and carry on an enterprise already commenced, with long-suffering and victorious patience and constancy, but rather to erect edifices upon waste and desert ground for others to furnish. Especially valuable for young theologians are the many stirring thoughts contained in his "Thomas, or John and Paul?" published in 1833. The desire and labor of his life was to improve the common schools. The study of singing in that class of Prussian schools began with him. He was energetic, not only in introducing new discoveries in pedagogical science, but also in independently sifting and ingeniously improving its principles already accepted.

Zeller's best known educational works, as given in Hergang's "*Manual of Pedagogical Literature*," are:

The Schoolmaster School; or, instructions in school education on the plan of the institutions for saving children (Kinder-Rettungsanstalt). Leipzig, 1839.

Elementary Schools; their personal, local and administrative organization. Königsberg, 1815.

The Evangel of Jesus Christ; or his character as such; not developed chronologically, but in its various elements and relations; as exhibited in a harmony of the four gospels. Stuttgart, 1839.

Methods of Learning, for use of common schools on the mutual system.

Elementary Geometry for Common Schools. Three parts. Stuttgart, 1839.

Elementary Singing-Book for Common Schools. Three parts. Stuttgart, 1839.

JOHN ERNST PLAMANN.

JOHN ERNST PLAMANN, an earnest and influential teacher and apostle of the Pestalozzian system, in Prussia, was born on the 22d of June, 1771, at Repzin, of poor but respectable parents of the burgher class, and received his elementary education at the Royal Real School in Berlin, from which he was removed to the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, then under the charge of the celebrated Meierotto. In 1796 he resorted to Halle to study theology, and at the same time acquire the principles of pedagogy under Niemeyer. After spending a few years as a private tutor in the family of his brother-in-law, and passing his examination for a license to teach, he returned to Berlin, to continue his classical studies, and, at the same time, to give instruction in the Messow Institute and other industrial schools, preparatory to founding one of the same class for himself.

At this time the fame of Pestalozzi had spread into Germany, and Plamann resolved to see for himself the great schoolmaster who was so extravagantly praised and beloved. Having read "*How Gertrude teaches her Children*," he could not rest; but, borrowing some money to pay his expenses, he set out in May, 1803, for Switzerland; having announced his intention to Pestalozzi in a letter, from which the following is an extract:

> Thanks is a powerless word to express the enthusiasm which your letters upon instruction have kindled in me. But you will not despise my utterance; indeed you will not hear it, amid the loud praises which nations are giving you. Of that your heart assures me, noble man, who have so acutely and truly displayed the inmost laws of the development of the human soul, and with a wise and strong hand laid out the path and the art of training it. You have so radiated upon me the light of truth, and so inspired my breast, that I also feel the sacred call to labor in my fatherland to the same end, according to my powers. The saying of our great teacher, "Many are called, but few chosen," shall not discourage me if I can enjoy your instructions and wise direction. With that I can escape from the old, lifeless, beaten track, which I have been obliged to follow in my labor as a teacher, and will be able to do something in the necessary work of teaching the neglected to elevate themselves. O, if you will give me power; if you will make me an example of your methods; if you will instruct me thoroughly in your system; then I hope, with confidence and success, to sow the seed which your benevolence shall have entrusted to me, &c.

Pestalozzi was then at Burgdorf. There soon sprung up between him and Plamann a friendship based upon mutual appreciation; for Plamann, with his thorough knowledge of the labor of former schools

in pedagogy, his scientific attainments, his philosophical intellect and psychological insight, was a valuable supplementary person to the Swiss reformer, who had only his own experience of the results of his always original mental action. The latter candidly explained to him what he was seeking, both by means of written and oral communication, until he understood him and his system thoroughly. Plamann writes:

> Pestalozzi received me like a father. No man ever looked so quickly and deeply into my soul as he. At once he comprehended my whole being, and pressed me to his breast with the warmth of a brother. At his side I learned to feel how many were my faults as a man. I was modest, and told him of my discovery with tearful eyes. "You are a child of nature," he answered; "an adept in the rules of science and art, which I am not; and which, nevertheless, a man must be in this world." Thus he used to encourage me to have more confidence in myself. A poem which I gave him moved him to tears. He smothered me with kisses, and said, "No one has understood me so well."

Plamann remained several months in Burgdorf, laboring zealously at the new method; and became so dear to Pestalozzi, that he could not endure to have him depart, and even offered him money sufficient to enable him to bring his betrothed to Switzerland. But he was impatient to introduce the new method into his fatherland. Immediately after his return to Berlin, Plamann proceeded to put his newly-gotten knowledge into practice in the institution where he was teaching, and to apply the method also to other subjects. He maintained a regular correspondence with Pestalozzi and his assistants, especially with Niederer. The Swiss took the utmost interest in his labors, kept him acquainted with their researches, and awaited with solicitude the result of his undertakings.

In 1805 Plamann published his work, "*Some Principles of the art of Instruction according to Pestalozzi's Method, applied to Natural History, Geography, and Language.*" (*Einzige Grundregel der Unterrichtskunst nach Pestalozzi's Methode, angewandt in der Naturgeschichte, Geographie und Sprache.*) In this publication, he showed upon what a deep psychological basis Pestalozzi's system rested, and how it is necessarily derived from the laws of human thought. While, however, they commence with the same principles, follow them out with like results, and in like manner connect them with others, their related ones, Plamann differs from Pestalozzi on the view laid down in the "*Book for Mothers*," that education should begin with instruction on the human body, on the ground that the similarity of it with the bodies of animals does not much concern the child, and that instruction by a teacher should not be given so early. He thought it more proper for the mother to teach the child about such objects as are within the sphere of the child's knowledge; — the

house, furniture, clothes, &c. He then proceeds to apply the method to the three departments of natural history, to geography, and to the German language. He promised in the second part to continue the course of instructions on language and geography, as well as on technology and history; but this has never been published.

On account of his high standing with Pestalozzi, his zeal in studying the method, and in extending it by his writings, he became a centre for the operations of those who were following the new views in Prussia, and were endeavoring to spread them there. All applied to him for directions, school-books, plans for schools, and information as to the spread and results of the new method; and he was also in communication with persons in foreign countries.

Soon after his return to Prussia from Switzerland, Plamann undertook himself to found an institution for the practice of Pestalozzi's methods. For this he obtained the royal permission, Nov. 29, 1803, and opened the institution at Michaelmas, 1805, with his friend Schmidt; obtaining also, soon after, an assistant from Switzerland, Breissig by name. His undertaking drew much attention, and proved quite successful. In the following year he published two instructive works:

"*Course of Instruction for a Pestalozzian School for Boys.*" (*Anordnung des Unterrichts für ein Pestalozzische Knaben Schule.*)

"*Elementary Methods of Instruction in Language and Science.*" (*Elementarformen, Sprach-u. wissenschaftlichen Unterrichtskunst.*)

At Easter, 1812, Plamann gave up his school, and visited once more his beloved Pestalozzi, to make himself acquainted with the progress of the method, and to observe what was going on in the schools of Switzerland. Upon his return he at once commenced again to "Pestalozzianize," as he expressed himself, and bought a house in Berlin, in which to erect an institution. In the same year he commenced a publication, which he finished in 1815, entitled, "*Contributions to Pedagogical Criticism; in Defence of the Pestalozzian Method.*" (*Beitrage zur Pädagogischen Kritik; zur Vertheidigung der Pestalozzischen Methode*)

A full description of his new Pestalozzian institution will be found in the "*Biography of Plamann, by Doctor Franz Bredow.*" Plamann adhered closely to the Pestalozzian principles throughout; proceeding strictly according to the forms of the Swiss at first, but using more and more independent methods as he went on. His school was resorted to by young men from all quarters, who were ambitious to understand and disseminate the improved methods of teaching, and he was never more popular than when he gave up his school from the pressure of bodily infirmities, against which he had long struggled. He died on the 3d of September, 1834.

FRIEDRICH ADOLF WILHELM DIESTERWEG.

Friedrich Adolf Wilhelm Diesterweg, an eminent educator, and efficient promoter of the general principles of Pestalozzi, was born in the then Rhine provinces of Prussia, at Seigen, in Nassau, October 29th, 1790. His first education was received at the Latin school of his native place. Thence he went to the university of Herborn, intending to devote himself to the study of theology; but his academic course was finished at Tubingen. At first a private tutor in Manheim, he was afterward second teacher in the secondary school at Worms; and in 1811 entered the model school at Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, where his holy zeal accomplished much good. Having become known as a scientifically-trained and well-practiced educator, he was chosen second rector of the Latin school at Elberfeld. From this place he was called, in 1820, to be director of the teachers' seminary at Meurs. In this place he labored with intelligence, energy, and singleness of purpose, during a series of years, for the cause of elementary instruction, which, under the French domination, had been entirely neglected on the Rhine. He was, moreover, very useful as a writer—discussing more particularly mathematics and the German language. In 1827, he commenced publishing (by Schwerz, in Schwelin,) the "*Rhenish Gazette of Education and Instruction*" (*Rheinische Blätter fur Erziebung und Unterricht.*) with especial reference to the common schools. The first volume contained much valuable matter, much condensed; and the succeeding volumes (to 1859,) have not fallen beneath it in excellence. Through this periodical, the educationists of the Rhine provinces were afforded a good opportunity for discussing pedagogical subjects; upon which much interest was then beginning to appear.

In 1833, Diesterweg was appointed director of the royal seminary for city teachers, at Berlin. Here he labored for eighteen years; his eyes fixed fast and unvarying upon his object—exposing all sorts of pedagogical faults and weaknesses, seeking in every way to raise the position of teachers, and pursuing his work without any fear of men. The meetings of the Pedagogical Society of Berlin were set on foot by him. In 1849, his connection with the seminary was terminated by the government, in consequence of his popular sympathies in

1848. During this period, Diesterweg published "*Autobiographies of Distinguished Educators*," "*Education of the Lower Classes*," "*Degeneracy of our Universities*," "*Education for Patriotism, &c.*," "*Controversial Inquiries on Educational Subjects.*" In these writings, Diesterweg appears as a man of progress; as one who seeks to reconcile the existing discrepancy between actual life and learning; between living practice and dead scholastic knowledge; between civilization and learning. The works contain true and striking thoughts. In his zeal for good objects, the author sometimes overpassed the bounds of moderation, and assailed the objects of his opposition with too much severity.

His "*Pedagogical Travels through the Danish Territories*," (*Pädagogische Reise Nachden Dänischen Stauten*,) 1836, involved him in an active controversy with several Danish literati, and especially with Zerrenner, of Magdeburg. Diesterweg's objections to the monitorial system of instruction, which prevails in the schools of Denmark, are:—That it modifies, decreases, or destroys the teacher's influence upon his scholars; that it is disadvantageous to their outward and inward intercourse; reduces to a minimum the precious period of close intercourse between the ripe man and the future men; and sinks the school, in by far the majority of cases, into a mere mindless mechanism, by which the children, it is true, acquire facility in reading and writing, and in a manner outwardly vivid and active, but in reality altogether unintelligent; but become intellectually active not at all. That Diesterweg is in the right in this matter, is daily more extensively believed.

In 1846, Dr. Diesterweg took an early and influential part in the celebration by German teachers of the centennial birthday of Pestalozzi, and in founding an institution for orphans, as a living and appropriate monument to the great regenerator of modern popular education.

His "*Year Book*," or "*Almanac*," (*Jahrbach*,) which commenced in 1851, is a valuable contribution to the current discussion of educational topics, and to the history of the literature and biography of education.

Diesterweg's "*Guide for German Teachers*," (*Wegweiser für Deutscher Schrer*,) of which a third enlarged and improved edition appeared in 1854, in two large volumes, is one of the best existing manuals for teachers, of both elementary and high schools, and has been made a text-book in several teachers' seminaries. We give the contents of this valuable "*Guide*."

DIESTERWEG, F. A. W., "Guide for German Teachers," *Wegweiser für Deutscher Schrer.* 2 vols. pp. 675 and 700.

CONTENTS. VOL. I.

PAGE.
INTRODUCTION ..... I.
1. Dedication to F. Fröbel ..... III.
2. Preface to Third and Fourth editions ..... VII.
3. From the address to Denzel, in the Second edition ..... XIV.
4. From Preface to First edition ..... XIX.
5. From Preface to Second edition ..... XXIV.
6. Conclusion ..... XXXII.

PART I.

GENERAL VIEWS.

I. Purpose and problem of human life, and the teacher's life 3
II. What are the conditions of success in endeavoring to secure, by means of books, intellectual culture, insight, and knowledge 19
III. Introduction to the study of elements of pedagogy, didactics and methodology 49
1. To whom these studies are especially recommended, and to whom not 49
2. What has hitherto been accomplished in such books as have been devoted to pedagogy, didactics, and methodology in general, or with special reference to the elementary schools 52
3. The chief constituents of the ideas of pedagogy, didactics, and methodology 58
4. The best works on the elements of pedagogy, didactics, and methodology 60
(1.) On education (and instruction,) generally 62
(2.) On the whole subject of school education and instruction 82
(3.) On school discipline 99
(4.) Psychology and logic 104
(5.) Training of teachers (seminaries) 107
(6.) Education of girls 111
(7.) Relations of school to state and church 119
(8.) School inspection 000
(9.) Social pedagogy, (social reforms, temperance, &c.) 124
(10.) Infant schools 129
(11.) Mutual system of school organization 135
(12.) Higher burgher schools 138
(13.) Bibliography 143
(14.) Works which include biographies 145
(15.) Popular writings 151
(16.) School laws 156
(17.) School reform 157
(18.) School organization in 1848 162
(19.) Periodicals 168
IV. Human faculties, and didactics 172
1. Rules for instruction, as to the scholar (the subject) 204
2. Rules as to what is taught (the object) 254
3. Rules as to external relations 268
4. Rules as to the teacher 278

PART II.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS.

I. Intuitional instruction; exercises in language 302
II. Religious instruction; by K. Bormann, of Berlin 332
III. Reading 381
IV. German language 456
V. Writing; by Prof. Dr. Müller, and C. Reinbott, of Berlin 532
VI. Singing; by Hentschel, of Weissenfels 559
VII. Drawing; by Heutschel 672

VOL. II.

VIII. Geography; by K. Bormann 3
IX. History; by W. Prange, of Bunzlau 40
X. Natural History; by A. Lüben, of Merseburg 251
XI. Natural Science, mathematical geography, astronomy 306
XII. Arithmetic 343
XIII. Geometry 395
XIV. French; by Dr. Knebel, of (Köln) Cologne 436
XV. English; by Dr. Schmitz, of Berlin 477
XVI. Genetic method in foreign languages; by Dr. Mager, of Eisenach 492
XVII. Instruction of the blind; by J. G. Knie, of Breslau 567
XVIII. Instruction of the deaf-mutes; by Hill, of Weissenfels 601
XIX. Love of country, patriotism, and connected subjects 675
XX. External situation of the German common school teachers 727
XXI. School discipline—plan of teaching and of work 770
APPENDIX; by G. Hentschel 791
List of authors mentioned 795

BERNHARD GOTTLIEB DENZEL.

Bernhard Gottlieb Denzel, an influential promoter of Pestalozzianism in the Kingdom of Wirtemberg and the Duchy of Nassau, was born at Stuttgardt, on the 29th of December, 1773. His father was a merchant and associate-judge, and secured for his son the best education which the gymnasia and university of the kingdom could give. After studying theology at Tübingen, under the profound Dr. Storr, he commenced his pedagogical career as private tutor in Frankfort-on-the-Maine. After two years' experience in that capacity, he served five years as curate and preacher in Pleidelsheim, where he exhibited an enthusiastic interest in the schools, and took the lead in introducing the new Pestalozzian system into Wirtemberg. His decided and influential labors in this work involved him, for a time, in bitter controversy with many old-fashioned schoolmasters, and municipalties; but he was sustained by the higher authorities. He made himself perfectly familiar with the publications of Pestalozzi, and visited both Burgdorf and Yverdun, to observe the practical operations of the system. Deeply in earnest himself, with a thorough practical knowledge of existing wants, and desirable remedies, with a conciliatory manner, and the confidence of all religious men, Denzel made more rapid progress than is usual with school reformers; but, as has been already remarked, he did not entirely escape the opposition of parties whose craft was interfered with.

In 1811, Denzel was appointed director of the Seminary for Teachers in Esslingen, and of the public schools in that circle. Under his oversight, the seminary and the schools made great progress, and were resorted to by teachers and educators as good working-models of the new system of instruction. In 1817, having obtained leave of absence for this purpose, he assisted in reorganizing the school system of the Duchy of Nassau, and establishing the Teachers' Seminary at Idstein, and received, for his service, the appointment of Ducal high school councilor, and the title and rank of prelate.

After performing good service to the cause of popular education throughout Germany, not only through the improvements introduced into the schools of Nassau and Wirtemberg, but by his writings on the science and art of teaching, he died, in the autumn of 1838, universally respected and beloved.

As a teacher, Director Denzel was distinguished by great quickness and clearness of understanding and expression, and by mildness, firmness, and justness in discipline. One who was for nineteen years associated with him in the Seminary at Esslingen says :—"Universally learned and completely master of every subject of instruction in the schools with which he was connected as teacher or inspector, his rare knowledge of the best method of communicating what he knew, enabled him to carry forward the best as well as the weakest minds in his classes, with great satisfaction to all, and at the same time to inspire a love of study, and impart to others the secret of his own success as a teacher." His principal pedagogical works are "*Experiences and Opinions on the Professional Training of Common School Teachers ;*" "*The Common School—a course of lectures on Methodology at Idstein, in* 1816;" "*Introduction to the Science and Art of Education and Instruction of Masters of Primary Schools.*" The last named is a great work, and holds a high place in the pedagogical literature of Germany.

WILHELM HARNISCH

WILHELM HARNISCH was born, August 28th, 1787, at Wilsnach, in the Prussian government of Potsdam—the only son of a prosperous master-tailor, who intended him for the study of theology, and accordingly placed him at the gymnasium in Salzwedel in 1800, and caused him to study from 1806 to 1808 at Halle and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Here he already began to devote himself particularly to the study of pedagogy, and very soon commenced the practice of it, taking a situation as private tutor in a distinguished family in Mecklenburg, where a well-selected library was at his command, and Rousseau's "*Emile*" was the favorite study of the accomplished mistress of the family. In 1810 he had the good fortune to be summoned to Berlin, in order to be made acquainted with the Pestalozzian system in Plamann's institution, at the expense of the State. Here, in the society of Fichte, Schleiermacher, Köpfe, Zeune, Jahn, Klöden, and other eminent literati, statesmen, and educators, he completed his higher scientific education, and also took an active part in the first establishment of the fencing school, and the gymnastic and swimming institutions. In 1812 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, married the daughter of a landed proprietor in Russian Lithuania, and became favorably known by his first work, "*The German Common Schools.*" Being appointed teacher in the new Teachers' Seminary at Breslau, established upon Pestalozzi's principles, he introduced, with excellent results, a system of instruction in reading and writing, which he also made known in various publications. While here he also wholly originated or took part in various academical labors; established a Society of Teachers, took partial charge of the education of Princess Charlotte, afterward Empress of Russia, and lived in friendly intercourse with Professors Schneider, Wachler, Steffens, Passow, Kaysler, &c. In 1822 he was appointed director of the Teachers' Seminary at Weissenfels, to which he gave a reputation second to no other in Germany, and which is well known in this country, through the Reports of Stowe, Bache, and Mann.

In 1834 he received from the King of Prussia the red order of nobility, fourth class; has received honorary gifts from the Emperor and Empress of Russia, and other royal personages; besides pecuniary means for various pedagogical journeys. In 1837 he was complimented by his colleagues and scholars with the celebration of a

jubilee on occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his labors as a teacher. He has rendered distinguished services toward the perfection of the common school system of Prussia, by his manifold practical and literary labors.

The principal of his numerous writings are the following:—

THE GERMAN COMMON SCHOOLS (*Die Deutscher Volksschulen,*) Berlin, 1812.

COMPLETE INSTRUCTION IN GERMAN (*Vollständiger Unterricht in der Deutschen Sprache,*) Breslau, 1814.

COMPLETE EXPOSITION OF THE BELL-LANCASTERIAN SYSTEM (*Ausführliche Darstellung des Bell-Lancasterschen Schulwesens,*) Breslau, 1819.

LIFE OF THE TUTOR FELIX KASKORBI (a pedagogical romance,) (*Das Leben des Hauslehrers Felix Kaskorbi, ein pädagogischer Roman,*) Breslau, 1820.

HAND-BOOK FOR THE GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM (*Handbuch für das Deutsche Volksschulwesen,*) Breslau, 1820.

THE EDUCATION AND SCHOOL COUNCILOR (*Die Erziehungs-und Schulrath.*) 24 parts. Breslau, 1815 to 1820.

THE COMMON SCHOOL TEACHER, (five years,) (*Die Volksschullehrer,*) (5 *jahrgänge,*) Halle, 1824 to 1828.

THE GERMAN BURGHER SCHOOLS (*Die Deutsche Bürgerschule,*) Halle, 1830.

THE WEISSENFELS SEMINARY (*Das Weissenfelser Seminar,*) Berlin, 1838. (Containing an autobiograph sketch.)

XI. PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM OF SCOTLAND.

The North British Review for November, 1858, in an article on 'Popular Education in Britain and Ireland," has the following remarks on the Scottish System of Parochial Schools.

In examining the influences of national systems, we instinctively turn first to the Scottish Parochial Schools. We envy the Scot neither his educational enlightenment nor his patriotism who can sneeringly cast out of view, in planning modern arrangement, a system remarkable alike for the wise policy which laid its foundation, and for the benefits which it has long conferred. The outline, drawn by the master-hand of John Knox, might, with modifications to meet our altered social and commercial condition, be easily made the basis of a model national system. We need scarcely remind the reader that the Reformers, though beset with almost insuperable difficulties, stipulated in the Third Book of Discipline, "that every several kirk shall have a schoolmaster," such a one as is able "to teach grammar and the Latin tongue," and made provision that the young be instructed in religious doctrine and duty. They further required, apart from the universities "in the three towns accustomed," that "in every notable town there be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by sufficient masters, and for whom honest stipends must be appointed." After many a struggle, whose issues give no blazonry to the aristocracy of the time, but that of unblushing rapacity, the privy council directed, in 1616, "that in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for establishing a school, a school shall be erected, and a fit person appointed to teach the same, upon the expense of the parochinares, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." This act of council was ratified in 1633.

We have thus, in the bold and comprehensive legislation of a period comparatively dark, an example for the present: we have national system, recognizing the value of a universally diffused education, which should unite with thorough intellectual culture, sound moral and religious instruction, meet all the necessities of the community by suitable schools, and the wants of the schoolmaster by an adequate salary, and provide for the efficient maintenance of the whole by compulsory local taxation.

But, unfortunately, the system was stereotyped: it made no provision for growth. Based chiefly on agricultural economy, and embracing the small towns of that time, if as perpetually fixed in the number of their population as was the physical outline of every parish, its goodly proportions were destroyed by the populous cities which commerce created. Wanting elasticity and expansiveness, it had neither power to appropriate improvements, nor cast off accumulating corruptions. As the church and the civil courts became jealous of each other's authority, unseemly contentions followed, and in their wake, change and abuse. The chief gainer was the teacher; and the church lost influence, and the educational interests of the country suffered. The teacher's position became so strengthened, that the presbytery can not dislodge him because of incompetency and inefficiency, however manifestly detrimental to the interests of the parish. The most incompetent, though for years with scarcely a pupil, can retain the school, the dwelling-house, and the stipend. In short, on the concurrent testimony of the witnesses examined before the select committee of the house of lords in the session of 1845, it is evident that the authority of the presbytery "to remove masters for neglect of duty, cruelty, or immorality, has become inoperative."

But, apart from the anomalies produced by commercial and other external changes, and by internal abuses, alterations have taken place, perhaps still more seriously affecting the nationality and efficiency of the parish school. The Established Church is much weakened. Repeated sessions have left only about one-third of the population within her pale. Presbytery is still national, as embracing the religious communions of Scotland; but, as embracing the Established Church,

is merely sectional or fragmentary. The parochial economy is still national, as to its territorial divisions; but, as to its connection with the Established Church, it is thoroughly denominational; and as to its schools being open only to members or adherents of the Established Church, while deliberately shut against the teachers of other presbyterian bodies, it must be held sectarian. As educationalists, and apart from all ecclesiastical controversies, we deeply regret this policy, as most injurious to the interests of public instruction, unjust to the eminently qualified teachers of the other presbyterian communions, and subversive of the original design of its institution as a parochial system under presbyterian superintendence.

In so far as the public management and the internal economy of the parochial system are concerned, it is becoming more hopelessly exclusive than ever; the last vestige of nationality is being rapidly effaced, inasmuch as its schools are being placed by the Established Church and the Committee of Council on Education on the same *denominational* footing as the schools of other religious communions. On analyzing the lists given in the government minutes, we find that last year one hundred and seventy-three parish schools were aided by the privy council grants, and this year one hundred and ninety-seven. We do not grudge to see the teacher's salary increased; but we do regret to see thus disintegrated and broken up the last fragment of that massive educational fabric, long the glory of our land; we do regret to see the Established Church herself, reducing within the limit of a narrow denominationalism that which was originally national, and which might still be so expanded, and so adapted to the altered conditions of the country, as to preserve for Scotland, what she once had, a national system worthy of her early educational character.

Apart from all questions of educational progress and utilitarianism, and all crotchets of ecclesiastical and civil court controversies, the early sympathies and traditions of the Scotchman cling through life to his parish school. Judgment and sentiment pronounce in its favor. Amid the apathy, disorder, and all depths of its darkest days, the parish schools provided generally a substantial education in English and classics, for rich and poor, and wrought out important social and moral results. On its benches social distinctions vanished;—class met class in the fervor of equal and honorable competition;—and friendships between rich and poor were formed, which, ripening in future years, genialized the community and made compacter its structure. How often has it happened that the peasant's son, starting in life with his wealthier companions, on the equal terms simply of an adequate education, has rapidly distanced them, and, after rising into opulence and power, has given to those who struggled behind, and now far beneath him, rich tokens of that kindliness which the common intercourse of the parish school originated and fostered, and which the iron heel of the world had never trodden out.

The political, social, and ecclesiastical constitutions of the country have changed. Scotland is no longer self-governing, and all her laws are being rapidly assimilated to those of England. Commerce has drawn together masses of town-population, and obliterated parochial distinctions. Succeeding accessions—as we have already indicated—have dissociated from the Established Church a vast proportion of her mental worth and moral power. An intense denominationalism prevails. As parties multiply, conflicting interests increase in bitterness and exaggerated importance; and the difficulties of educational legislation are consequently becoming greater. The general aspects of the state of parties are any thing but creditable to Scotland as a nation, so long honored for educational enlightenment, liberality, and power. Scottish educationists, bereft of their distinctiveness, are drifting helplessly among currents breaking over their country from English and Irish experiments. On every one of the great educational questions of the day, Scotland is almost silent. Although possessing in our burgh and grammar schools the frame-work of an admirable system of thoroughly organized and liberally equipped intermediate or higher schools, Scottish educationists are silently permitting not only England, but even Ireland—beset as she is with manifold difficulties—to grapple with these higher questions; and when some theory has been elaborated to suit the special conditions of these countries, with their universities differing from ours, the admirable grammar and burgh schools of this country must then be either altogether ignored or forced into combinations which ill-befit them.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE.

I. EDWARD EVERETT 325
Portrait 325
Memoir 325
Early school life at Dorchester 326
First books read 327
A "Franklin Medal Boy" in Boston Latin School 327
Reminiscences of Phillips' Academy at Exeter 328
Harvard College 329
Teacher of a District School 331
Tutor of Latin in Harvard College 321
Eliot Professor of Greek Literature 321
Studies at University of Göttingen 332
Travels in Europe 332
Portrait as a Lyceum Lecturer in 1830, by R. W. Emerson 332
Editor of Buttman's Greek Grammar and Jacob's Greek Reader 333
Election to Congress in 1825 334
Governor of Massachusetts in 1835–8 335
Reports of Board of Education for 1837–38–39 335
Presidency of Harvard College 338
Influence on the religious tone of the college 340
Boston City Library 342
Extracts from Orations and other Publications 343
Public Schools fifty years ago 344
College Life fifty years ago 345
Common Schools and Colleges 345
What common school education does 346
Conditions of a good Common School 347
Progress of education in Massachusetts 348
Vacation 350
Popular Education and Sound Science 350
The Discipline of a College 352
Progress in our Colleges 354
The Generous Studies 356
The Homeric Controversy 357
Education and Civilization 360
What is Popular Education 361
Franklin a "book-man" 364
Bowditch a "book-man" 364
Boston Public Library 365

II. EDUCATION IN PEACE AND WAR. By Karl von Raumer 367
1. The Thirty Years' War in Germany 367
Friedberg, Göttingen, Schulpforte, Schweinfurt 368
Stargard, Goldberg, Liegnitz 369
2. The Century after the Peace of Westphalia 370
Study of Latin, Speaking Latin 370

PAGE.
Dramatic representations in Schools 372
Gradual disappearance of speaking Latin 374
Study of the Mother-tongue 375
Struggle of the French language and literature 377
Equality of ranks in the public schools 377
III. HISTORY OF PEDAGOGY. By Karl von Raumer 381
Prefatory Notice 381
Introduction 382
Infancy and Early Childhood 386
Schools for young children 386
Schools and home 389
Boarding-houses and public schools 391
Boarding-schools and private institutions 392
Tutors in families 395
IV. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. By Karl von Raumer 401
A parental duty 401
The Bible illustrated 401
Stories from the Bible by the master 402
Biblical History 402
The Order in which the Bible should be studied 403
Church catechism 404
Sacred songs and hymns 405
How far explanations should be given 406
The imagination allowed exercise 407
Confirmation 408
Religious instruction of Gymnasia 408
New Testament in Greek 411
Proper amount 412
V. HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ITALY 413
I. Middle Ages 413
Erroneous estimate of its learning 413
Scholastics 415
The seven liberal arts 416
Mathematics 416
Natural history 416
The Lay of the Nibelungen—cathedrals 417
Introduction of the classical element 417
II. Birth of Dante to death of Boccaccio 418
Dante 418
Boccaccio 423
Petrarch 428
III. Influence of classical studies on the vernacular language of Italy 433
IV. Development of classical studies 435
1. John of Ravenna and Emanuel Chrysoloras 436
2. Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre 437
3. Manuscript-collecting 438
Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici 439
Thomas Sarzano, Nicholas V. 439
First printed books 439
4. The Platonic Academy 440
Marsilius Ficinus 440
Bessarion of Trebizond 440
5. Francis Philadelphus 441
Poggius Bracciolini 442
Laurentius Valla 443
6. Lorenzo di Medici 445
John Argyropulus 445
Christopher Sandinus 445
Angelus Politianus or Ambrogini 445
Picus di Mirandola 449
Hermolaus Barbarus 449

PAGE.
V. Leo X. and his age 454
John Della Casa 455
Pietro Aretino 455
Machiavelli—1469 to 1527 457
Ariosto—1471 to 1547 457
Rise and supremacy of the arts of *Painting and Sculpture* 458
VI. Growth of Italian learning and art 458
VI. SAMUEL JOHNSON, D. D., ... 461
VII. CLASSICAL INSTRUCTION 471
1. Speaking and writing Latin in Germany 471
Amount of time devoted to Latin and Greek in gymnasia 471
Reasons for preference given to the Latin 471
Influence of Christianity on the Latin language 473
Revival of classical studies 473
Increased attention to the German 478
Disciplinary value of acquiring a foreign language 480
First university lecture in German 481
Familiar reading of classic authors 485
2. Classical instruction in England 497
Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to the Masters of Ipswich Grammar School, in 1523 487
VIII. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES. *Fourth Article.* By Rev. Thomas Hill 491
History 491
Social life, customs 491
Trade. Household and shop 492
History of inventions. Industrial exhibitions 492
Miss Edgeworth's "*Harry and Lucy*" 493
Art, Music, Drawing 493
Language, Phonotype 496
Use of language 496
Foreign language 497
Law, school, and family 498
True method of education 500
IX. PESTALOZZI'S CENTENNIAL BIRTH-DAY 503
Recognition of Pestalozzi's services in Germany and Switzerland 503
X. PUBLICATIONS BY AND RELATING TO PESTALOZZI 513
I. Works by Pestalozzi 513
II. Works relating to Pestalozzi and his system 516
XI. SELECTIONS FROM PUBLICATIONS BY PESTALOZZI 519
I. LEONARD AND GERTRUDE 519
Preface to first edition, 1781 519
Preface to second edition, 1803 524
Remarks on the continuation 649
The School in Bonnal 651
II. CHRISTOPHER AND ALICE 665
Home and School Training 665
III. HOW GERTRUDE TEACHES HER CHILDREN 669
Introduction 669
Pestalozzi's account of his own educational experience 671
Methods of elementary instruction 675
Number, form, and speech 675
Sound 677
Form 688
Geometry 689
Drawing 693
Writing 694
Number 698
Arithmetic 699
IV. ANNIVERSARY ADDRESSES 703
1. Discourse on Christmas Eve, 1810 703
2. Discourse on New Year, 1808 712
3. Seventy-second Birth-day 715
V. PATERNAL INSTRUCTIONS—a Bequest to his Pupils 720
INDEX TO VOLUME VII 729

Painted by J. O. Eaton Engraved by J. C. Buttre

Edward Everett.

of this work might be judged by the same standard of opinion. To give material for such judgment, we combine these notes on his own education, with some account of his public efforts for the elevation of all our agencies for instruction.

He was born in Dorchester, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, on the 11th of April, 1794. His father was Oliver Everett, the predecessor of President Kirkland as the minister of one of the Boston churches. After a ministry of ten years, he had retired from his charge in 1792, and removed to Dorchester. In 1799, he was appointed a judge of the Circuit Court, and, in the contemporary journals, therefore, is sometimes spoken of as Judge Everett.

His distinguished son has given public accounts, in more or less detail, of several different incidents in his early school life at Dorchester. Thrown together, these would give a picture, well worth the study of the Young America of to-day, of the arrangements for the training of boys and girls in the oldest and most prosperous towns in Massachusetts at the beginning of the century. The schools of Dorchester and Boston, which Mr. Everett attended, were probably better than most other public schools in America; they were certainly no worse. We shall not dwell upon these reminiscences, as we have collated them from Mr. Everett's different writings, at such length as would be agreeable. But a few of his descriptions will be entertaining to our older as well as to our younger readers.

"When three years old I began to attend a child's school in the immediate neighborhood of my father's house. I recollect distinctly holding to my sister's apron as a protection against the cattle in the road. I also remember the appearance of my primer, from one corner of which the blue paper covering had been torn." Here Miss Lucy Clap, "my patient and faithful instructress, taught me to read before I could speak plain. Considerately mingling the teacher and nurse, she kept a pillow and a bit of carpet in the corner of the school-room where the little heads, throbbing from a premature struggle with the tall double letters and ampersand, with Korah's troops and Vashti's pride, were permitted, nay encouraged, to go to sleep."* The Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, then, and for many years afterwards, minister of Dorchester, wrote for the little boy, who was then learning his letters thus at a dame school, his first "piece to speak." It is preserved in print, and has been the first essay of many an orator

* Orations II., 603. Dorchester Fourth of July Address, p. 44. In some humorous notes on the old New England Primer, Mr. Everett says very justly that when it was taught that "Vashti for pride was set aside," real injustice was done to the memory of a modest woman, who refused, in violation of the delicacy of her sex, as well as of Oriental manners, to exhibit herself to the people in obedience to a drunken husband.

since, not so widely distinguished. It is the piece known to our readers who have the charge of primary schools, as beginning:

> "Pray, how should I, a little lad,
> In speaking make a figure?" *

One or two seasons of such dame-school discipline brought the boy to a village school kept by one Onesiphorus Tileston. The next stage was the central town school, where he was under the charge of Mr. James Blake Howe, afterwards the Episcopal minister of Claremont, N. H. Mr. Wilkes Allen, afterwards minister of Chelmsford, Mass., was his teacher, at a later date, in Dorchester.

Mr. Everett has made a curious notice of the books he read as a child, even as a little boy; and, as in every biography which is worth the writing, it proves that most of the books were "grown people's" books. He had Goody Two Shoes and Mother Goose, and Theobald's Shakspeare, Guthrie's Quarto Geography, the Spectator, and Ossian. The time has not yet arrived — how soon will it arrive? — when children brought up principally on the "Namby-Pamby Selections" and the other series "prepared expressly for children," have lived such lives as to make their biographies desirable or even legible. Mr. Everett speaks of his knowledge of parts of Shakspeare and the Spectator among his earliest recollections.

His father died when he was a boy of nine, and his mother soon after removed with her family to Boston. Mr. Everett was here under the charge of another Mr. Tileston, at a "grammar school," afterwards under Ezekiel Webster at a private school, and, for a week of his illness, of his brother, Daniel Webster. From this school, if we have rightly adjusted the dates, he was sent to the Boston Latin School, the oldest school in America, and there he remained until sent to Exeter Academy for six months' final training before he entered college at Cambridge. While at Mr. Tileston's school, he received one of the "Franklin Medals," annually awarded, under the will of Benjamin Franklin, to the best boys in the Boston Public Schools; and at the Latin School he received another.† The course of education at the Latin School at that time is described in some papers afterwards published by Mr. Gould, who was its head-master at a subsequent period, and greatly elevated its character. Under Mr. Bigelow, who was Mr. Everett's instructor here, we suppose that the boys read Virgil, some of Cicero's orations, parts of Sallust,

* See Loring's "Boston Orators."

† He received these medals in 1804 and 1806. See Report Boston School Committee for 1858, List of Medal Scholars.

of the Greek Testament, and of the Collectanea Græca Minora. They had no practice in Latin or Greek versification, or prose or verse composition; indeed, at that time there was hardly a school or college in the country where a boy would have been called upon to write a Latin or Greek verse. There are not many now.

The academy at Exeter at that time was under the care of Dr. Abbot as preceptor, with Mr. Alexander H. Everett, afterwards our minister to Spain, as his assistant in the classical department; while the mathematical and other English branches were taught by Mr. Nathan Hale in another department of the academy. Mr. Everett, in an address at Dr. Abbot's semi-centennial, thus alludes to his connection with Exeter Academy:

I have read of an individual who was released from the Bastile, after a confinement of more than thirty years. He sought for his family and the friends of his youth, and they were gone. The house in which he had lived had passed into the possession of strangers, and he desired to go back to the prison in which he had been so long immured. I can catch a glimpse of his feelings, as I wander about those scenes familiar to me in boyhood, and which I have but once or twice revisited, and that long ago, in the interval of more than thirty years since I was a pupil at the academy. It was my good fortune to pass here but a portion of the year before I entered college, but I can truly say that even in that short time I contracted a debt of gratitude which I have felt throughout my life. I return to these endeared scenes with mingled emotions. I find them changed: dwelling-places are no more on the same spots; old edifices have disappeared; new ones, both public and private, have been erected; some of the respected heads of society, whom I knew, though as a child, are gone. The seats in the academy-room are otherwise arranged than formerly, and even there the places that once knew me know me no more. Where the objects themselves are unaltered, the changed eye and the changed mind see them differently. The streets seem narrower and shorter, the distances less considerable; this play-ground before us, which I remember as most spacious, seems sadly contracted. But all, sir, is not changed, either in appearance or reality. The countenance of our revered preceptor has undergone no change to my eye. It still expresses that *suaviter in modo* mentioned by the gentleman last up (Rev. Prof. Ware, jun.), with none of the sternness of the other principle. It is thus I remember it; it was always sunshine to me. Nature in the larger features of the landscape is unchanged; the river still flows; the woods yield their shade as pleasantly as they did thirty years ago, doubly grateful for the contrast they afford to the dusty walks of active life, for the solace they yield in an escape, however brief, from its burdens and cares. As I stood in the hall of the academy last evening, and saw from its windows the river winding through the valley, and the gentle slope rising from its opposite bank, and caught the cool breeze that was scattering freshness after the sultry summer's day, I could *feel* the poetry of Gray, on revisiting, in like manner, the scenes of his schoolboy days:

"Ah, happy hills! ah, pleasing shade!
  Ah, fields beloved in vain!
Where once my happy childhood strayed,
  A stranger yet to pain!
I feel the gales that from thee blow
A momentary bliss below,
  As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
My weary soul they seem to soothe,
And, redolent of joy and youth,
  To breathe a second spring."

In the autumn of 1807, having spent about six months at Exeter, he entered Harvard College, being a little more than thirteen years old, and the youngest member of his class. The death of Mr. Prescott, who was in college about that time, has called some attention recently to the singularly low standard of collegiate education then. The prescribed studies of the freshman year were a few books of Livy and Horace for the Latin, and the "Græca Majora" for the Greek. The study of these languages was lamentably superficial, being confined indeed, so far as we can learn, to the most cursory reading of the text. The freshmen also recited occasionally in Lowth's English Grammar, and in the Hebrew Grammar without points. Any student who wished might study French, but no other modern languages were provided for. The sophomore class studied logic and metaphysics in the text-books of the day, which were Watts's Logic and Locke's Essay on the Understanding. When Mr. Everett was a sophomore, Mr. John Quincy Adams was chosen Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in the college. He had just resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, because his policy as a senator was not that which was approved by the federal majority in Massachusetts. The lectures were very popular in college, and were soon afterwards published in two volumes. They were delivered to the senior and junior classes.

As juniors and seniors, Mr. Everett's class must have pursued the study of natural philosophy under that admirable teacher, Professor Farrar, Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind, Paley's Evidences, and those branches of the mathematics which are taught in President Webber's text-book. At this period, also, the Cambridge students, as now, devoted a good deal of time and attention to English composition.

It was in the summer of 1810 that the Harvard Lyceum was established by several of the young men in Mr. Everett's class, of whom he was one. This was the first, if we remember rightly, of a series of college magazines, of which one is published at the present time. It was supported perhaps as generously as it deserved, but did not linger many months. The only papers which we now remember in it were some ironical imitations of Barlow's Columbiad, which after-generations at Cambridge used to ascribe to Mr. Everett's pen, whether rightly or not we do not know.

He graduated with the first rank in his class, in August, 1811. He continued his residence in Cambridge, however, having determined to make the ministry his profession, probably under the influence of Mr. Buckminster, who had been his pastor when he was a boy in

Boston, and to whom he was ardently attached until his death. He studied theology under the arrangements for professional students then made in Cambridge, which had not yet ripened into a theological school.

The object of this sketch is not to follow along Mr. Everett's life in all or in most of its varied details, but to represent particularly his connection with public education, and the opportunities which he has made and used for elevating its standard. We have dwelt particularly on the anecdotes which we have collected of his own boyhood and youth, for the purpose of showing what the standard was of New England education at that time. It may be said with perfect truth that the schools and colleges were left very much to hap-hazard. A person who could do nothing else was considered a proper person to keep school; and, though the college at Cambridge, where the standard was at the highest, required of its few instructors some qualifications higher than this of inability to serve the public elsewhere, its standard was as low as we have seen. There was no science of education in the country. There seems to have been little thought, much less hope, of improving it. The schools and colleges were probably at not quite so high a standard as they were at some period before the Revolutionary War. Certainly they were no better. The extreme poverty which followed that struggle, which is hardly understood by people of our time, had depressed especially the institutions of learning.

But we now come to a period when the literary fortunes of this country may be said to have turned from their lowest ebb. It is even said that the check given to commerce by the political difficulties which culminated in the war of 1812, compelled the young men on the seaboard to go into the colleges because they could not go into trade. Many causes combined, probably, in the augmentation of the numbers of those who pursued a liberal education, and the same causes contributed to make that education of better worth, to raise the standard of study and of schooling, and to give, indeed, a new life to the literary enterprise of the land. The literary magazines begin to be better sustained. Academies of a higher type start up in different parts of the country, and education assumes, from that time, a steady line of progress, in which it may be fairly said that every year has exhibited, now in one walk, now in another, some improvement upon the year before.

In the whole of this advance the subject of this biography has been vigorously at work among the foremost leaders in a singular variety of ways. His first essay as a teacher was made in the town

of Bridgewater, in Massachusetts, where he kept a winter school while he was a junior in college. He was recently invited by the citizens of this town to deliver there his address on the character of Washington. In doing so, he made some allusion to his first residence there, and met, for the first time after fifty years, many of his old pupils, older indeed than their teacher. Excepting this diversification of the tedium of college life, his first experience as a teacher was as tutor of Latin at Cambridge, in the years 1812 and '13. He was at this time studying for his profession.

He was, soon afterwards, ordained as a minister of one of the Boston churches. But, as early as 1815, he was invited to return to Cambridge as a professor, to take the new chair of Professor of Greek Literature. This professorship was then established by Mr. Eliot, of Boston, with the distinct understanding that the professor should not be required to take part in the ordinary instruction in the language. It was thus one of the early steps in the improvement of our colleges. We may say, in passing, that they have still a great deal further to go in the same direction. As they stand at present, a large proportion of their work upon the classics is poor school-boy drill, of a kind which might be much better attended to under the discipline of the preparatory schools. And it is lamentable to see how frequently a college course leaves the student with an absolute distaste for the ancient languages, instead of that generous interest in them, which, if the classical system means anything, such a course ought to insure.

Mr. Everett accepted the invitation to become Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, and at once went to Europe to prepare himself for the position. In company with Mr. George Ticknor, afterwards so well known as the Professor of Modern Literature at Cambridge, he went directly to Göttingen. They were probably the first Americans not of German parentage who had gone to a German university to complete their education. We have, however, so many readers who have since followed the same course, that we copy in detail the statement which Mr. Everett has given of his studies at Göttingen, which will be interesting in comparison with the German work at the present time.

I devoted myself (he says) chiefly to Greek, under the private instruction of Professor Dissen, the editor of Pindar, who died in middle life, in 1837. With him I read portions of the higher Greek authors, and went through a course in the Greek metres and Greek Grammar. Though I became familiar with the German before I left the country, our exercises together were conducted in the Latin language. I also attended the lectures of Hugo, on the History of the Roman Law, and those of Welcker, on Archæology. After leaving Germany, I passed a winter in Paris. As I contemplated a hasty visit to Greece

before my return, I pursued the study of the modern language under a young Greek from Constantinople; and I had the pleasure of an intimate acquaintance with Koray, at that time the most learned of modern Greek scholars. The little knowledge of Romaic which I acquired in this way, stood me a good deal in stead in my rapid journey through Greece, still at that time under dominion of the Turks.

There are frequent allusions in Mr. Everett's public addresses to his travels in the south and south-east of Europe at that time; and his subsequent interest in the Greek revolution often led him to speak of his own observations in that country. But we do not extract any of these observations, as our interest with him at the present moment is as an instructor. He returned to the United States in the autumn of 1819, and entered as soon as possible on the discharge of his duties at Cambridge. These were, as we have said, those of a Professor of Greek *Literature;* the ordinary instruction in the language remained in the hands of the learned and excellent, though eccentric, Professor Popkin. Professor Everett's public instruction was confined to the preparation of a course of lectures on the History of Greek Literature, in which he attempted a survey of the entire succession of the authors, from Homer to the end of the Alexandrian age. As an exhibition of the advance which this course introduced in a college, which eight years before had been satisfied when it heard him construe the Græca Majora, we disturb the dust on one of the printed programmes of this course, which is perhaps the only copy now extant, and make an extract from it in the close of this paper.

We should not venture ourselves to give form to the traditions which have come down to us of the effect produced by these lectures, delivered by a young man full of enthusiasm, fresh from two such classic lands as Greece and Germany, both then almost unknown in America. We should have satisfied ourselves with saying that the effective study of Greek Literature in the college then received an impulse which that study has never lost there nor in the country. It happens, however, that one of Professor Everett's pupils, Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, in one of his own brilliant lectures, has given a description of the new animation which these lectures gave to Cambridge, and at our earnest request has permitted us to transcribe the passage for our present purpose. In speaking of the Lyceum Lecture System, Mr. Emerson says:

But a new field for eloquence has been opened in the Lyceum, an institution not a quarter of a century old, yet singularly agreeable to the taste and habits of the New England people, and extending every year to the south and west. It is of so recent origin that, although it is beginning already, like the invention of railways, to make a new profession, we have most of us seen all the steps of its progress. In New England it had its origin in as marked a manner as such things admit of being marked, from the genius of one distin-

guished person, who, after his connection with the University, read public courses of literary lectures in Boston. And as this was an epoch of much note in the recent literary history of all that portion of the country, I shall ask leave to pause a little on the recollection. That individual has passed long since into new employments, so that the influence he then exerted, and which was a capital fact in the literary annals of the country, now fairly belongs to the past; and one of his old scholars will be indulged in recalling an image so pleasing.

There was an influence on the young people, from the genius of this eminent scholar, which was almost comparable to that of Pericles, in Athens. He had an inspiration which did not go beyond his head, but which made him the master of elegance. If any of my audience were at that period in Boston, or Cambridge, they will easily remember his radiant beauty of person, of a classic style; his heavy, large eye; marble lids which gave the impression of mass which the slightness of his form needed; sculptured lips; a voice of such rich tones, such precise and perfect utterance, that, although slightly nasal, it was the most mellow, and beautiful, and correct, of all the instruments of the time. The word that he spoke, in the manner in which he spoke it, became current and classical in New England. He had a great talent for collecting facts, and for bringing those he had to bear with ingenious felicity on the topic of the moment. Let him rise to speak on what occasion soever, a fact had always just transpired which composed with some other fact well known to the audience the most pregnant and happy coïncidence. It was remarked that, for a man who threw out so many facts, he was seldom convicted of a blunder. He had a good deal of special learning, and all his learning was available for purposes of the hour. It was all new learning, that wonderfully took and stimulated the young men. It was so coldly and weightily communicated from so commanding a platform, as if the consciousness and consideration of all history and all learning, adorned with so many simple and austere beauties of expression, and enriched with so many excellent digressions and significant quotations, that, though nothing could be conceived beforehand less attractive, or, indeed, less fit for green boys from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, with their unripe Latin and Greek reading, than exegetical discourses in the style of Hug, and Wolf, and Ruhnken, on the Orphic and Ante-Homeric remains, yet this learning instantly took the highest place, to our imagination, in our unoccupied American Parnassus. All his auditors felt the extreme beauty and dignity of the manner, and even the coarsest were contented to go punctually to listen for the manner, when they had found out that the subject-matter was not for them. In the lecture-room he abstained from all ornament, and pleased himself with the play of detailing erudition in a style of perfect simplicity.

During this period Mr. Everett had some private classes of young men, who wished to read particular authors included in his general course. At the same time, he made another contribution to the Greek scholarship of the country, the effects of which were more immediately felt perhaps, in translating Buttmann's Greek Grammar for schools, and a new Greek Reader, on the basis of that of Jacobs. This Greek Reader is still that most in use in America, though numberless editors have tried their hand upon it, and the name of the original editor, who compiled it from the four volumes of Jacobs, has generally disappeared from the title-pages.

As stated by Mr. Emerson, in the passage which we have quoted above, Professor Everett prepared at this time some of the first popular lectures which were delivered in this country. These were two courses on Antiquities and Ancient Art, each consisting of fifteen lectures. He repeated these lectures at Cambridge. "By a series

of lectures," says Mr. Emerson, "largely and fashionably attended for two winters in Boston, this individual made a beginning of popular literary miscellaneous lectures which, in that region at least, had important results. It is acquiring greater importance every day, and becoming a national institution."

Among Mr. Everett's other duties at Cambridge, were a course of lectures on the Literary History of the Old Testament, and another on the History of the Civil Law. He was, at the same time, the editor of the North American Review. In the earlier part of his professorship, he supplied the pulpit about half the time. He was elected to Congress in 1825, and his professorship, under an old statute of the University, was then vacated.

In 1824, he delivered an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, which is well known, even to school-boys, as the address in which is a charming allusion to Lafayette, who was present in the audience. The subject of the address is, "The Circumstances favorable to the Progress of Literature in America," — a subject then not so hackneyed as it has been by his imitators since. It is a very appropriate theme to that great series of orations, of which this is the first, by which, from that day to this, he has wrought upon the nation, always in the elevation of its scholarship and taste, while he has fitly commemorated some of the most striking passages of our history. We have no occasion to allude to the titles of these addresses, many of which have found a permanent place in our literature; but, when we have closed our narrative, we shall make several extracts from them, with a view of illustrating his views upon the system of American Education, upon the best methods of filling the gaps in those systems, and upon the practical objects at which our teachers should aim. We beg the reader of these extracts to remark that in all these plans this accomplished scholar, who had shown in a thousand ways the accuracy of the culture which he had himself added to the indifferent training he had found in the schools of his youth, never makes the mistake of recommending the impossible. He always adapts his requisitions to the circumstances of the community. He always is at work to provide for an extension of the advantages of the public systems of instruction, and never is seduced by a dilettante's enthusiasm into any set of arrangements which can conduce to the training of only a handful of men. Among all the men who have taken a leading part in improving our systems of education, we have had no one who has more distinctly understood the character of the people to be educated, or the methods by which the systems were to be improved. His inauguration of the Lyceum System, of which we have spoken, is one,

illustration of this practical view. His inauguration of the Normal Schools of America, of which we are yet to speak, is another. His inauguration of the Public Library in the city of Boston, which is the germ of a most important system of general instruction, is another.

After nine years of active congressional life, Mr. Everett was chosen Governor of Massachusetts in the autumn of 1835. In this capacity it was again in his power to take an active part in the direction of public instruction here, and it is from public documents from his pen of the four years of his administration that some of our most striking extracts, illustrative of the advance of public education in the United States, will be drawn. The Massachusetts Board of Education, to which not only that State but all the United States have been largely indebted, was organized while Mr. Everett was governor. The existence of such boards, in those States where the system of instruction is best organized, dates from this beginning. In Massachusetts, the system has been founded, from the first, on the best principle; for it has embodied a number of gentlemen, who render their services voluntarily, quite without pay, from the high motives of public spirit only. Their functions have never been nominal, nor their position in any sense a sinecure. Meanwhile, coherency and steadiness of work is secured by the employment of a secretary, of distinguished ability, with a salary. The introduction of volunteer effort in some such way is an effectual feature in the management of all public institutions. Hon. Horace Mann, as is well remembered, was the first secretary of this board. Mr. Everett was its president, and wrote all the reports of the board as long as he was in office. These are published with the reports of the secretary. They are not merely formal documents, but contain important propositions and suggestions, as the extracts which we shall make will show.

There is a little piece of the private history of Massachusetts, at that time, which we think is fair enough to put in print as an illustration of the tone of feeling then regarding public education, which we think we may contrast with that of our own time to our advantage. During Mr. Everett's administration the surplus revenue of the United States was distributed to the several States, as the only means which the Federal Government could adopt for relieving an overflowing treasury. We need scarcely make a parenthesis to say that it has never found any such difficulty again. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, if this act had taken full effect, would have received nearly two millions of dollars in this unexpected windfall. In fact, she did receive three instalments of this sum, amounting to thirteen

hundred thousand dollars. Mr. Everett's proposal was, that the available part of this treasure should be devoted to an observatory and to the enlargement of the school fund. But he was overruled by the politicians, who had weight enough to have the funds subdivided among the towns. Some of the towns carried the principle further, and divided their sum, per capita, among the people. We think that, in giving publicity to this anecdote, we may say that no such disposition would be made now. We do not believe that there is any leading town in Massachusetts which would not gladly devote such a fund to purposes of general improvement. We trust there will never be a legislature of any of our States, which will let slip so grand an opportunity.*

The Board of Education was created on the 20th of April, 1837. Only limited powers had been given it by the Legislature, which had doubtless some jealousy of any interference with the local arrangements of the different towns for education. But, with the sense which has characterized almost all its movements from the beginning, the board satisfied itself by doing what it could, and working its way gradually towards doing more. It held county conventions for discussion and mutual information on the subject of education, which were attended always by the secretary, and, less regularly, by the other members of the board. In the first report of the Board of Education, presented on the first of February, 1838, Mr. Everett makes the following suggestion with regard to the necessity of a Normal School, an institution which was then practically unknown in this country. So general have been the benefits derived from the introduction of Normal Schools into our system, that we copy this passage:

"We are not left to the deductions of reason on this subject. In those foreign countries where the greatest attention has been paid to the work of education, schools for teachers have formed an important feature in their systems, and with happiest result. The art of imparting instruction has been found, like every other art, to improve by cultivation in institutions established for that specific object. New importance has been attached to the calling of the instructor by public opinion, from the circumstance that his vocation has been deemed one requiring systematic preparation and culture. Whatever tends to degrade the profession of the teacher in his own mind, or that of the public, of course impairs his usefulness; and this result must follow from regarding instruction as a business which in itself requires no previous training.

"The duties which devolve upon the teachers even of our common schools, particularly when attended by large numbers of both sexes, and of advanced years for learners (as is often the case), are various, and difficult of performance. For their faithful execution no degree of talent and qualification is too great; and when we reflect in the nature of things that only a moderate portion of both can, in ordinary cases, be expected for the slender compensation afforded the teacher, we gain a new view of the necessity of bringing to his duties the advantage of previous training in the best mode of discharging them.

* See Mr. Everett's "Speech on the Memorial of the Colleges." Boston, 1849.

A very considerable part of the benefit, which those who attend our schools might derive from them, is unquestionably lost for want of mere skill, in the business of instruction, on the part of the teacher. This falls with especial hardship on that part of our youthful population who are able to enjoy, but for a small portion of the year, the advantage of the schools. For them it is of peculiar importance that, from the moment of entering school, every hour should be employed to the greatest advantage, and every facility in imparting knowledge, and every means of awakening and guiding the mind, be put into instant operation: and, where this is done, two months of schooling would be as valuable as a year passed under a teacher destitute of experience and skill. The board cannot but express the sanguine hope that the time is not far distant when the resources of public or private liberality will be applied in Massachusetts for the foundation of an institution for the formation of teachers, in which the present existing defect will be amply supplied.

Immediately after this report was presented, Hon. Edmund Dwight offered to the secretary of the board the sum of $10,000, on condition that the commonwealth would appropriate the same amount; the sum to be disbursed under the direction of the Board of Education in qualifying teachers for common schools. The donation was accepted, and this sum appropriated. It was probably with reference to some proposal of Mr. Dwight that, in the passage we have quoted, Governor Everett expressed the hope that public or private liberality would found an institution for the training of teachers.

His second report contains the history of the arrangement which the board made regarding this fund; and a note at the close of it announces that the first of the new Normal Schools would be established at Barre, in Massachusetts. A second was established at Lexington; and, from that time to this, the Normal Schools of Massachusetts, continued under the State authority, have held a prominent place in her system of education. At the dedication of the school in Barre Governor Everett was present, and inaugurated the new system by an address, which is contained in his published orations. In this address he gives the history, not of this school only, but of the system from its origin in Europe; and enters into a thorough though popular exhibition of the training which a Normal School contemplates.

We do not propose to go further into details of the inauguration of the Board of Education. The three reports drawn by Mr. Everett are all of them practical documents of original value. And the reader who has had personal connection with the offices of instruction can but pause a moment to think that it is little wonder that there should have come an era in the public education of Massachusetts, when a working board was established with Edward Everett for its president, Horace Mann for its secretary, and such men as President Sparks, James G. Carter, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Dr. Putnam, E. A. Newton, Governor Hull, and Edmund Dwight, as their coädjutors.

Mr. Everett and Mr. Mann valued each other, and sympathized with each other. Both of them knew the Massachusetts schools; both of them knew they might be a great deal better. Both of them, again, knew the people of Massachusetts; both of them knew the experiments for education which had been tried in different parts of America. Both of them knew that nothing was less desirable than the abandonment of that primitive system in which each town has the control of its own schools, and the burden of their support, which calls on the local spirit and pride of each town to keep up their standard. But both of them knew, again, that this standard ought to be constantly elevated, and that this elevation was to be secured, not by any general enactments of the government, but by sedulous work in the improvement of the public opinion. In all his hopes of such improvement the governor was sure of the zeal, energy and practical sense, of the secretary. In all his plans, even where they demanded requisitions upon the Legislature, the secretary was sure of the coöperation of the governor. It was at that time, and under such auspices, that the common-school system of Massachusetts began to advance in a course of steady improvement, which has lasted to this hour. Mr. Everett's interest in these movements may be estimated, not merely from these reports on education, but from the different addresses which he delivered on various public occasions while he was governor. The more important of these addresses are preserved in his published "Orations," being those at the Centennial at Harvard College; an address on "Superior and Popular Education," delivered at Williams College; an address delivered at the Boston School Dinner, in 1837; an address made at the County Convention of the friends of education in 1838; an address at a festival at Exeter Academy the same year; one at the Taunton School Convention the same year; the address at Barre of which we have spoken, and the address which inaugurated the Lowell Institute in the city of Boston. The last was delivered just as Mr. Everett was leaving office. The people of Massachusetts had preferred Judge Morton as their governor; and, after thirteen years of political service, Mr. Everett retired to private life.

In several of the speeches which he made in England during the period when he resided there as the American minister, there are allusions made to this great theme of popular education, which has been, as we think we have shown, more than any other single subject, the central interest of this great scholar's life. On his return to America, in 1845, he was urgently pressed by the government of Harvard College, and by some of its best friends, to accept the pres-

idency of that institution. He had always been connected with it, in one capacity or another, since he entered it in 1807. He had been a tutor, a professor, an overseer, and had thus had personal experience of every department of its administration, excepting that most difficult of all, a seat as member of the corporation, which is the real governing power of this University. He was now invited to become its president, under that usual, and, perhaps, not unnatural, impression that the finest scholastic training and the highest gifts of genius are especially desirable at the head of one of our great universities. He took office as president on the third of January, 1846, and delivered his inaugural address on the thirtieth of April in the same year.

We are disposed to consider this address on University Education as the contribution to the literature of education most needed by the teachers and other scholars of this country. Its effect on the audience which heard it, especially on the under-graduates, but not upon them alone, but upon the flower of the learning of Massachusetts which was there assembled, was immediate and electric. Its statement of that great truth, which really needs no demonstration, that purity of spirit and the noblest religious elevation of life are really the great essential object of university training, gave an impulse, as we believe, not to that college only, but perhaps to every college in the land. The address, therefore, places its author by the side of Dr. Arnold, as an apostle of religion to our teachers, and, in the most popular form, so as to reach every ear, makes the protest which is undoubtedly necessary against the heresy which supposes that mere culture of the intellect, by itself, is of any more value than is mere culture of the muscle. "We have thus far considered a liberal education," he said, "as designed, in the first place, to furnish an ample store of useful knowledge by way of preparation for the duties of life; and, secondly, as intended to unfold and exercise the mental powers. But these objects, important as they certainly are, and filling in their attainment too often the highest ambition of parents and children, are in reality but little worth, if unaccompanied by the most precious endowment of our fallen nature, a pure and generous spirit, warmed by kind affection, governed by moral principle, and habitually influenced by motives and hopes that look forward into eternity."

These words form the text not only of the leading part of that great address, but of Mr. Everett's short administration of the college. It is understood that, in that period, the whole internal administration of the college proper, as distinguished from the professional schools, was rearranged, and a new code of statutes for its government prepared

by him and his coädjutors. But such arrangements of detail do not represent, especially, the interests to which he devoted himself. The improvement of the *tone* of the college, of the motives brought to bear, the constant elevation of the spirit with which the young gentlemen were at work, were the objects which he seems to have had at heart in every arrangement of detail. In these wishes we believe he commanded, to an extent beyond what any man could have hoped, the sympathy and coöperation of the students. It is difficult, and perhaps improper, to cite any special illustrations of success in such general endeavor, but we believe we may say that it was generally remarked at Cambridge that the daily prayers in chapel were attended with new interest, and assumed quite a new place in the services of the institution. The custom had crept in, not unnaturally, by which the professors, engaged in family prayers in their own homes, did not attend the public daily services of the chapel. The under-graduates were the only congregation there, excepting the clergyman who officiated, the president, and six or eight of the junior officers, who were detailed, as the young gentlemen supposed, especially for the purpose of maintaining order. The chapel was kept at the temperature of the outer air, whatever that might be; the length of the service was observed to be precisely that which was occupied by the "markers" of the respective classes, in ascertaining who were absent. Under such arrangements, it can scarcely be wondered if an innocent student from Mississippi, on his first attendance at chapel, spoke of the officers who were in attendance as "drivers," quite unconscious that any sneer was implied in the expression. The only wonder is that under-graduate readiness did not catch up the phrase and apply it permanently to such functionaries. Under the new administration the chapel resumed its rights to the civilities and dignities of a place of public worship. The habit of attendance by the professors was resumed; the arrangements of the place and hour were so made that the service could be prolonged with propriety to whatever were the fit requisitions of the day; vocal music, if we rightly remember, was then introduced; and we believe we may safely say, that, from the period of Mr. Everett's administration to the present time, the administration of the chapel service has been an appropriate and real religious office; not disfigured by any of the incongruities, which we might call blasphemies, which are fresh in the recollections of so many graduates of so many colleges.

We allude to this detail with regard to the chapel services, only as an illustration of the principle of administration which Mr. Everett had laid down in his inaugural address. He remained president of

the college only three years, when he was succeeded by Dr. Sparks, who resigned after a service of four years, and was succeeded by the present incumbent, Dr. Walker, in 1853. Without entering here into the broad questions which relate to the government of our colleges, we may say that such shortness of the term of office of some of our most distinguished scholars, when at the very prime of their lives, seems to indicate that in the present system of education that is an unfounded prejudice, to which we have alluded, which supposes that the functions of the president of a university are to be discharged by our few men of rare intellectual ability and training. Here are three instances,— for we are sorry to say that Dr. Walker makes the third,— where, when such accomplished scholars have tried the harness of a president's life, they have been eager to leave it. The history of our other colleges would add to the number. And we suppose the fact to be that the president of a great university, with us, is made to discharge duties, most of which are in no sense literary or scholastic. We remember a college *bon-mot* which represents a president as saying to a student, who had asked to borrow a book of him, that he would lend him his whole library, because he had had no opportunity to use his own books since he undertook the charge of the college. The question which instantly recurs, — What does a college president do? — is, perhaps, fairly answered by another college story, which represents the president as engaged in writing a note to the steward to bid him direct the janitor to tell one of the sweeps to dust the cushions in Professor ——'s pew. To speak in general, the responsibility of three different boards at least, perhaps of four, is thrown upon the shoulders of this officer. Most of our colleges are in the hands of a board of trustees, at whose meetings the president presides, and of whose business he must take the charge. The immediate arrangements for instruction are in the hands of a college faculty, where he exercises the same function. There is yet again a board of overseers, whose meetings he must regularly attend, and, perhaps, direct. At Cambridge there are, besides these, a parietal board, charged with the police of the college, and the faculties of four professional schools, of each of which, of course, the president is the head. The officer who is charged with these different special duties is, at the same time, representing the college before the parents of the pupils. Each student, out of more than a thousand perhaps, is introduced to him on arrival, and, with the parent or guardian of each pupil, he is to keep up such correspondence as this parent or guardian may desire. Such is the merest outline of the line of duty actually thrown by our system upon the officer chosen to be president of one of our colleges. From such an outline merely, in which we do not here attempt to fill up any one

of the details, it is clear enough that the popular requisition which expects the president to be at the same time carrying on some branches of the instruction of the college, — to be keeping in the front of the literary enterprise of the time, and at the same time to be maintaining tender personal relations with the students, and exerting upon their characters the elevating influences of the highest life, — is a requisition, which, however charming, is purely Utopian. While the system of our collegiate instruction is as completely undigested as it is, the wiser course for boards of overseers would seem to be not to sentence to their mills such men as Dr. Walker, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Everett, or others, whom we could name, who are now grinding in their respective colleges, but rather to take for these duties men schooled in the purely practical side of life, quick at accounts, ready in organization, skilful in that art which is almost a science, the managing of boards, prompt in the discharge of business, and hardy in meeting a variety of responsibility. This line of talent, although rare, is not so rare as is the highest intellectual and moral genius. And just so much will be saved for the highest purposes of the community, when we put the right man in the right place, and for these adjutant-general functions, which are tumbled pell-mell into the offices of our college presidents, appoint not our commanders-in-chief, but our brisk young adjutant-generals.

Mr. Everett had no sooner left the functions of the presidency at Cambridge, than he inaugurated another movement for the general education of the public, the great success of which is just now appearing, and, as we have already said, will lead everywhere to a wide imitation. In a letter* to the mayor of the city of Boston, he suggested a plan for a Public Library in that city, which has been steadily carried forward from that moment, and now exhibits in its first-fruits a result of the greatest interest and value. Different suggestions had been offered, with regard to such a library, but they had slept without action until Mr. Everett proposed the scheme to the mayor, Mr. Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow immediately made the first contribution in money towards this purpose, and Mr. Everett sketched out a plan for the conduct of the institution. A board of trustees was appointed, of which he was the chairman, a position which he has held ever since. This board, in conjunction with the appropriate committees of the city government, opened a library temporarily, in 1852. Mr. Joshua Bates, in the autumn of the same year, made the first of a series of magnificent pecuniary gifts to it, and soon after the erection of the

* Proceedings at the Dedication of the Building for the Public Library of the city of Boston. Boston, 1848, p. 121.

present library building, which was dedicated on the first of January, 1858. It is hardly within the province of this paper to describe the arrangements of this institution. It differs from every other large library in the country, in being a circulating library, from which every person resident in the town may take books, without charge, so long as he observes the regulations. Its influence in Boston is already very large; nor is there any sight more gratifying than a visit to it, not so much for the inspection of its already magnificent collection, as to see the immense concourse of those of every class as they come for their books, and go with them. Not unfrequently, fifteen hundred books are distributed to as many applicants in a day; and the character of these books shows that the founders of the library had no exaggerated idea of the intelligence of their fellow-citizens, when they threw open to them a collection extending through every walk of letters.

We believe that the two offices which Mr. Everett has held as president of the trustees of this library, and as one of the commissioners for the erection of the building, are the only offices connected with the government which he has held since he gave up his seat in the senate of the United States, in the year 1854. And, having thus completed a sketch of the order of his public life so far as it has been directly connected with public education, we proceed now, without any attempt to make a general review of his principles or plans as an educator, to exhibit them in his own words, by a series of extracts taken from his different reports, lectures, addresses, and other publications. Some of the earlier papers, from which we draw, were collected and published in a series of popular books issued by the Massachusetts Board of Education, under the title of the Massachusetts District School Library. Some of the other papers may be found in the collected edition of his speeches. The greater part of the reports, however, exist only in the pamphlet editions in which they were published for their immediate uses. The reader of our biographical sketch will have seen that, in the course of Mr. Everett's varied life, he has been personally connected with each of the principal branches of public instruction. It is in our power, therefore, in a series of extracts, to present a somewhat systematic, although fragmentary, exhibition of his views on many of those different subjects which especially interest our readers. It will be observed, at once, that in making these brief selections, where we have so large a field to range through, we do not attempt to exhibit the eloquence of Mr. Everett. Our object is rather to give some of his practical suggestions as to the mutual relations of different parts of our system, — and some of his reminiscences as to the education of a generation of children who are now men and women.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS FIFTY YEARS AGO.

It was, as I have said, sir, fifty-two years last April since I began, at the age of nine years, to attend the reading and writing schools in North Bennett street. The reading school was under *Master* Little (for "Young America" had not yet repudiated that title), and the writing school was kept by Master Tileston. Master Little, in spite of his name, was a giant in stature, — six feet four, at least, — and somewhat wedded to the past. He struggled earnestly against the change then taking place in the pronunciation of *u*, and insisted on our saying *monooment* and *natur*. But I acquired, under his tuition, what was thought in those days a very tolerable knowledge of Lindley Murray's abridgment of English Grammar, and at the end of the year could parse almost any sentence in the American Preceptor. Master Tileston was a writing-master of the old school. He set the copies himself, and taught that beautiful old Boston handwriting, which, if I do not mistake, has in the march of innovation (which is not always the same thing as improvement) been changed very little for the better. Master Tileston was advanced in years, and had found a qualification for his calling as a writing-master, in what might have seemed at first to threaten to be an obstruction. The fingers of his right hand had been contracted and stiffened in early life by a burn, but were fixed in just the position to hold a pen, a penknife, and a rattan! As they were also considerably indurated, they served as a convenient instrument of discipline. A copy badly written or a blotted page was sometimes visited with an infliction which would have done no discredit to the beak of a bald eagle. I speak, sir, from observation not from experience. His long, deep desk was a perfect curiosity-shop of confiscated balls, tops, penknives, marbles, and jewsharps; the accumulation of forty years. I desire, however, to speak of him with gratitude, for he put me on the track of an acquisition which has been extremely useful to me in after life, — that of a plain, legible hand. I remained at these schools about sixteen months, and, on leaving them, had the good fortune in 1804 to receive the Franklin medal in the English department.

After an interval of about a year (during which I attended a private school taught by Mr. Ezekiel Webster, a distinguished gentleman of New Hampshire, and, on occasion of his absence, by his much more distinguished and ever memorable brother, Daniel Webster, at that time a student of law in Boston), I went to the Latin School, then slowly emerging from a state of extreme depression. It was kept in School-street, where the Horticultural Hall now stands. Those who judge of what the Boston Latin School ought to be from the spacious and commodious building in Bedford-street, can form but little idea of the old school-house. It contained but one room, heated in the winter by an iron stove, which sent up a funnel into a curious brick chimney, built down from the roof, in the middle of the room, to within seven or eight feet from the floor, being, like Mahomet's coffin, held in the air to the roof I hardly know how, perhaps by bars of iron. The boys had to take their turns in winter in coming early to the school-house, to open it; to make a fire sometimes of wet logs and a very inadequate supply of other combustibles, if such they might be called; to sweep out the room, and, if need be, to shovel a path through the snow to the street. These were not very fascinating duties for an urchin of ten or eleven; but we lived through it, and were perhaps not the worse for having to turn our hand to these little offices.

The standard of scholastic attainment was certainly not higher than that of material comfort in those days. We read pretty much the same books, or books of the same class, in Latin and Greek, as are read now, with the exception of the Greek Testament; but we read them in a very cursory and superficial manner. There was no attention paid to the philosophy of the languages, to the deduction of words from their radical elements, to the niceties of construction, still less to prosody. I never made an hexameter or pentameter verse, till years afterwards, when I had a son at school in London, who occasionally required a little aid in that way. The subsidiary and illustrative branches were wholly unknown in the Latin School in 1805. Such a thing as a school library, a book of reference, a critical edition of a classic, a map, a blackboard, an engraving of an ancient building, or a copy of a work of ancient art, such as now adorn the walls of our schools, was as little known as

the electric telegraph. If our children, who possess all these appliances and aids to learning, do not greatly excel their parents, they will be much to blame.

COLLEGE LIFE FIFTY YEARS AGO.

But, short as the time is since I entered college (only half as long as that which has elapsed since the close of the seven years' war), it has made me the witness of wonderful changes, both materially and intellectually, in all that concerns our *Alma Mater*. Let me sketch you the outlines of the picture, fresh to my mind's eye as the image in the *camera*, which the precincts of the college exhibited in 1807. The Common was then uninclosed. It was not so much traversed by roads in all directions; it was at once all road and no road at all, — a waste of mud and of dust, according to the season, without grass, trees, or fences. As to the streets in those days, the "Appian Way" existed then as now; and I must allow that it bore the same resemblance then as now to the *Regina Viarum*, by which the consuls and proconsuls of Rome went forth to the conquest of Epirus, Macedonia, and the East.

As to public buildings in the neighborhood of the University, with the exception of the Episcopal Church, no one of the churches now standing was then in existence. The old parish church has disappeared, with its square pews, and galleries from which you might almost jump into the pulpit. It occupied a portion of the space between Dane Hall and the old Presidential House. I planted a row of elm and oak trees a few years ago on the spot where it stood, for which, if for nothing else, I hope to be kindly remembered by posterity. The wooden building now used as a gymnasium, and, I believe, for some other purposes, then stood where Lyceum Hall now stands. It was the county court-house; and there I often heard the voice of the venerable Chief Justice Parsons. Graduates' Hall did not exist; but on a part of the site, and behind the beautiful linden trees still flourishing, was an old black wooden house, the residence of the professors of mathematics. A little further to the north, and just at the corner of Church-street, which was not then opened, stood what was dignified in the annual college catalogue (which was printed on one side of a sheet of paper, and was a novelty) as "The College House." The cellar is still visible. By the students this edifice was disrespectfully called "Wiswall's Den," or, for brevity, "the Den." I lived in it in my freshman year. Whence the name of "Wiswall's Den" was derived, I hardly dare say: there was something worse than "old fogy" about it. There was a dismal tradition that, at some former period, it had been the scene of a murder. A brutal husband had dragged his wife by the hair up and down the stairs, and then killed her. On the anniversary of the murder — and what day that was no one knew — there were sights and sounds — flitting garments draggled in blood, plaintive screams, *stridor ferri tractæque catenæ* — enough to appall the stoutest sophomore. But, for myself, I can truly say, that I got through my freshman year without having seen the ghost of Mr. Wiswall or his lamented lady. I was not, however, sorry when the twelvemonth was up, and I was transferred to that light, airy, well-ventilated room, No. 20 Hollis; being the inner room, ground-floor, north entry of that ancient and respectable edifice.

COMMON SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

The worthy chairman of the committee alluded to the University in this place; and, as he made the allusion, the thought crossed my mind to institute a comparison of the expense with which the University and the public schools of Cambridge are supported. It may enable us to realize how great an effort is made by the citizens of Cambridge to support their public schools. The annual expenditure for the support of our schools exceeds twenty thousand dollars, without including the building and repair of school-houses. Last year it was twenty-one thousand dollars. Now the University, as we all know, is by far the oldest and best endowed in the country; but the whole annual income of its funds applicable to the business of instruction (I speak of Harvard College proper, and not of the professional and scientific schools connected with the University), is less than that sum. All that the liberality of the State and

the bounty of individuals for two centuries have accumulated on this favored seat of learning, in the shape of funds for carrying on the work of instruction (and I do not include the cost of buildings, cabinets, and libraries in reference to the University, as I have not included the cost of school-houses, apparatus, and libraries in reference to the schools), does not yield so large a sum annually, as the city of Cambridge appropriates to support this system of common school education.

WHAT COMMON-SCHOOL EDUCATION DOES.

I certainly cannot on this occasion, and in the few minutes' time still left me, undertake to treat this mighty theme in all its bearings; but I do not despair, even in a few sentences, of suggesting to you the great points of the argument. I will take school education in its common simple acceptation, as confined to reading and writing (in which I include speaking and composition), arithmetic, and the elements of natural philosophy; and I believe the extension to a whole community of the means of obtaining such an education without cost, is sufficient to effect all I ascribe to it. It is scarcely necessary to say that I do not, in these statements, hold up education as a *creative* cause. I take into the account the spontaneous coöperation of the mysterious principle of intelligence, with all its perceptive faculties, bestowed and quickened by the Author of our being; just as the farmer, when he describes the effect of the various processes of husbandry, includes the coöperation of those inscrutable principles of vegetable growth, which philosophy strives in vain to analyze, but without which not an ear of corn is ripened.

With this explanation I say, sir, that common reading and writing, that is, in a word, the use of language as a system of visible and audible signs of thought, is the great prerogative of our nature as rational beings. I say that when we have acquired the mastery of this system of audible and visible signs, we have done the greatest thing, as it seems to me, as far as intellect is concerned, which can be done by a rational man. It is so common that we do not much reflect upon it; but, like other common things, it hides a great mystery of our nature. When we have learned how, by giving an impulse with our vocal organs to the air, by making a few black marks on a piece of paper, to establish a direct sympathy between our invisible and spiritual essence and that of other men, so that they can see and hear what is passing in our minds, just as if thought and feeling themselves were visible and audible, — not only so, when in the same way we establish a communication between mind and mind in ages and countries the most remote, we have wrought a miracle of human power and skill, which I never reflect upon without awe. Can we realize, sir, that in this way we have, through the medium of the declamation of these children, been addressed this morning by Demosthenes and Cicero, by Burke and Fox? Well, sir, all this is done by writing, reading and speaking. It is a result of these simple operations. When you tell me a boy has learned to read, you tell me that he has entered into an intellectual partnership not only with every living contemporary, but with every mind ever created that has left a record of itself on the pages of science and literature; and when he has learned to write, he has acquired the means of speaking to generations and ages that will exist a thousand years hence. It all comes back to the use of language. The press, the electric telegraph, are only improvements in the mode of communication. The wonderful thing is that the mysterious significance of thought, the invisible action of spirit, can be embodied in sounds and signs addressed to the eye and ear. Instead of wondering that among speaking, writing, and reading men you have occasionally a Shakspeare, a Bacon, or a Franklin, my wonder is to see these boys and girls, after a few years' training, able to express, in written marks and spoken sounds, the subtlest shades of thought, and that in two or three languages.

The next branch of common-school education is arithmetic, the science of numbers, the elements of mathematics. This is in reality a branch of the great department of language, a species of composition; but of so peculiar a nature as to constitute a separate science. This is another of the great master-keys of life. With it the astronomer opens the depths of the heavens; the engineer, the gates of the mountains; the navigator, the pathways of the deep. The

skilful arrangement, the rapid handling of figures, is a perfect magician's wand. The mighty commerce of the United States, foreign and domestic, passes through the books kept by some thousands of diligent and faithful clerks. Eight hundred bookkeepers, in the Bank of England, strike the monetary balances of half the civilized world. Their skill and accuracy in applying the common rules of arithmetic are as important as the enterprise and capital of the merchant, or the industry and courage of the navigator. I look upon a well-kept ledger with something of the pleasure with which I gaze on a picture or a statue. It is a beautiful work of art. It is by arithmetical rules, and geometrical diagrams, and algebraical formulæ, that the engineer digs an underground river-channel for an inland lake, and carries a stream of fresh water into every house in a crowded capital. Many a slate-full of vulgar fractions has been figured out, to enable our neighbors in Boston to sip a glass of Cochituate; and I suppose, sir, a good many of the citizens of Cambridge think it is pretty nearly time that we should go to work on the same sum.

Then come the elements of natural philosophy and natural science, the laws of organic and inorganic nature, of which something is taught in our common schools. Is it wonderful that a community, in which this knowledge is diffused, should multiply itself a hundred-fold? I mean is it wonderful that one well-taught man should do the work of uninstructed thousands? Mythology tells us of Briareus with his hundred hands, and Argus with his hundred eyes; but these are only faint images of the increased strength and sharpened vision which knowledge imparts to the well educated. Mr. Agassiz sees a great deal more with his two eyes than Argus did with his hundred. Mr. Bond beholds a satellite of Neptune in the depths of the heavens, three thousand millions of miles from the sun, a body perhaps not five hundred miles in diameter, as easily as the diver beholds a pearl oyster in seven fathoms of water. No Titan that fought with Jupiter, and piled Ossa upon Pelion, had as much strength in his arm, as the engineer has in his thumb and finger, when he turns the screw that lets the steam into the cylinder of his engine. What is there in the Arabian Nights like the skill of the Metallurgist, who converts a shapeless piece of iron ore into the mainspring of a watch? What was there in Michael Scott's book to compare with the practical necromancy of the chemist?

Now these are branches of knowledge of which the elements are taught at our schools; and need I urge that such a control of the signs of thought, such a possession of the keys of knowledge, such a consciousness of power over nature as results from this acquaintance with her mysteries, is quite sufficient in the aggregate to give a character to a community; not certainly to produce wonderful effects in each individual, but in their united and continuous operation to promote the prosperity of a State.

CONDITIONS OF A GOOD SCHOOL.

These liberal pecuniary appropriations, however, are but the first step; they give you school-houses, school-libraries, apparatus, and fuel, and the salaries of teachers; but the teachers themselves are not to be had merely by paying for them. A class of skilful, accomplished, and conscientious teachers can only be gradually formed. They must be men and women, a considerable part of them, who have chosen the work of education as the business of their lives; who give to it their time, their abilities, and their hearts. Such a class of teachers is not to be had by asking for it. It must form itself in the bosom of an intelligent and virtuous community, that knows how to prize them, that holds them in high esteem, as some of its most honored public servants. There are portions of our country, in which, if you were to stud them thick with our beautiful school-houses, with all their appliances, apparatus, and libraries, you could not work the system for want of teachers, nor get the teachers merely by advertising for them. Sir, I say it for no purpose of compliment in this place; the school-teachers in this community constitute a class inferior in respectability to no other, rendering the most important services, by no means over-compensated, rather the reverse. I consider their character and reputation as a part of the moral treasure of the public, which we cannot prize too highly.

Closely connected with the teacher, and of the utmost importance in a good school system, is the school committee, a most efficient part of the educational

machinery. Much of the prosperity of our schools depends upon these committees. They stand between all the interests, parents, pupils, and the public; connect them all, mediate between them all. An intelligent committee is the teacher's great ally. They witness his labors, and mark the proficiency of the pupils. They counsel him in cases of doubt; share or assume the responsibility in cases of difficulty. A community may think itself highly favored when gentlemen of respectability in the several professions, and in the active callings of life, can be found, as in the city of Cambridge at the present time, to undertake this laborious and responsible office. Nor will an efficient school system readily be sustained where this cannot be done. I own, sir, I witness with admiration the spectacle of gentlemen, whom I know to be burdened with heavy and incessant duties of their own, and are yet willing, day after day, and week after week, in summer and in winter, to devote themselves to a laborious, thorough, and conscientious examination of the schools; besides looking in upon them frequently, and being always accessible for counsel and direction, in the intervals of the periodical visitations.

But, sir, all this is not enough. In order that the school should prosper, no small part of the work must be done at home. Let the father and the mother, who think that their child has made but little progress at school, bear this in mind. I am almost tempted to say, without intending a paradox, that half of the government, if not of the instruction of the school, must be done at home. This I will say, that if nothing is done at home to support the teacher, his labor is doubled. The parent must take an interest in his boy's or his girl's pursuits, and let that interest be seen. It is shocking to reflect how often the child is sent to school "to get him out of the way." There will be no good schools in the community where that is the prevalent motive. No, he must be sent there for his good and yours. Your heart must go with him. He is not an alien and a plague, to be got rid of for so many hours. He is a part of yourself; what he learns, you learn; it is your own continued existence, in which you love yourself with a heavenly disinterestedness. And yet you are not to let your parental fondness blind you. Do not listen to every tale of childish grievance against the master. The presumption is, that nine times out of ten the grievance is imaginary; in truth, the presumption is always so, generally the fact is so. Then, too, the parent's coöperation is of the utmost importance in other ways. For many of the short-comings of scholars, the parents are the party to blame. It is their fault, if he stays at home for a breath of cold air or a drop of rain. It is the fault of a father or mother, if the poor child cannot get his breakfast in season, or if his clothes are not in wearing condition. Let the child see betimes that, in the opinion of his parents, going to school is one of the most important things to be attended to in the course of the day, and he will so regard it himself.

HALF A CENTURY AGO.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, there are few things in which the rapid progress of the country is so apparent as in its institutions for education. The learned Secretary of the Board of Education (Rev. Dr. Sears) has just alluded to the defects of the schools in some remote parts of the Commonwealth, unfavorably situated in this respect. I dare say his representations are correct; but the younger part of this audience would not believe me, no one scarcely whose own recollection did not confirm it would believe me, if I were to describe the state of what were called good schools when I was myself a school-boy, more years ago, Mr. Chairman, than I believe I shall tell you. I allude to the condition of the best public schools of that day. The instruction in what are commonly called the English branches was confined to reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, all taught according to very defective methods, and with the help of poor manuals. The books for reading and speaking were either foreign, some of them consisting of matter selected without judgment and taste, and ill-adapted to this country, or, if of domestic manufacture, not much better adapted, on that account, to form the taste of the young American speaker or reader. In fact, our native literature, at that time, afforded but scanty materials for a useful and interesting selection. In grammar, we had a very imperfect abridgment of a work of but moderate merit in its original

form. For arithmetic we depended on the work of Pike. I desire to speak respectfully of it, as I learned from it what little I learned at all of the noble science of numbers; and, in fact, in the elementary rules, there cannot be room for much diversity of method. But good or bad, there were few schools that carried the pupil far beyond the *Rule of Three*. Single and double fellowship was rather a rare attainment, and alligation, medial and alternate, a thing to talk of. As for logarithms, geometry and its various applications, and algebra, they belonged to a *terra incognita*, of which no school-boy ever heard, who had not an older brother at college. As to the blackboard, I never heard of such a thing at school. Geography was taught, at that day, from very imperfect compends; it was confined to a rehearsal of a few meagre facts in physical geography, and a few barren statistical details, which ceased to be true while you were repeating them. The attention of the learner was never called to the philosophy of this beautiful branch of knowledge; he was taught nothing of the relations in which man stands to the wonderful globe on which he is placed. No glimpse was given him of the action and reaction upon each other, in this department of knowledge, of nature and man. A globe, I believe, I never saw at a public school near enough to touch it. I am not sure that I was ever in the same room with one, at that period of my life, though I will not speak with entire confidence on that point. A large and accurate map was never exhibited in school fifty years ago. I do not speak of such beautiful maps as those now constructing under the superintendence of Professor Guyot, with their admirable ethnographical indications, isothermal lines, vegetable boundaries, oceanic currents, and careful delineations of those breaks in the mountain chains, which have determined the paths of civilization. I do not speak of these refinements with which the eyes of the young student of geography are daily feasted at the present day, but of large, distinct, well-executed maps of any kind; I never saw one at school. The name of natural or moral philosophy was never heard in our English schools at that day; it was much if some small smattering of those branches was taught in the upper classes at our best academies. The same may be said of all the branches of natural science, such as chemistry, zoölogy, and botany, which have been so well unfolded to you at the High School during the last two years, partly in the stated routine of instruction, and partly in the admirable lectures kindly given to you by Professor Agassiz. There was no philosophical or scientific apparatus furnished at the schools in my day, with the exception, as I remember, in a single instance, of a rickety gimcrack that was called a *planetarium*, and showed how the heavenly bodies do *not* move. As for a school library, with which, my young friends, you are so well provided, there was not in any school I ever attended so much as half a dozen books bearing that name. There was indeed at the academy at Exeter, which it was my good fortune to attend for a few months before I entered college, a library, containing, I believe, some valuable, though probably rather antiquated volumes. It was my privilege, while I was a pupil, never to see the inside of that apartment; privilege, I say, sir, for it was the place where the severer discipline of the institution, in rare cases of need, was administered.

> Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
> Verbera.

We, little fellows, sir, got to have the most disagreeable associations with the very name of library. I ought to add, in justice to our honored preceptor, good Dr. Abbott, that the use of the library for any such purpose was a very rare occurrence. He possessed the happy skill, Mr. Smith, which I am gratified to say has not died with him, of governing a school by persuasion and influence, and not by force and terror.

As to the learned languages and classical literature generally, they were very poorly taught in those days. I do not like to speak disparagingly of men and things gone by. The defects were at least *vitia ævi non hominum*, but defects they were of the grossest kind. The study of the Latin and Greek was confined to cursory reading of the easier authors; a little construing and parsing, as we called it. The idiom and genius of the languages were not unfolded to us; nor the manner of the different writers; nor the various illustrative learning necessary to render the text which was read, intelligible. We got the lesson

to recite, and that was all. Of Prosody, we were taught little; of versification nothing. I was never set to make an hexameter or a pentameter verse at any school, or, I may add, college, in my life; nor did I ever do it, till I was old enough to have children at school, who asked my assistance.

As for text-books and editions, they were all foreign, and, I may add, compared with those of the present day, both native and foreign, all poor. Master Cheever's Accidence, Corderius, and Eutropius, with an English translation in parallel columns, were the books with which the study of Latin was commenced half a century ago.

Such were the schools; and the school-houses were in keeping with them; for the most part cheerless and uninviting in the extreme; cold in winter, hot in summer, without ventilation, destitute of everything required for accommodation, comfort, or health.

VACATION.

But it is fully time to close these remarks; let me do it with a single word of counsel to our young friends, who are still to enjoy the advantages of this institution, — a bit of advice suggested by one of the laws of our nature. The force of habit is very great. I remember hearing an anecdote of one of the members of the Massachusetts Convention of 1820, who was so regular in his daily attendance, that he went up to the State-house the day after the convention was dissolved, and wondered his colleagues did not appear. Now, I hardly suppose any of you will actually go down to the school-house in vacation, but if you should be tempted to continue in the holidays your habit of studying six, eight, or ten hours a day, as you do in term-time, let me caution you against it. Such uninterrupted exertion all the year round will not be good for your health. Give yourselves a little repose as a matter of duty. If your parents propose to you some little excursion, do not churlishly refuse. Take the times and seasons as they come along, enjoy term-time as much as you please, but do not murmur at vacation. Make it a season of relaxation, and, if possible, of pleasure, in order that, when it is over, you may rush back to your duties with a keener zest. With this parting counsel, I bid you, my young friends, an affectionate farewell, and tender to you, Mr. Smith, and you, gentlemen of the committee, my best wishes for the continued prosperity of the Cambridge High School.

[These historical reminiscences are selected from different addresses made by Mr. Everett when President of the University at Cambridge, at the annual exhibition of the High School in that town, and from other addresses made at the Boston School Festival, and at one of the meetings of the alumni of Harvard College. The passages on the "Conditions of a Good School," and on "Vacation," are also taken from the addresses at the Cambridge High School.]

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SOUND SCIENCE.*

But it is more than time to proceed to the second point, which I proposed briefly to illustrate, — the favorable influence of the extension of the means of education, and the diffusion of knowledge, on the progress of sound science. It is a pretty common suggestion, that while the more abundant means of popular education, existing at the present day, may have occasioned the diffusion of a considerable amount of superficial knowledge, the effect has been unfavorable to the growth of profound science. I am inclined to think this view of the subject entirely erroneous, — an inference by no means warranted by the premises from which it is drawn. It is no doubt true, that, in consequence of the increased facilities for education, the number of students of all descriptions, both readers and writers, is almost indefinitely multiplied, and with this in-

* From an address delivered before the literary societies of Amherst College, Aug. 25, 1835.

crease in the entire number of persons who have enjoyed, in a greater or less degree, advantages for improving their minds, the number of half-taught and superficial pretenders has become proportionably greater. Education, which, at some periods of the world, has been a very rare accomplishment of a highly gifted and fortunate few, — at other times, an attainment attended with considerable difficulty, and almost confined to professed scholars, — has become, in this country at least, one of the public birthrights of freemen, and, like every other birthright, is subject to be abused. In this state of things, those who habitually look at the dark side of affairs, — often witnessing the arrogant displays of superficial learning, books of great pretension and little value, multiplied and circulated, by all the arts and machinery of an enterprising and prosperous age, and in all things much forwardness and show, often unaccompanied by worth and substance,— are apt to infer a decline of sound learning, and look back, with a sigh, to what they imagine to have been the more solid erudition of former days. But I deem this opinion without real foundation in truth.

It is an age, I grant, of cheap fame. A sort of literary machinery exists, of which the patent paper-mill, the power-press, the newspapers, magazines and reviews, the reading clubs and circulating libraries, are some of the principal springs and levers, by means of which almost anything, in the shape of a book, is thrown into a sort of notoriety, miscalled reputation. The weakest distillation of soft sentiment from the poet's corner flows round a larger circle of admirers than Paradise Lost, when first ushered to the world ; and the most narcotic infliction of the quarterly critical press (*absit invidia verbo*) no doubt far excels the *Novum Organum* in the number of its contemporary readers. But nothing is to be inferred, from this state of things, in disparagement of the learning and scholarship of the age. All that it proves is, that with a vast diffusion of useful knowledge, — with an astonishing multiplication of the means of education, and, as I firmly believe, with a prodigious growth of true science, there has sprung up, by natural association, a host of triflers and pretenders, like a growth of rank weeds, with a rich crop, on a fertile soil.

But there were surely always pretenders in science and literature, in every age of the world ; nor must we suppose, because their works and their names have perished, that they existed in a smaller proportion formerly than now. Solomon intimates a complaint of the number of books in his day, which he probably would not have done, if they had been all good books. The sophists in Greece were sworn pretenders and dealers in words, — the most completely organized body of learned quacks that ever existed. Bavius and Mævius were certainly not the only worthless poets in Rome ; and from the age of the grammarians and critics of the Alexandrian school, through that of the monkish chroniclers and the schoolmen of the middle ages, and the mystics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the kingdom of learned dulness and empty profession has been kept up, under an unbroken succession of leaden or brazen potentates. If the subjects at the present day seem more numerous than formerly, it is only in proportion to the increase in the entire numbers of the reading and writing world ; and because the sagacious hand of time brushes away the false pretensions of former days, leaving real talent and sound learning the more conspicuous for standing alone.

But, as in elder days, notwithstanding this unbroken sway of false lore and vain philosophy, the line of the truly wise and soundly learned was also preserved entire ; as the lights of the world have in all former ages successively risen, illuminating the deep darkness, and outshining the delusive meteors ; so, at the present day, I am firmly convinced that there is more patient learning, true philosophy, fruitful science, and various knowledge, than at any former time. By the side of the hosts of superficial, arrogant, and often unprincipled pretenders, in every department, there is a multitude innumerable of the devoted lovers of truth, whom no labor can exhaust, no obstacles can discourage, no height of attainment dazzle ; and who, in every branch of knowledge, sacred and profane, moral, physical, exact, and critical, have carried and are carrying the glorious banner of true science into regions of investigation wholly unexplored in elder times. Let me not be mistaken. I mean not arrogantly to detract from the fame of the few great masters of the mind, — the gifted few, who, from age to age, after long centuries have intervened, have appeared ; and have risen, as all are ready to allow, above all rivalry. After-

time alone can pronounce whether this age has produced minds worthy to be classed in their select circle. But this aside, — I cannot comprehend the philosophy by which we assume as probable, nor do I see the state of facts by which we must admit as actually existing, an intellectual degeneracy at the present day, either in Europe or in this country. I see not why the multiplication of popular guides to partial attainments, — why the facilities, that abound for the acquisition of superficial scholarship, should, in the natural operation of things, either diminish the number of powerful and original minds, or satisfy their ardent thirst for acquisition, by a limited progress. There is no doubt that many of these improvements in the methods of learning, — many of the aids to the acquisition of knowledge, which are the product of the present time, are, in their very nature, calculated to help the early studies even of minds of the highest order. It is a familiar anecdote of James Otis, that, when he first obtained a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, he observed with emphasis, that if he had possessed that book when commencing his studies of the law, it would have saved him seven years' labor. Would those seven years have borne no fruit to a mind like that of James Otis? Though the use of elementary treatises of this kind may have the effect to make many superficial jurists, who would otherwise have been no jurists at all, I deem it mere popular prejudice to suppose that the march of original genius to the heights of learning has been impeded by the possession of these modern facilities to aid its progress. To maintain this seems to be little else than to condemn as worthless the wisdom of the ages which have gone before us. It is surely absurd to suppose that we can do no more with the assistance of our predecessors, than without it; that the teachings of one generation, instead of enlightening, confound and stupefy that which succeeds; and that "when we stand on the shoulders of our ancestors, we cannot see so far as from the ground." On the contrary, it is unquestionably one of the happiest laws of intellectual progress, that the judicious labors, the profound reasonings, the sublime discoveries, the generous sentiments of great intellects, rapidly work their way into the common channel of public opinion, find access to the general mind, raise the universal standard of attainment, correct popular errors, promote arts of daily application, and come home at last to the fireside, in the shape of increased intelligence, skill, comfort and virtue; which, in their turn, by an instantaneous reaction, multiply the numbers and facilitate the efforts of those who engage in the further investigation and discovery of truth. In this way, a constant circulation, like that of the life-blood, takes place in the intellectual world. Truth travels down from the heights of philosophy to the humblest walks of life, and up from the simplest perceptions of an awakened intellect to the discoveries which almost change the face of the world. At every stage of its progress it is genial, luminous, creative. When first struck out by some distinguished and fortunate genius, it may address itself only to a few minds of kindred power. It exists then only in the highest forms of science; it corrects former systems, and authorizes new generalizations. Discussion, controversy begins; more truth is elicited, more errors exploded, more doubts cleared up, more phenomena drawn into the circle, unexpected connections of kindred sciences are traced, and in each step of the progress, the number rapidly grows of those who are prepared to comprehend and carry on some branches of the investigation, — till, in the lapse of time, every order of intellect has been kindled, from that of the sublime discoverer to the practical machinist; and every department of knowledge been enlarged, from the most abstruse and transcendental theory to the daily arts of life.

THE DISCIPLINE OF A COLLEGE.*

It is earnestly desired by the Government and Faculty of the University, that the students may be influenced to good conduct and diligence in study by higher motives than the fear of punishment; and they mainly rely, for the success of the institution as a place of liberal education, on moral and religious principle, a sense of duty, and the generous feelings which belong to young men engaged in honorable pursuits.

* This passage introduces the chapter on "Discipline" in "The Statutes and Laws of the University at Cambridge." 1848.

MORAL EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL.*

But moral education is much too important an object to be left to follow as an incidental effect from mere literary culture. It should be deemed the distinct duty of a place of education to form the young to those habits and qualities which win regard and command respect, — gentleness of deportment, — propriety of conduct, — the moral courage "that will make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong," — willing obedience to the laws of virtue, — and a profound reverence for sacred things; and of these traits of character, I know of no reliable foundation but sincere and fervent religious faith, founded on conviction, enlightened by reason, and nourished by the devout observance of those means of spiritual improvement which Christianity provides. In the faithful performance of this duty, I believe that a place of education, whether in Europe or America, renders at the present day a higher and more seasonable service to society, than by anything that ends in mere scientific or literary culture. The understanding in every department of speculative or practical knowledge has advanced of late years with a vigor and success beyond what the world has witnessed at any other period; but I cannot suppress a painful impression that this intellectual improvement has not exerted, and is not exerting, its natural influence in purifying the moral character of the age. I cannot subdue the feeling that our modern Christendom, with all its professions and in all its communions, is sinking into a practical heathenism, which needs a great work — I had almost said a new dispensation — of reform, scarcely less than the decrepit paganisms of Greece and Rome. Christians as we are, we worship, in America and in Europe, in the city and the field, on the exchange and in the senate, and must I not add in the academy and the church, some gods as bad as those of the Pantheon. In individual and national earnestness, in true moral heroism, and in enlightened spirituality unalloyed by mysticism, the age in which we live is making, I fear, little progress; but rather, perhaps, with all its splendid attainments in science and art, is plunging deeper into the sordid worship of

> "the least erected spirit that fell
> From heaven, for even in heaven his looks and thoughts
> Were always downward bent, admiring more
> The riches of heaven's pavement, — trodden gold, —
> Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
> In vision beatific."

It may be feared that a defect of this kind, if truly stated and sufficiently general to mark the character of an age, will prove too strong for any corrective influences but those of public calamity, and what are called, in our expressive national phrase, "the times that try men's souls." But I have long thought, that if, in a period of prosperity and by gentle influences, anything can be effected toward the same end, the work must be begun in our seminaries of liberal education, and that they have a duty to perform, in this respect, which cannot be too strongly urged nor too deeply felt.

How it should be discharged, it would be at once unseasonable and arrogant to endeavor on this occasion minutely to set forth. All, however, who hear me will agree, — every parent, every good citizen, will agree, — that the object itself, the formation of character on Christian principles, is that last great object of a place of education, to which all else is subordinate and auxiliary. For this reason, it is the duty of all intrusted with the control of such an institution to conduct it conscientiously, as an instrument of mighty efficiency for good or for evil. The branches of study, the influences under which they are pursued, and the whole discipline of the place, should be, as far as human wisdom can make them so, such as are most friendly to sound moral principles, and they should be conducted by men whose heart is in the work, and whose example teaches more and better than their precept.

To all that can be thus effected by indirect association and influence should be added that kind and degree of direct religious instruction which circum-

* From the address delivered by Mr. Everett at his inauguration as president of the University at Cambridge, Thursday, April 30, 1846.

stances admit. I am not unaware of the difficulty which attends the performance of this duty, in consequence of the differences in doctrinal opinion which prevail in the community. It is felt more or less throughout Christendom. It forms, at this moment, the subject of the most violent controversies in France, and constitutes the greatest impediment to the progress of popular education in England. In a country, however, like ours, where there is no religious establishment, and consequently where no one communion has a right to claim any preference for its doctrines, the difficulty alluded to exists rather in theory, than in the practical administration of a place of education by earnest men, bent not on making proselytes to their own doctrinal views, but upon inculcating a sincere reverence for religion. There can, I think, be no difference of opinion as to the propriety and practicability of imparting instruction in the great truths of natural religion, in the principles of Christian ethics, and the evidences of the Christian revelation, under the guidance of text-books which unite the confidence, at least, of all classes of Protestant Christians; and if others exist, or can be prepared, to which even this qualification need not be made, they would be doubly welcome. With this provision for direct instruction in those branches of theological knowledge, which are of equal concernment in all the professions and pursuits of life, our University has ever enjoined a reverent attendance on the daily devotional exercises, and on the religious services of the Lord's day, either in the chapel of the University, or in such other place of Christian worship as may be preferred by the parent or guardian of the student, or by himself if of legal age. Could the means be found (and this remark is of general application to the churches and communities of professing Christians throughout the world) to raise these religious services above the paralyzing, the killing influence of routine and habit; to give a sense of reality to the most solemn acts in which men can engage, but in which they engage too often as if they were the most barren of forms; to infuse life into those duties, which, performed with life and power, give energy and vitality to every other purpose and act; — could this be done, it would mark a new era, not merely for schools and colleges, but for communities and nations. An influence over the minds of men would begin to prevail, under which, by the divine blessing, our nature, refreshed and purified, would start up with a truth and vigor of moral action, as far beyond the existing standard of manners and principles as this is, in many respects, beyond the standard of heathen antiquity.

PROGRESS IN OUR COLLEGES.*

Such was the physical aspect of things within the precincts of the University forty-five years ago. Of the intellectual progress which has been made within the same period, time would fail me to speak in fitting terms. It is a common impression among "outsiders," that institutions like this are of a stereotyped character: fixed, rigid, jealous of innovation, slow to adopt improvements. I leave other collegiate institutions in Europe and America to speak for themselves; but I aver for Harvard, that, during the last half century, she is not obnoxious to the charge. As long as my experience goes back, she has kept up with the progress of the age. Her growth in everything that pertains to a place of education has been not less signal than in those material aspects I have hastily sketched. With the exception of the medical department, of which the germ existed, all the professional schools have been added to the University since my graduation; and within the college proper the means of instruction have been multiplied, and the standard of attainment raised in full proportion to the progress of the country in all other respects. When I entered college, four tutors and three professors formed the academic *corps*, — men never to be mentioned by me but with respect and gratitude; but composing an inadequate faculty, compared with the numerous and distinguished body by which instruction is now dispensed. There was no instruction in any of the modern languages, except in French to those who chose to pay for it. The professors were those of divinity, mathematics, and Hebrew; and this venerable language was,

* From an address delivered at the dinner-table on the 22d of July, 1852, being the annual celebration of the alumni of Harvard College. From this address we have extracted above the passage we have called "Fifty Years Ago."

I think, required to be studied by every student, whatever his destination in life. A classmate of mine used to boast that he beat us all in this department, though I believe it sometimes happened to him to get hold of the wrong line in the Latin translation at the bottom of the page, in the Hebrew psalter, and so make a misfit all the way down. I do not hesitate to assure our younger brethren, that they enjoy far greater advantages in the means and encouragements to improvement, and, more important than any other, a far higher standard of excellence, than were ever enjoyed by their fathers. And this in every department of knowledge; — in the study of the ancient and modern languages, in exact science, in the kingdoms of nature, in ethics, and in the philosophy of the mind. So far from resisting innovation, if there has been a tendency to extremes in either direction, it has been in too great a readiness to change.

I do not certainly deny that in this University, as in every other which deserves the name of a place of high education, there is a principle of stability as well as a principle of movement. There ought to be: the conservative element is as important in our natures and in all our relations as a progressive element. A wise, practical philosophy combines the two. Their union is a primordial law of the universe. The force which draws the planets downward to the sun is as important in the system as that which impels them in the opposite direction, nay, it contributes as much to their onward movement along the eternal pathways of the sky. The harmonious adjustment of the struggling principles preserves the sacred equilibrium of the universe. In an institution for the education of the young, their attention must of necessity be directed rather to the acquisition of the knowledge already recorded, than to the extension of its limits; and under all circumstances (except as far as mere chance is concerned), the first step toward the discovery of new truth is thoroughly to master what is already known.

For this reason, in a place of liberal education, those demonstrated principles of science which were true when the morning stars first sang together, and will be true when the heaven has departed as a scroll; those laws of organic and animated nature which laid down the lowest pavements of the everlasting hills, and gave form and sense to the perished myriads which inhabited them, — monsters that have, as it were, been recalled to life by the Orator of the day; those creations of the cultivated intellect which have stood the test of time, the shock of wars, the vicissitude of races; that immortal Iliad which charmed the young civilization of Greece; the wondrous strains of the tragic trio of Athens; those glorious oratorical thunders which have been so worthily described to-day; the eloquence, the poetry; that divine Æneid, which satisfied the polished culture of Rome, and which with the literature of Greece has stood the fastidious test of modern criticism; above all, those great moral sentiments which bind the rational universe from the throne of God to the lowest intelligence which kneels at his footstool; — I say these great fundamental ideas, conceptions, and laws, and the scientific and literary forms in which they have been clothed and enunciated from the days of Homer, Plato, and Euclid, to those of Shakspeare, Bacon, and Newton, and other kindred minds of ancient and modern times, ought, in all countries and in all ages, to find a home and an altar in a place of liberal education. Woe to the man, and woe to the college, and woe to the country, that seeks to break up this great intellectual community of our race; to cut asunder all these grand moral traditions; and to launch the individual man or the individual generation upon an ocean of vague and sceptical speculation, without looking to the recorded wisdom of the past for compass, chart, or pilot.

Heaven knows I am no enemy to progress. In my humble measure I have longed for it, and toiled for it; in reference to some deep questions, I have wept and prayed for it; but let it really be progress. Movement is not necessarily progress; it may be sideways or backward. I doubt that progress which denies that the ages before us have achieved anything worth preserving. I believe in both parts of the apostolic rule, — Prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good. True progress is thoughtful, hopeful, serene, religious, and upward. To the youthful mind especially, an entirely unsuggested and original course is an arrogant delusion. No such thing is possible. It will lean on some support and follow some guide; and the alternative is that of the

truths which have stood the test of ages, and of which a great and liberal seat of learning should be the intelligent expositor; and the doubtful neologisms of the day, which, nine times out of ten, are superseded by the equally doubtful neologisms of to-morrow. That navigator is best fitted to discover new worlds, whether of matter or of mind, who, like Columbus, has learned from the elder pilots the depths and shallows, the islands and the continents, of the known seas. He may launch boldly forth; and if driven by stress of weather to a port of refuge, he will take care to cast anchor in *terra firma*, and not in the "scaly rind" of some uncouth sea-monster, where the best ground-tackle will stand him in little stead.

THE GENEROUS STUDIES.*

Before inquiring whether this impression is well-founded, or attempting to meet the reproach which is implied in it, let me say a few words, if I dare do so in this utilitarian age, for the noble inutility of generous studies: rather let me call it for the ineffable beauty, dignity, loveliness, and priceless worth of the meditations and exercises of the thoughtful, well-instructed mind, soaring on the wings of its conscious, — nay, better, of its unconscious powers and susceptibilities, far above the region of utilitarian appliances, to the highest heaven of thought, imagination, and taste. I am not so preposterous as to disparage utility, properly understood and pursued, but it is in its ordinary acceptation the handmaid of imperfection and frailty, and carries with it a greasy feel of selfishness, — a brassy taste of self. It implies wants to be relieved and defects to be supplied; hunger to be fed, nakedness to be clothed, and sheltered, and warmed; and the dependent weakness of a feeble and suffering nature to be armed against the thousand ills that flesh is heir to. And so with immense toil, — evil at once and remedy, — intense labor to obviate the necessity of laboring, — incessant care to gain relief from care, — a killing strain upon the faculties to procure repose of mind, — it plies the axe in the primeval forest, ploughs, and plants, and reaps the field, bridges the river, navigates the ocean, unlocks the gates of mountain chains, explores with groaning enginery the Tartarean depth of mines; drags up spouting Leviathan from the abyss; lifts from the earth, to warm and light our dwellings, great black clods, into which forests of an elder world have been crushed and condensed; imprisons the mutinous force of steam in iron cells, there to work the bidding of its master; turns brawling rivers upon the wheels of industry; smelts the ore; poises the trip-hammer; forges the anchor; tempers the watch-spring; tips the gold pen with a spark of iridium; touches the needle with magnetic life; stamps thought upon paper; delineates the human face by the solar ray; packs up the ship's longitude in a watch-case; balances the steerage of tall navies on the gimbals of the compass-box; and transmits intelligence by the electric spark from continent to continent, beneath the ocean's bed. All this is the work of mind indeed; but of mind dealing with material forces and elements, to supply the wants and avert the sufferings of our physical nature; often, in the individual case, at the cost of greater hardships than it relieves. Man prays to Heaven for his daily bread. Heaven showers down no manna upon the waste, but teaches, through the inventive faculties, those bread-giving arts, and clothes the land with plenty.

But, O, my friends, there is that in the capacities of our minds which is more than useful, and which deals with higher elements than those of material well being. It is not appointed to man to live by bread alone, and

> "The thirst that from the soul doth rise,
> Doth ask a drink divine."

There are facts in this great and wondrous universe, which it is delightful to trace, though we cannot as yet discern their relations to the service of man. There are truths and groups of truths, which seem to bind all creations, — the flower of the field, the stars of the sky, and the marvellous frame of man, in bonds of strange analogy, — of which it lifts the soul from earth to heaven to

* From an oration delivered at the inauguration of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., April 23, 1859.

catch a glimpse, as of a golden thread woven in the great loom of Providence through the mystic tissue of the Universe. Immeasurably above all the delights of sense is the serene rapture of meditation, the calm ecstasies of pure thought, sounding the depths of its own consciousness, and ruling all else which is subject to man, in the heaven above and the earth beneath, with the sovereign mastery of mind. Unspeakable are the attractions of patient, enthusiastic science, now following the traces of creative wisdom along the minutest fibres of microscopic life, and now clinging to the folds of the streaming robe of Omnipotence, as it floats over the transcendent galaxies of the highest heavens. Calm and pure the satisfactions of the scholar, who, aloof from the competitions and the prizes, the mean jealousies, the hollow pretences, the brutal vilifyings, the base intrigues, the measureless corruptions of public life, holds converse in his inoffensive seclusion with the unenvious wise and gifted of every country and every age. Exquisite the enjoyments of a refined taste, keenly alive to the beauties of sight and sound; to the fair creations which rival nature on the glowing canvas, or which start from the quarried marble, clothed with form and grace, beneath the sculptor's hand. Sweet the entrancement of music, as it breathes in vocal melodies from tuneful lips; or cries with almost human pathos from the chorded viol; or stirs the blood in the inmost chambers of the heart with the voice of the crashing trumpet; or rises, and swells, and rolls, soft or loud, in full diapason, along the quivering arches of some grand cathedral, heaving and mounting in one overflowing tide of harmony from all the full-mouthed stops of the pealing organ far up to the resounding dome, and bathing in rich floods of music the resplendent forms of saints and martyrs, whose purple robes and golden halos blaze from the storied windows on high. And nobler, purer, higher than the inarticulate voice of chord, or reed, or flute, or sounding key, the articulate voice of poetry; the music of the genius, the fancy, the heart; the nearest approach of the human faculties to raptures more than human; the earthly transfiguration of wisdom into prophecy, of genius into inspiration, of nature into the supernatural, of the letter which killeth into the spirit which maketh alive; the brightest vision which mortal eye can catch of harmonies and relations beyond the pale of sense; the noblest conquest of humanity over time and fortune; mysterious quintessence of our intellectual being; the golden casket in which memory locks up her choicest treasures; the eternal column on which Fame records her brightest and dearest names.

THE HOMERIC CONTROVERSY.

[From an old college pamphlet, containing the bare syllabus put into the hands of students, as a skeleton of Mr. Everett's Lectures when Greek professor, we copy the following passage on the Homeric Controversy. This discussion was then young. The copy of the "Syllabus" from which we quote is almost, if not quite, a unique. We suppose that many of our readers may be interested to know how such questions were presented in one of our universities nearly forty years ago. And we venture to ask whether in many of them they are more carefully presented now?]

1. In ancient times the opinion entertained of Homer was unanimous. He was regarded as the first and greatest, not only of poets, but of authors, and the judgments formed of his merits are well comprised in the following language of Velleius Paterculus: Clarissimum deinde Homeri illuxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum; qui magnitudine operum et fulgore carminum solus appellari poeta meruit: in quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum quem ille imitaretur, neque post illum qui eum imitari possit, inventus est. Vell. Paterec. lib. i. An account of the judgments of the ancients, particularly of the Romans, of Homer may be found in Wetstenii dissertatione inaugurali de fatis scriptorum Homeri per omnia sæcula.

2. The exceptions taken by Zoilus and his followers to the poems of Homer did not partake at all of the nature of the questions moved by modern criticism, but consisted of small cavils at the probability of events, the truth of facts, the propriety of manners, and the choice of words. [On the subject of Zoilus, see Fabric. Bib. Græc, Harlesii, i. p. 559, de vituperatoribus Homeri.]

3. The only questions moved in antiquity, which resemble those discussed by modern critics, are such as these: whether the last books of the Odyssey were authentic, and whether the Iliad and the Odyssey were composed by the same author. It was the opinion of Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus, that the Odyssey ought to come to a close at Ψ, 296. This fact is mentioned by Eustathius, in his Scholium on this line. [Cf. Heynii Iliad, viii. p. 765, and Seneca de brevitat. vitæ, Op. p. 224, ed. Lipsii.]

4. The first doubts of a higher nature, with regard to the character of Homer's poems, were expressed by Perrault, the well-known author of the Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes, who thus states his opinion:

"*Le Chevalier.* Comment donc? Ces critiques croyent-ils que ces grands poëmes se sont faits tout seuls?

"*L'Abbé.* Non; mais ils disent que l'Iliade et l'Odyssée ne sont autre chose qu'un amas, qu'une collection de plusieurs petits poëmes de divers auteurs, qu'on a joints ensemble. Voici comment ils s'expliquent. Ils disent que dans le temps où l'on prétend que ce grand poëte a vécu, l'histoire du siege de Troye étoit un sujet qui occupoit tous les poëtes; que tous les ans il paroissoit vingt ou trente petits poëmes sur cette matiere; et qu'on donnoit le prix à celui qui l'avoit le mieux traitée. Ils ajoûtent qu'il s'est trouvé des hommes dans la suite, qui ont pris plaisir à joindre ensemble les meilleures de ces pièces, qui leur ont donné l'ordre et l'arrangement où nous les voyons, et qui en ont formé l'Iliade et l'Odyssée." [Parallèle des Anc. et des Mod. ii. p. 23, 24, Amsterd. 1693.]

5. An opinion, in some degree similar, though by no means the same, was expressed by Dr. Bentley in England, in his reply to "Collins' discourse of free thinking." He there says, "Take my word for it, poor Homer, in those circumstances and early times, had never such aspiring thoughts. He wrote a sequel of songs or rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer at festivals, and other days of merriment; the Ilias he made for the men, and the Odysseïs for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem, till Pisistratus' time, about 500 years after; nor is there one word in Homer that presages or promises immortality to his work, as we find there is in the later poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius." [Remarks upon a late discourse of free thinking, by Phileutherus Lipsiensis, 8th ed. p. 26.] The doctrine here taught, notwithstanding its partial resemblance to that of Perrault, will appear on examination to be essentially different.

6. These opinions seem to have attracted no general notice, either in England or on the continent, so that in the middle of the last century, Ricci, the author of the Dissertationes Homericæ, makes use of the following language: "At enim *Iliadem et Odysseam*, in quibus auctor humani ingenii fines prætergressus esse videtur, quæque universum sapientiæ oceanum jure optimo appellaveris, *ab Homero condita esse nemo unquam dubitavit.*" [Riccii dissertat. Homericæ, ed. Borne, p. 16.]

7. So far from having affected the reputation of Homer's poems, they were more than ever regarded, both in England and on the continent, in the early part of the last century: an increased attention having been drawn to them by the Inquiry into the life and writings of Homer, published anonymously in 1735, by Thomas Blackwall, who had been a professor of Greek at Aberdeen, and still more by Robert Wood's essay on the original genius of Homer, published in London, 1770. This work was received with great applause, particularly in Germany, and the review of it by Heyne begins with the flattering remark, "We have hitherto met with no author who has penetrated so deeply into the spirit of Homer." [See the preface to the German translation of Wood's Essay, p. 6.]

8. Though Wood's work had the effect of heightening the respect in which Homer was held, an opinion, which he seems to have been the first distinctly to

express, that the poems of Homer could not have been committed to writing, became in the sequel the stronghold of those who called in question the poet's authenticity. [Cf. Wolfii Prolegom. p. xi.]

9. The appearance of Wood's work in a German translation gave an impulse to the study of the poet in that country, in which Heyne at that time sustained the reputation of the first Hellenist, and Wolf was fast acquiring that of being his rival. These two critics began each to make preparations for an edition of Homer; toward which undertaking the edition of Homer by Villoison, published in 1789, from the famous Venetian MSS. of which the scholia were then for the first time given to the world, furnished the amplest and most valuable materials. Five years after the appearance of Villoison's Homer, came out Wolf's edition of the Iliad, with the first volume of his Prolegomena, which has never been followed by a second.

[*Ὁμήρου Ἰλιὰς σὺν τοῖς σχολίοις.* Homeri Ilias, ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita. Scholia in eam antiquissima ex eodem codice aliisque nunc primum edidit cum asteriscis, obeliscis, aliisque signis criticis. Jo. Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison, 1778, Venet. fol.

Homeri Opera Omnia ex Recensione Frid. Aug. Wolfii, tomus Prior.

Prolegomena ad Homerum, sive de Operum Homericorum prisca et genuina forma variisque mutationibus et probabili ratione emendandi. Scripsit Frid. Aug. Wolfius. Volumen i. Halis Saxonum, 1795, 8vo.]

10. The fundamental proposition sustained in these Prolegomena is "that the Iliad and Odyssey are not the production of Homer or of any other single author, but a collection of rhapsodies composed at different times and by different persons, and subsequently and gradually wrought up into the form in which they now exist."

11. The period, at which this work appeared, was well adapted for a proposition like this. The learned were prepared for a favorable reception of it, in consequence of the popularity of the doctrines, which had been already propagated by Eichhorn and his followers, relative to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch. [Cf. Eichhorn's Urgeschichte in his Repertorium, Th. v. and his Einleitung ins Alte Testament, Th. i.]

12. Notwithstanding this favorable circumstance, however, the doctrine of Wolf was not embraced with undue alacrity. As he evidently announces it with a good deal of hesitation himself, the public seem to have regarded it with still greater timidity. Rhunkenius thus expresses himself in the fragment of a letter published by Wolf himself, to whom it was addressed. "Iterum et accuratius pervolventi mihi — accidit idem quod illi apud Ciceronem Platonis Phædonem legenti; *dum lego assentior; cum posui librum omnis illa assensio elabitur.*" Briefe an Herrn Hofrath Heyne von Professor Wolf. [Berlin, 1797, p. 16.]

13. At the close of the year 1795, appeared in the Göttingen Journal a review of Wolf's Prolegomena by Heyne. This review is not wanting in compliments to Wolf's learning and ingenuity, but contains, on the whole, a disparaging view of his work. The suggestion most offensive to Wolf was, that Heyne himself had always taught the same general doctrines, with regard to the Homeric poems, as those which are announced in the Prolegomena of Wolf. This insinuation drew from the latter an angry reply, contained in the work quoted at the close of §12. To this reply, which ran much into personalities, Heyne returned no answer.

14. The contest between Wolf and Heyne was therefore as to the merit of priority, in denying the unity and integrity of the Homeric poems. It is commonly but erroneously supposed that, while Wolf denied their authenticity, Heyne defended it. Villers has fallen into this error. [Coup d'œil sur l'état actuel de la littérature ancienne et de l'histoire en Allemagne, 1809, p. 27.]

15. The turn which the controversy thus took had a powerful effect in deciding the public opinion in favor of the new theory. It is not to be expected that the majority of scholars should hesitate in deciding for a doctrine, which they saw thus claimed as their own discovery by the rival chiefs of the profession. Among the first to express his assent to it was Ilgen. See an ingenious and elaborate illustration of Wolf's theory, in the hymni Homerici cum reliquis carminibus minoribus Homero tribui solitis et Batrachomyomachia a C. D Ilgen, 1796, Introd. p. ix, et seq.

The only considerable attempt to controvert the doctrine of Wolf is that which is contained in the following work, Die Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift ihr Zustand und frühester Gebrauch in Alterthum, mit Hinsicht auf die neuesten Untersuchungen über den Homer von J. Leonhard Hug, Ulm, 4to. 1801.

16. In 1802, appeared simultaneously at London and Leipzig the long expected edition of the Iliad by Heyne. In the excursuses, at the close of the last volume, he deliberately advances the opinion that the Iliad and Odyssey were composed in the manner taught by Wolf. This edition of the Iliad was made, during the whole of the season in which it appeared, the subject of a very learned, but at the same time most severe and unfriendly critique, in the literary journal of Jena; in the composition of which Wolf is supposed to have been concerned.

17. Wolf's theory was attacked in France by M. St. Croix in a pamphlet called Réfutation d'un paradoxe littéraire; and in the Histoire d'Homère of M. Delisle de Sales. [See Villers in the work and place already quoted.]

18. In England, Wolf's edition and Prolegomena were favorably noticed, at the time of their appearance, in the Critical and Monthly Reviews; though the authors of these notices do not appear to have perceived the drift of his argument, or to have observed that he was proposing a new and important theory with regard to the Homeric poems.

19. Such is the history of this controversy. The following is a brief analysis of the controversy itself. * * * * *

EDUCATION AND CIVILIZATION.*

Here they had lived and possessed the land from time immemorial. We call them *Aborigines* as the Athenians called themselves *Autocthones*. We know nothing older. We cannot go beyond them in the history of our continent, nor assign any date to their occupation of it. But all their traditions, the size of the enormous trees which have grown upon the mounds erected by them, their physiological peculiarities, the highly artificial structure of their languages, which, without being sentimentally expressive, are grammatically complicated, and the silence of general history as to their immigration to America, all lead to the inference that the red races have been in possession of this continent as long as the white races have been in possession of Europe. Yet, for want of intellectual culture, for want of those instruments and means by which it is perpetuated and diffused, for want of the alphabet, the arts of writing, of reading, and printing (whether this be regarded as cause or effect), in a word, for want of that which our schools spread throughout the community, and hand down from generation to generation, no great progress was made in mental improvement by the aboriginal tribes of North America. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, from their first appearance in this continent to the date of the landing at Jamestown and Plymouth, — a period which I take to be fully as long as that which has elapsed since the landing of the first Egyptian or Phœnician colonists in Greece, — not one effectual step had been taken by the northern tribes towards the rational enjoyment of the great heritage which Providence had placed in their hands. Nothing, comparatively, had been done by them to subdue the wilderness, to open the soil to the sun, to substitute the broad expanse of corn-fields and gardens which surrounds us, for the dismal, unfertile waste; and still less, if possible, for the higher arts of life. I do not now refer to the semi-civilization of the Aztecs, if it may be so called, which, if carefully weighed, furnishes no qualification to these remarks. What miracles of beneficence might have been wrought by an overruling Providence, in coming times, to guide the red man on the path of intellectual and spiritual progress, it would be as presumptuous as unavailing to conjecture; but up to the time of the European colonization, it may be truly said that, in all America now occupied by the United States and the British Provinces, not even a commencement of civilization, as we understand it, had been made by the native tribes.

But a foreign race, with the Bible and the spelling-book in their hands, — the manuals of divine and human learning, — makes its appearance on these shores, and a marvellous change at once begins. Few they were and feeble;

* From a speech at the Cambridge High School, Aug. 7, 1852.

they sowed in weakness, but they soon raised in power. Vastly outnumbered they were by the native races, and surpassed by them in most of the elements of physical strength; but the arts of cultivated life gave them an early foothold, and before long an exclusive possession of the soil. Deeds of violence and oppression no doubt accompanied the change, which humanity deplores and justice execrates. That I am in no degree insensible to their atrocity, I need not say after one of the declamations to which you have listened this morning.* But there were deeds of violence and cruelty on both sides, and unless we adopt the wild and extravagant idea, that Providence never intended the American continent for the abode of a civilized race of European origin, we must set down the deplorable acts to which I have alluded to the account of human frailty; taking care, while we justly rebuke our ancestors for the wrongs which they committed, and which were incidental to their age, and their unenlightened views of social duty, that we do not ourselves countenance wrongs of equal magnitude that beset and stain our own more favored times.

But my present purpose is not to discuss this great and painful topic. I wish to point out to you the wonderful effect produced in a couple of centuries, through the action direct or indirect of cultivated mind, as a peculiar reason why the people of America should cherish that system of popular education by which this culture is universally diffused and transmitted from generation to generation. What words can do justice to the transformation! How much of the native forest, with the ferocious animals that filled it, has disappeared; what hundreds and thousands of villages have been scattered through the land; what a network of roads, and canals, and railways, has been thrown over its surface, penetrating its furthest recesses, now climbing the faces of steep hills, now bridging pathless swamps, now coquetting with sinuous streams; what forests of masts have been transferred from the mountain side to the shores of the sea, thence to be wafted to the remotest haunts of commerce; what crowded cities have been built, filled with the accumulated bounties of nature, products of art, and creations of mind; what institutions for objects of education, philanthropy, public spirit, and religion, all called into being within two hundred years in what had been for uncounted ages an untrodden wilderness, and all by the application of those elements of mental culture, which are imparted in our public schools to each successive generation! With this great fact woven into and running through their whole history, is it to be wondered at that the American people have ever regarded the cause of education and the support of the schools as of paramount importance?

WHAT IS POPULAR EDUCATION? †

But, sir, we are still told — and this objection in some form or other meets us at every turn — that common-school education is a popular interest, and college education is not; and that for this reason the State is bound to take care of the one, and not of the other. Now I shall not put myself in the false and invidious position of contrasting them; there is no contrast between them, — no incompatibility of the one with the other. Both are good, each is good in its place; and I will thank any person who can do so to draw the line between them; to show why it is expedient and beneficial in a community to make public provision for teaching the elements of learning, and not expedient nor beneficial to make similar provision to aid the learner's progress toward the mastery of the most difficult branches of science and the choicest refinements of literature. Sir, they all hang together; it is an abuse of ingenuity to exercise it in showing how much can be done by one without the other. For myself I admit, if the admission is desired, that a good system of common-school education is, next to religious influences, the great and solid foundation of a prosperous state. To build on anything else is to build on straw and stubble. I honor, beyond all common names of respect, the distinguished gentle-

* An extract from an address by Mr. Everett, in which the cruel treatment, at the close of King Philip's war, of his wife and child, are described.

† From a speech on the Memorial of Harvard, Williams, and Amherst Colleges, delivered before the Joint Committee on Education, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. Boston, Feb. 7, 1849.

man (Horace Mann), who for twelve years has devoted the uncommon powers of his mind and the indomitable energy of his character to this noble cause. He will be remembered till the history of Massachusetts is forgotten, as one of her greatest benefactors. I reflect with satisfaction that the Board of Education was established on a recommendation which I had the honor to submit to the Legislature; and that I had the privilege of coöperating in its organization, in the choice of its secretary, in the establishment of the Normal Schools under its patronage, and in the other measures which marked its opening career, and by which — under circumstances of no small discouragement — it sought to promote the objects of its institution.

I owe myself a large debt of gratitude to the public schools, although fifty years ago they were in a very different condition from what they are now. My education began at the free schools of my native village of Dorchester (for village it then was), and of this the beloved city of my adoption. The first distinction which crowned my humble career was the Franklin medal at the reading school in North Bennett street, when I was not much higher than that table; and if my tongue is ever silent, when it ought to speak the praises of the common schools of Massachusetts, may it never be heard with favor in any other cause! But can it be necessary? I know, Mr. Chairman, before this audience it cannot be necessary to argue the cause of higher education, scientific and literary, forming as it does the best preparation for all the departments of professional life; for enlightened statesmanship; and for an efficient application of philosophical principles to the great industrial interests of the community. Who does not know, sir, that there is not a yard of cotton cloth bleached or printed in the commonwealth without assistance from the last results of chemical research; — that you cannot construct a turbine water-wheel but by the aid of the highest mathematics; nor establish a uniform standard of weights and measures without building upon a series of geometrical operations which began with Hipparchus? The tables by which the navigator — perhaps the illiterate navigator — finds the ship's place at sea, are written in the very depths of the starry heavens; and the most learned eyes for ages have strained themselves dim, through glasses of wondrous mechanism, in deciphering the mysterious characters. The electric telegraph, which brings you the daily news, is the last achievement of a department of physical science, in which some of the brightest intellects of the last hundred years, from Franklin to Morse, have concentrated their powers of observation and analysis. This step and that may be taken by an uneducated man, — may even be the work of chance, — but the grand result is the product of cultivated mind, strained to the highest tension of its powers.

We hear of untaught men, sir, of Franklin and Bowditch; and Heaven forbid that, in the city where one was born and the other died, their names should ever be pronounced but with veneration. But, in the first place, to argue from such men as Franklin and Bowditch to the case of the generality of minds, would be like putting a roguish boy apprentice to a woolcomber, in order that when he grows up he might write another Hamlet. But what is a *self-taught* man, and what does he do? He is not an *untaught* man; nor does he go blazing through life, like a locomotive engine in a dark night, by the light of his own intuition. Sir, a self-taught man is a man of strong mind and stronger will, who, under discouragements and in the face of obstacles, acquires the rudiments of learning; and when he has done so carries on and completes his education, by placing his understanding in contact with the cultivated intellect of other regions and other times. Franklin is certainly a most favorable specimen of a self-taught man. He was a great original interpreter of nature. The history of science has nothing more sublime than the courage with which he sent his armed kite into the thunder-cloud, and drew the electric spark with his finger from the key at the end of the cord. But Franklin was a man of books, — a studious man, — a friend of academical training. Listen to what he says about the learned languages, in his project for the foundation of a college, which I quote from the appendix to his life, in the admirable edition of Mr. Sparks: —

"When youth are told that the great men, whose lives and actions they read in history, spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful, and that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the

most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom, are in those languages, which have endured for ages, and will endure while there are men; that no translation can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals; that those languages contain all sciences; that one of them is become almost universal, being the language of learned men in al countries; and that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament; they may be thereby made desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them. All intended for divinity should be taught the Latin and Greek; for Physic, the Latin, Greek, and French; for Law, the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish; and, though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused; their English, Arithmetic, and other studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected."

Such is the estimate of college education formed by the self-taught Franklin, the poor boy who was born beneath a lowly roof in Milk-street, and whose parents fill an humble grave in yonder cemetery.

Dr. Bowditch was, perhaps more than Franklin, a self-taught man. So far is his example from proving the inutility of academic learning, that his first youthful struggle was made to acquire the Latin language; and when we think of the scientific attainments of his after life, it does make one who has had some opportunities of education in early life hang his head in shame to see the difficulties encountered by this great man in the outset; the simplest Latin words, *tamen* and *rursus*, with their significations in English, being written in the margin of the books first perused by him, in aid of a memory, which afterwards embraced the whole circle of the mathematical sciences in its iron grasp. And what was the first use made by Dr. Bowditch of the Latin tongue? To read the *Principia* of Sir Isaac Newton; — a man, if ever there was one among men not technically academic, who was nurtured in academic discipline; a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; a professor of mathematics; a man who passed fifteen years of his life in the cloisters of a college, and solved the problem of the universe from the turret over Trinity gate-way. This was the kindred intellect with which the mind of Bowditch sought its first communion. In the beautiful memoir of his father, which the son of Dr. Bowditch has presented us, we read the following interesting anecdote: "From our venerable University at Cambridge he received the highest encouragement to pursue the career upon which he had entered. In July, 1802, when his ship, the Astrea, was windbound in Boston, he went to hear the performances at the annual commencement of the college; and, among the honorary degrees conferred, he thought he heard his own name announced as Master of Arts; but it was not until congratulated by a townsman and friend that he became satisfied that his senses had not deceived him. He always spoke of this as one of the proudest days of his life; and, amid all the subsequent proofs which he received of the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the distinctions conferred upon him from foreign countries, he recurred to this with the greatest pleasure. It is, indeed, made the subject of express mention in his will."

Dr. Bowditch sent three sons to the University; and, as a member of the corporation, devoted the twelve last years of his life to the management of its affairs, giving them all the force of his transcendent talents; and I think I may add, without doing injustice to any other respected name, rendering to the institution services unequalled by those of any of his associates. Sir, if it were possible to leave the question before you to the arbitrament of Dr. Bowditch, our cause would be gained.

To the objection that school education is the interest of the many, and college education the interest of the few, my main answer is, that it is founded in a great fallacy. The man who makes that objection has not formed even a distant conception of the grounds of the duty which devolves upon an enlightened state to educate its children. He is thinking of individuals. He forgets that it is the public, as such, the STATES, the great complex, social Being, which we call MASSACHUSETTS, the general mother of us all, — that it is *her* interest in the matter which creates the duty, and which gives all its importance to education, as an affair of public concernment, whether elementary or academical. It is

not to teach one man's boy his A B C, or another man's boy a little Latin and Greek, for any advantage or emolument of their own, that the Pilgrim Fathers founded the college, or required the towns to support each its school. As far as individuals, many or few, are concerned, I have just as much natural right to call on the state to pay the bill of the tailor who clothes, or the builder who shelters, my children, as of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress, the tutor or professor, who instructs them. The duty of educating the people rests on great public grounds, on moral and political foundations. It is deduced from the intimate connection, which experience has shown to exist, between the public welfare and all the elements of national prosperity on the one hand, and the enlightenment of the population on the other. In this point of view, — I say it confidently, — good college education for those who need it and want it, is just as much the interest of the many, as good school education. They are both the interest of all, — that is, the whole community. It is, of human things, the highest interest of the state to put the means of obtaining a good school education, and a good college education, within the reach of the largest number of her children.

In the nature of things there will not be so many who desire a college education, although it is a popular error to think that every one goes to college who can afford it; that the *few* who go to college are exclusively those who are sometimes invidiously called the "few." Very many sons of the wealthy are not sent to college. Of those who go to college, the majority are the sons of parents in moderate, narrow, and even straitened circumstances. The demand here as elsewhere regulates supply. All have not the taste or talent, — are not intended for pursuits which require academic training. But I maintain that for the limited number required to meet this demand, it is just as much the interest of the community that it should be adequately and honorably supplied, as that the wider demand for school education should be adequately and honorably supplied.

It is not for the rich that the public aid is wanted. They will obtain good education, if they desire it, in one place if they cannot in another; although it is a serious evil to have to seek it abroad. As far as individuals are concerned, it is the poor student that needs cheapened education. If he cannot get that near home, he cannot get it at all. It is not that you expect to breed up every one who goes to college into a man of eminence, — an Adams, a Channing, a Bushnell, a Webster, a Prescott, a Bancroft. The lottery of life is not all highest prizes. But you do wish to train up even minds like these in a healthy, fruitful nurture; and you do wish to prepare for future usefulness in church and state the mass of average intellect. I suppose there are not above five hundred young men, natives of the Commonwealth, now at college; but it is as much for the interest of Massachusetts that they should have a good education, as cheap as possible, as that the two hundred thousand who wish for it should have a good school education. It is one great interest; but if we must draw distinctions, the son of the poor man, whose life is cast in some obscure interior village, or in some laborious walk of city life, has a deeper personal interest in the matter than the son of the affluent in town and country.

The colleges are not pleading their own cause on this occasion; they are pleading the cause of the people. If you grant the prayer of the memorial, you will, it is true, somewhat widen the field of usefulness of these institutions, and, if they are true to themselves, afford them in this way the opportunity of gaining increased credit with the community. I do not deny that, with a generous mind, this is a selfish motive, although the selfishness is of a very refined nature. But beyond this, the colleges, and those concerned in administering them, are not to be benefited. Your bounty will not add a dollar to their salaries; it may, by increasing the number of students, add to their labors and their cares. It is the interest of the people which is to be subserved by granting the prayer of the memorial. The young man whom you will thereby enable to get an education of which he might else be deprived, — the village, which will have the satisfaction of seeing its promising candidate for future usefulness lifted up into the broad and cheerful field of a[illegible]
the community, whose treasures of intellect you draw o[illegible]

for the service of life, — these are the parties to be benefited; it is these whose cause I now commend to your favorable consideration.

Having placed our claim to your favor on the ground of duty, I might, in addressing a committee of intelligent and conscientious legislators, safely leave it there. But if it be necessary to seek for motives of interest, I would say that the ground of expediency and policy is as plain as that of duty. If we look only to material prosperity, — to physical welfare, — nothing is now more certain than that they are most powerfully promoted, by everything which multiplies and diffuses the means of education. We live in an age in which cultivated mind is becoming more and more the controlling principle of affairs. Like that mysterious magnetic influence, — whose wonderful properties have been lately brought from the scientific lecture-room into the practical business of life, — you cannot see it, you cannot feel it, you cannot weigh it; but it pervades the globe from its surface to its centre, and attracts and moves every particle of metal which has been touched into a kindred sensibility.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.*

And now, Mr. Mayor, the enlightened counsels of the City Government are about to give new strength to those ties of gratitude and affection which bind the hearts of the children of Boston to their beloved city. * * * * *

But to-day our honored city carries on and perfects her work. The trustees, from their first annual report to the present time, have never failed to recommend a first-class public library, such as that, sir, for whose accommodation you destine this noble building, as the completion of the great system of public education. Its object is to give to the entire population, not merely to the curious student, but to the inquisitive member of either of the professions, to the intelligent merchant, mechanic, machinist, engineer, artist, or artisan,— in short, to all of every age and of either sex, who desire to investigate any subject, either of utility or taste, those advantages which, without such an ample public collection, must necessarily be monopolized by the proprietors of large private libraries, or those who by courtesy have the use of them; nay, to put within the reach of the entire community advantages of this kind far beyond those which can be afforded by the largest and best provided private libraries.

The trustees are anxious that the institution, whose prosperity they have so much at heart, should continue to be viewed in this light; as one more added to the school-houses of the city, at which Boston boys and girls, when they have outgrown the other schools, will come to carry on the education which has been there commenced; where Boston men and women, "children of a larger growth," may come to acquire that additional knowledge which is requisite for the most successful discharge of the duties of the various callings of society, — which opens, in its pursuit, the purest sources of happiness, and which, without reference to utility, contributes so materially to the grace and ornament of life.

I am aware that there is still floating about in the community a vague prejudice against what is called book-learning. One sometimes hears doubts expressed of the utility of public libraries; opinions that they are rather ornamental than necessary or useful; and the fact that our time-honored city, never indifferent to the mental improvement of her children, has subsisted more than two centuries without one, is a sufficient proof that, until within a very few years, their importance has not been practically felt. There is, perhaps, even now, a disposition to claim some superiority for what is called practical knowledge — knowledge gained by observation and experience (which most certainly the trustees wo[illegible] disparage), and a kind of satisfaction felt in holding up the example [illegible] men, in supposed contradistinction from those who ha[illegible] from books; and no name, perhaps, is so frequently [illegible] Franklin, who, because he had sca[illegible] college, has been hastily set dow[illegible] book-learning. It has

* From Mr. [illegible] Boston, Jan. 1, 1858.

been quoted to me in this way, and to show that libraries are of no use, within three days.

Now, Mr. Mayor, I need not tell you that there never was a greater mistake in point of fact. A thirst for books, which he spared no pains to allay, is the first marked trait disclosed in the character of Franklin; his success throughout the early period of his life can be directly traced to the use he made of them; and his very first important movement for the benefit of his fellow-men was to found a public library, which still flourishes; — one of the most considerable in the country. Franklin not a book-man! whoever labors under that delusion, shows that somebody else is not much of a book-man, at least so far as concerns the biography of our illustrious townsman. We happen to have a little information on that subject in a book written by Franklin himself. He there gives a very different account of himself, and I would ask any one who entertains the idea to which I am alluding, at what period of Franklin's career he supposes this taste for books began to be manifested by him; how soon he ceased to be a self-formed man? Perhaps after he had struggled through the years of his youthful poverty, — escaped to Philadelphia, — set up in business as a printer, and began to have a little money in his pocket. I need not tell you, sir, that it was earlier than that. Was it, then, while he was the clever apprentice to his brother, the editor of a journal, and wrote articles for its columns in a disguised hand, and tucked them under the office door, enjoying the exquisite delight of being ordered to set up his own anonymous articles? Was it, then, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that this fondness for reading, under the stimulus of boyish authorship, disclosed itself? Earlier than that. Well, then, at the grammar school and Master Brownwell's writing school, which he attended from eight to ten (for there are boys who show a fondness for reading even at that tender age); was little Benjamin's taste for books developed while yet at school? Earlier than that. Hear his own words, which you will permit me to read from that exquisite piece of autobiography to which I have already alluded: "From my *infancy* I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in purchasing books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's works, in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's Historical Collections. They were small chapman's books and cheap, forty volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted [and this is a sentence that might be inscribed on the lofty cornice of this noble hall] that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way. . . . There was among them Plutarch's Lives, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of Defoe's, called an 'Essay on Projects,' and another of Dr. Mather's, called an 'Essay to Do Good,' which" did what, sir? — for I am now going to give you, in Franklin's own words (they carry with them the justification of every dollar expended in raising these walls), the original secret of his illustrious career — what was the effect produced by reading these two little books of Defoe and Cotton Mather? "They perhaps gave me a turn of thinking, which had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life."

Yes, sir, in the reading of those books was the acorn, that sprouted into that magnificent oak; there was the fountain-drop which a fairy might sip from a buttercup, from which has flowed the Missouri and the Mississippi, — the broad, deep river of Franklin's fame, winding its way through the lapse of ages, and destined to flow on, till it shall be ingulfed in the ocean of eternity. From his "infancy," sir, "passionately fond of reading;" nay, with the appetite of a vulture, with the digestion of an ostrich, attacking the great folios of polemic divinity in his father's library. Not a dull boy, either, sir; not a precocious little book-worm; fond of play; doesn't dislike a little mischief; sometimes, as he tells us, "led the other boys into scrapes;" but in his intervals of play, in his leisure moments, up in the lonely garret, when the rest of the family were asleep, holding converse in his childhood with the grave old non-conformists, Howe, and Owen, and Baxter, — communing with the austerest lords of thought; the demigods of puritanism, —

Non sine diis animosus infans.

II. EDUCATION IN PERIODS OF WAR AND PEACE.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

I. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY.

THE "Thirty Years' War," which broke out in 1618–19, is the most dreadful period in the history of Germany. Its armies were great bands of murderers and robbers. The spirit of peace and holy order had entirely perished; and murder, license, and robbery reigned without opposition. So fearful were the results of devastation and impious recklessness, that pious men began to doubt even of the government of God. "The country was desolated, plundered, empty of men—a desert for wolves and savage beasts. Of schools and teachers nothing was said."*

The histories of those German institutions which date back to the thirty years' war confirm these statements. I shall quote a few of them.

The Protestant school at Friedberg, in Hesse, suffered during that time "immeasurable evils." The pestilence and poverty which resulted from the war robbed it of many of its scholars. In 1630 it was almost destroyed by the Austrians and Bavarians; but was re-established† in 1631, when the Swedes entered Friedberg, after the siege of Leipzig by Gustavus Adolphus. The Protestant gymnasium at Hersfeld was put in possession of Catholic priests and Jesuit teachers in 1829. Tilly was at hand to enforce the Edict of Restitution by arms, and raved fearfully about it. In 1632 the gymnasium received its Protestant teachers back again; but was entirely destroyed in 1634 by the imperial general, Götz—the teachers fleeing to Kassel and elsewhere. In 1636 instruction was again commenced; and, in 1637, when the imperialist troops again came to Hersfeld, it had to be closed. It was soon reopened, and vegetated painfully through

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* Raumer's "*History of Europe*," III, 596. Two religious hymns, of the time of the thirty years' war, afford the deepest glimpse into the melancholy feelings of upright men. One by Meder, a pastor in the circle of Leipzig, begins, "When, oh when will it appear, our much-longed-for day of peace?" The other, by Martin Rinckart, (1585—1649,) is a parody upon the Lord's Prayer. It begins, "Our father will no longer be the father of the miserable;" and again, "Shall thy name be entirely forgotten upon earth?" and, "Shall thy will never more be done upon earth?" It ends, however, with a hopeful prayer for relief, and with the words, "Thou hast the kingdom, and the power, and the glory over hell and death."

† "*Account of the Augustine School at Friedberg*," by Prof. Dieffenbach. Programme, 1825, p. 12, &c.

those troubled times, until its first accession of renewed vigor, after the Peace of Westphalia.*

Göttingen was besieged for nearly two months in 1626, and terribly bombarded. Under the pressure of the extremest want, the then celebrated rector, Georg Andreas Fabricius, accepted a call to the gymnasium at Mülhausen; and with him there departed the other teachers and the pupils from other places.† He was afterward invited back to Göttingen, but in 1641 was without income and five hundred thalers in arrear.

Schulpforte suffered much by the war. The minister, Martin Caulbel,‡ came to Pforte, August 2d, 1632, through the midst of Wallenstein's army. In the same year the pupils were dispersed by hostilities, and returned next year. In 1636 they were twice dismissed, on account of attacks by the enemy; in 1647, when Field-Marshal Leslie had his winter-quarters near Pforte, they were dismissed for seventeen weeks; there being no means of subsistence either for them or the teachers. On the 18th of February, 1639, both teachers and pupils were again dispersed by Bannier's cavalry. When the minister of Schulpforte returned, on the 23d of the same month, with five scholars, they were obliged by necessity to eat oaten bread until the next harvest. On the 16th of April, 1641, the boys, twelve in number, were hunted away again by Duke Bernhard's forces, under General Rose. "God will repay the general and his soldiers at the last day," writes Besold, then the minister; "for they tortured two of the pupils by cords twisted round their heads." On the 21st of May, Besold and two scholars returned to Pforte. The centennial festival of the institution fell in the year 1643; but such was the devastation of the war that only eleven boys sorrowfully celebrated the memory of the foundation of the school.

It was only to the school at Schweinfurt that the war seemed to bring good fortune.§ After the battle of Leipzig, Gustavus Adolphus entered Schweinfurt, October 2d, 1631. The citizens treated his troops exceedingly well, and gave much assistance in fortifying the city. In return, the Swedish king presented them with seventeen valuable villages,‖ with the express condition that the rents and incomes should be in part devoted "to the erection of a gymnasium for the glory of God and the benefit of studious youth." After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, at Lützen, and the evacuation of the

* "*Herefeld Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Münscher. 1836, p. 8, &c.

† "*Göttingen Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Kirsten. 1829, p. 22, &c.

‡ H. E. Schmiederi, "*Commentarii de vitis Pastorum et Inspectorum Portensium.*" 1838, p. 31, &c.

§ "*History of the Latin School and Gymnasium at Schweinfurt*," by Prof. Walnich. Programme for 1831. p. 4, &c.

‖ The letter of gift was dated at Frankfort on the Main, March 2d, 1632.

territories of Wurtzburg by the Swedes, the bishop resumed possession of the villages, which had been his property before. Notwithstanding, the magistrates added to the already existing six classes of their Latin school a seventh, with the name of Gymnasium Gustavianum. This was consecrated in 1634, and the burgomaster, (Dr. Bausch,) a senator, and several clergymen, undertook to give instruction in it gratis. The honorable public spirit of the citizens maintained the school under the severest misfortunes of the war;* and it only ceased to exist, at the end of one hundred and seventy years, in 1804.

A gymnasium was founded in Stargard by the legacy of Burgomaster Peter Groning, and was opened in September, 1633. But, in 1635, the city was besieged by the imperialists, and became a prey to the flames—only the church of St. Peter and nineteen houses remaining. The gymnasium building itself was also burnt, and the teachers were dispersed. For some time there was no school held. Two teachers then gradually gathered the scholars again, and one of them, Conrector Bindemann, was appointed rector, after there had been none for eleven years.†

The gymnasium at Goldberg, once famous far and wide, by means of Trotzendorf, quite perished in 1621, as did that of Beuthen, in 1629. That of Oels fell into great distress. In 1639 an imperial regiment was quartered in Oels; in 1640 the city was besieged, unsuccessfully, by the Swedes, taken and plundered by them in 1642, and afterward taken by the imperialists. Biebing, rector of the gymnasium, wrote at that time, "Truly, among so many and so great miseries, to live in Oels means to starve, to die before our time, and daily to have a foretaste of the torments of hell."‡

In 1648, the year of peace, Duke Georg Rudolph established a school for princes in the church of St. John, at Liegnitz. He bestowed upon it the revenues of the late Goldberg gymnasium, as he says in his decree of establishment, dated 28th of April, 1646, "for the re-establishment, renovation, and improvement of all the praiseworthy institutions of our forefathers, for church and school, which it has been an impossibility to maintain, by reason of the thirty years' war."§

So much may suffice to show how destructive was the effect of the terrible desolation of the thirty years' war on the schools of our unfortunate fatherland.

* Octavio Piccolomini bombarded Schweinfurt, after the battle of Nordlingen, with redhot balls, and took it; and the Swedish general, Wangel, took it in 1647. The imperial troops alone had exacted from the city ransoms to the amount of 284,610 gulden.

† "*History of the Gymnasium of Stargard*," by Director and School-Councilor Falbe. 1831, p. 6, &c.

‡ "*Gymnasium Programme*," by Director Dr. Lange. 1841, p. 18, &c.

§ "*Gymnasium Programme of Liegnitz*," by Prorector M. Köhler. 1837, p. 14.

When, however, the war came to an end, this destruction was followed by a period of "re-establishment and renovation." We shall consider this more in detail, after we shall have become acquainted with the life and labors of Comenius, who lived and suffered through the whole of the thirty years' war.

II. THE CENTURY AFTER THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

After the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, all good princes and magistrates of free cities took an interest in the re-establishment of schools. This was the more necessary since the generation which had grown up since and during the desolating thirty years' war had degenerated as well in morals and religion as in knowledge.

The plans of school organization which appeared first after the war agree mostly with those of the sixteenth century. Latin continued the chief study; and next was Greek.

Programmes of a later date, in the end of the seventeenth and the first ten years of the next century, show a much altered character. The old studies were pursued no longer after the old methods; and an increasing number of new ones were gradually introduced into the circle of learning.

We will first consider the methods followed in teaching Latin.

In the school-plan published in 1654, by the council of Frankfort on the Main, daily exercises in speaking Latin were required. "Any one," it says, "who shall speak otherwise than in Latin, or any thing indecent or blasphemous, shall be punished at the time of his transgression, but with good discretion." Entirely in agreement with Trotzendorf, Sturm, and the Jesuits. Whether this kind of speaking Latin were judicious, Feuerlein, inspector of the Nuremberg Gymnasium, doubts.* "Hitherto," he says, "our *leges* have required of the boys even in the lower classes, *sub pœna*, to speak nothing but Latin; with the intention, besides the *usu expeditiore hujus linguæ*, that they should not be able to chatter so much with each other." Others, on the other hand, were so "scrupulös" that they would not require any speaking whatever of Latin from the boys, in order that they might not become used to a vulgar Latin.† There should be a middle way between this excessive scrupulosity, "for the sake of preserving the language of the young by means of Latin, or rather the Latin by

* "*The Fates hitherto of the Nuremberg Gymnasium of St. Ægidius*, rebuilt from the ground out of its ashes, in three completed periods; and the institution for instruction and discipline as renewed and improved in the fourth period, now passing," &c. By J. C. Feuerlein, pastor of St. Ægidius and inspector of the gymnasium. 1699, p. 95.

† Feuerlein cites here Wagenseil's "*Præcepta de copia verborum*" and "*De stylo.*" (Joh. Christoph Wagenseil, born at Nuremberg, 1633; died in 1705, while professor at Altorf; an eminent man of learning in his day. He wrote, among other things, upon the education of a prince, who abhors study above all things.) He says, in the place quoted, "Infants are forthwith taught to attempt Latin expressions; boys are forbidden, under severe penalties, from

means of their tongue, and the fear that the boys would become accustomed to mere sorry kitchen-Latin." They must not speak Latin among themselves, but only under the oversight of their teacher.* "As for the rest," says Feuerlein, "I do not believe it is necessary to forbid our youth from speaking Latin among themselves.

Evidently speaking Latin began to be regarded with other eyes in the previous century, for it was required of all, even the youngest scholars. Having been regarded as a second mother-tongue for the boys, it had been taught like the mother-tongue. Just as the latter is at first spoken by infants in mere attempts, in a most disfigured manner, and only gradually with fewer faults, so the youngest scholars had been permitted to speak the most helpless, gibberish Latin. But now a different rule was established. The boys were rather to be silent than to speak bad Latin; and good Latin was to be learned by the continued reading of the classics. Was the Latin then no longer regarded as a second mother-tongue? Such an altered state of affairs is indicated by the following facts. Previously, Latin had been learned from the Latin grammars; a practice which Ratich was the first to oppose.† He was followed by the school ordinances of the second half of the seventeenth century and the first decennium of the eighteenth. "In *Quinta*,"‡ says the Frankfort school ordinance, "the new German grammar shall be used instead of the '*Compendium Grammaticæ Giessensis*.'"§ Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‖ says that it is a question to be considered, "whether, in learning Latin, the use of a grammar written in Latin should be continued, or whether it would not be found best to introduce one written in German?" Some made use of the German grammar of Seybold. The celebrated Mark grammar, prepared in 1728, by the rectors of Berlin, was in German.

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uttering a word except Latin at home, at school, or amongst their playfellows. Thus it happens that, by saying whatever comes into their mouths, and many words which it would be better not to hear, they contract, unwisely, the habit, not of Latin eloquence, but merely of Latin talk."

* In like manner, it is said, in the "*Ordinance of the Honorable Council of Hamburg for the Public St. John's School*, 1732," that "the youth shall speak Latin, especially in the two higher classes, and that there shall be examinations under the charge of the preceptor, to see that the boys speak Latin with each other." Page 15.

† And after him Comenius and Balthazar Schuppius (1610—1661.) The latter says: "The first hindrance which makes the grammar difficult and unnatural is that they have to learn it in a language unknown to them; that the *præcepta grammatices* are laid before them in Latin; and thus it is naught to teach them *ignotum per æque ignotum*, and to bring them, by means which they do not understand, to the attainment of a subject which they do not understand."—B. Schuppius' Works, p. 161. J. M. Gesner's opinion was, that the use in German schools of grammars written in Latin was not at all suitable for beginners, but only for such as had, by other means, already obtained some knowledge of Latin.—Gesner's "*Minor German Writings*," 302.

‡ *Sc. classis*; 5th class.

§ In Quarta, however, the Giessen grammar was used.

‖ L. c., 54.

A comparison of the earlier dramatic representations in the schools with the later ones is in place here.* Sturm required that, every week, a piece from Terence or Plautus should be acted; his design being the attainment of facility in speaking Latin. Many schools followed his advice.† In Oels, Terence or the Colloquies of Erasmus were used; in Liegnitz,‡ in 1617, "*Terentius Christianus*" was recommended. "Notwithstanding," the recommendation continues, "let us adhere to the opinions of the renowned Herr Sturmius, whose counsel is to make use in the schools rather of recitations and scenic performances than of tedious readings and explanations of the comedies and tragedies. In Göttingen, also, pieces from Plautus and Terence were represented.§

But this principle was not adhered to. At one time the teachers of gymnasiums themselves began to write pieces, sometimes very extraordinary, in Latin; with the purpose of attaining the original end of practice in speaking Latin, and at the same time of avoiding the indecencies of Terence; but after a time the use of German compositions, which began as early as in the sixteenth century, seems to have altogether prevailed. There was no longer any pains taken about practice in speaking Latin. Among the Latin school-dramas, the "*Belsasar, Lutherus, and Jesulus comœdia sacra de nativitate,*" by Hirtzwig, rector at Frankfort, was celebrated.‖ Rector Tesmar caused to be exhibited, at Neustettin, in 1684, a comedy "*De rustico ebrio qui princeps creabatur.*"¶

At the gymnasium at Salzwedel, Alexander the Great, after Curtius, was exhibited.** It contained, besides the historical persons, the Angel Gabriel, Fame, a multitude of pages, a ghost, and a courier. Another piece was Epaminondas before the criminal court at Thebes. Between two Latin acts was introduced an entirely inappropriate German interlude, which represented the strife between choral and figural music; in which Apollo and the muses appeared. In the drama of Hercules at the parting of the ways, there appeared the seven arts, three soldiers, three students who sang the students' song, &c. And these pieces were much exceeded by the later German, or rather German-Latin and German-French, school-dramas in deplorable tastelessness. Thus there was exhibited at the gymnasium at Thorn, in 1723,

* I only touch upon the German school-dramas, and refer to Gervinus for a rich array of facts relating to them, to which I make a few additions. See his celebrated "*History of National Poetical Literature of the Germans.*" III., 69, etc.; among others, pp. 83 and 87—94.

† "*Oels Gymnasium Programme.*" by C. Leissing. 1841, p. 21.

‡ "*Liegnitz Gymnasium Programme,*" by Director M. Köhler. 1841, p. 21.

§ Director Kirsten, 1827, p. 15.

‖ Vömel, l. c., 13.

¶ "*History of Neustettin Gymnasium.*" by Director A. Giesebrecht Page 19.

** "*Invitation to the School Festival of the Gymnasium at Salzwedel.*" by Rector Dannell. 1833, p. 64.

an "*Actus dramaticus* of Joseph distressed and exalted," in which the author, a teacher in the gymnasium, himself played. "Now," he says, "I have selected a biblical subject, and have obtained permission from our masters, the school officers, to represent the same in this theater; and also to invite to the same, with our most humble obligations, all and every one of the high patrons and patronesses of our Parnassus—requesting them with friendly kindness to favor us with their presence for some few hours," &c. The play is a mixture of rococo-gallantry and coarseness.*

The drama called Stargaris, on the bad and good fortune of the town of Stargard, which the Stargard scholars acted apparently in 1668, in a large warehouse, must have been without gallantry, but still coarser. In the third act, there appeared two adulterers, with an adulterous and loose woman, who conversed not in the most decent manner; until there appear the wives of the faithless husbands, who assault them with slippers and distaffs. In the second act, where the masons, at the command of the magistrates, are building the wall of the city, there occurs some violent quarreling. And this play was acted before the assembled authorities of the vicinity.†

Although Sturm and others, by these Latin school-dramas, proposed that the scholars who acted them should learn to speak Latin, and others again sought the edification and at the same time the amusement both of scholars and spectators, and therefore exhibited German plays, Müller, rector at Zittau, describes the object of these plays to be "The exercising of the students by public comedies in oratory and political decorum." Of six comedies exhibited, he himself wrote four, by the exhibition of which many had "acquired better morals, and had learned to fill better than before their places in the political world." They are designed for the training of the memory; "since," he says, "we did not seek the empty pleasure of idle minds, but benefited in study and in conduct. For we would not willingly rank among those whom men call Merry Andrews, and who divert the mob with vulgar follies."

Who can not trace here, as well as in the above introduction to the play at Thorn, the influence of the age of Louis XIV.? But I shall speak of this point further on; and at present will only say this: The new principle, that the youngest scholars were not to speak Latin, and were not to learn from the grammar in Latin; the decline of Latin school-dramas, previously acted by the scholars, in order to facilitate speaking Latin; all these indicate that Latin was no longer sought to be made a second mother-tongue, and that the true mother-tongue was beginning to attain to its natural and real rights. This

* Richter's "*Prussian Provincial Journal*," Nov., 1841, p. 458. † Falbe, p. 14, 15.

will now be made strikingly evident to us from other sources; and it will become quite clear when we shall have glanced over the history of Latin in Germany, and especially of its relations with the German language from the earliest times to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The requirement to speak and write Latin is the last echo of the old Romish dominion over a great part of Europe;* for the Romans forced their language upon the conquered nations. The Romish papacy, as well as the German emperors, inherited this ruling language, which was that both of church and state. In general, however, German was the language of government, and French of diplomacy; and thus, after the Reformation, Latin remained the language of the Bible, of religion, and of the courts of justice, only among the Catholics.

Thus partly driven from the church and the state, the speaking and writing of Latin fled to the domain of learning; it should serve as the general medium of intercourse, written, printed, and oral, among all the learned men of Europe.

It however gradually withdrew itself from this sphere also, especially at the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Burmann, in an oration at Leyden, in the year 1715, complained that, "Within a little time, the serious German nation has proceeded toward the disuse of the Latin speech, so that in university chairs and in schools only the mother-tongue is heard."

The intellectual and learned Matthias Gesner expresses himself clearly upon this subject. "In vain," he says,† "it has been held a sin to speak any thing but Latin in our universities. And yet, sixty or seventy years ago, none dared to break the rule. But when the University of Halle was founded, in 1695, some few began to violate it. The first was Christian Thomasius, who read German because he did not understand Latin. But he had quite sufficient reasons besides this for doing so. For at that time learned men spoke Latin, it is true; but after such a manner that it would have been better for them to speak German. Yes, even had Latin not been taught in the schools and universities, that language would not have been injured by it. Thus then the ignorance of Thomasius was the first reason for this change, but the second and entirely just one was that the Latin language should not come to entire destruction. It was that men of education, who understood Latin, were in favor of the use of the German, and advised in future to teach it, while the few barbarians

* "Leges sermone suo, imperium quasi præ se ferent conscriptas, imposuerunt debellatæ genti."

† "*Isagoge.*" Vol I., 102. Gesner's lectures, (*Primæ lineæ Isagoges in eruditionem universalem.*) began about 1742.

defended the use of Latin.* But the German made rapid progress, and in few years was entirely predominant. And now even royal edicts were of no more avail against the practice of teaching in German."

Life and teaching go hand in hand. When state and church no longer required the speaking and writing of Latin, it was vain to attempt to require that it should be used as the living mother-tongue by the literati.†

As in the universities, so in the schools, the use of German increased; it was soon made one of the branches of instruction.‡ Even that very school ordinance of Frankfort, of 1654, which was so strict in requiring the speaking of Latin, requires the scholars in the seventh class to "read fluently German and Latin."§ Feuerlein of Nuremberg‖ cites stronger instances. "Most people," they say, "will in future have occasion, in their spiritual or worldly employments, for the power of speaking well in German almost always, and only to the least possible extent in Latin; and yet they give almost no application to German." But they add, as if fearful that they have said too much, "notwithstanding the Latin is to be studied more than any thing else in the Latin schools, and is not to be neglected."

The Hamburg school ordinance, above quoted, goes still further.¶ The scholars must, it is true, according to it, speak good Latin; but as to the German, it is said that "the German language shall be betimes studied, both in *Quarta*, after they have been well grounded, and afterward in *Tertia*, *Secunda*, and *Prima*, as well by reading the commendation of good German books as by the practical imitation of the same in German letters, speeches, and otherwise; so that no one

* Gesner had spoken in the same way as early as 1715. "*Institutions*," p. 109.

† I say, as a living mother-tongue; for I am not speaking of the other instruction of the schools in speaking and writing Latin. Of this I shall treat hereafter. Gervinus says, l. c., 91: "At first, the chief purpose of the school comedies was strictly practical; Latin was to be practiced by the scholars, and their practice in conversation had the same design."

‡ Gervinus gives details on the way in which the German language became honored again in Germany He shows how the Society of Usefulness was, above all, the cause of it. It is worthy of observation that the first idea of this society happened when Prince Ludwig of Anhalt was attending the burial of his sister, Duchess Dorothea Maria von Weimar, in 1617. It was this same Duchess who had so zealously espoused the cause of Ratich as early as 1613, and had bestowed upon him two thousand gulden; it was this same Prince Ludwig who did so much, at his capital of Köthen, for the introduction of Ratich's plans of school organization. It was also Ratich who had said, in 1613, that it was the course of nature for boys first to learn well and fluently to read, write, and speak their mother-tongue; and in all the faculties the German language could be used. When the Society of Usefulness, in 1620, published Terence, in Köthen, in German and Latin, this, as we have shown, was brought about by Ratich; and his own school-books appeared there in the year 1619. And the question may be asked whether, if Ratich did not himself give the first impulse to the establishment of the Society of Usefulness, he was not the occasion of the movement from which it came. Comp., p. 23, remark 2.

§ P., 5.

‖ L. c., 93.

¶ L. c., 14.

shall leave the school for the gymnasium who shall not have passed a sufficient examination in pure composition in this language.

Many entertained similar opinions. Baumeister, rector at Gorlitz, says: * "It is a very harmful opinion to believe, that at school men must trouble themselves only about the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues; but that the German does not belong among the learned tongues. The example of the Romans ought to be remembered, who never dishonored their native tongue in such a way. I seek on every occasion to remove this prejudice among youth." He says further that, if they would strictly require thorough study and practice of the mother-tongue, the Germans have their classical authors as well as the Romans.

Wenzky, rector in Prenzlau,† says: "It is fitting that men should learn their own mother-tongue well, and that youth should acquire the same in the school. This principle will be acknowledged just now by many persons. If men had had regard to this in past times, there would not have been all the mortification which has been felt at seeing our greatest and most learned men make such blunders in Latin as would have been severely punished in a scholar at school."

Müller,‡ already mentioned as rector of the gymnasium at Zittau, expresses the same opinion. "Among the languages," he says, "the mother-tongue holds the pre-eminence; both because it is the model by which all other languages must be learned and judged and is the chief means by which we apply to practical use all our acqusitions. For these reasons should the German language be diligently studied in all schools, from the beginning to the end; and be made the chief instrument of the development of all the powers of the understanding."

It is a matter of astonishment that rectors of gymnasiums should have entertained such views upon the German language; for at that time it was in a state of the deepest decay. While previously there had been written a compound of German and Latin, there had lately entered into it a third element—the French; it was a truly Babelish language. The proverb "The style is the man" might apply both to the upper classes and the people. In the second half of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth century, there was apparent, in the style, the taste, and even in the opinions and character of the German men of learning, a heterogenous and intolerable mixture of stiff German-Latin erudition and pedantry with frivolous gallantry and a disgustful servilism to France.

There now began the strife between the Latin and Latin litera-

* "*Account of an Important Improvement in the Gymnasium at Görlitz.*" By F. Ch. Baumeister, rector of Görlitz Gymnasium.

† "*The Mode of Teaching Used by Georg Wenzky, Adjunct-Rector in Prenzlau,*" 1746, p. 5.

‡ L. c., 7.

ture and French and French literature. Vainglorious Frenchmen made themselves and others believe that their poets and prosemen excelled the ancient classics.* In diplomacy French unfortunately gradually took the place of Latin as the universal language of kings and princes. It had also become the language of conversation among the higher classes in German, having been introduced by the influence of the profligate Louis XIV. and the crowd of abandoned courtiers who adored him as the highest model of courtly training. The shallow and traitorous un-German admirers of this literature hoped that the French would entirely drive out the classical languages, and would even become the language of instruction at the universities.†

Is it to be wondered at that all this had an influence upon schools? "It has come to be the case," says Feuerlein, of Nuremberg,‡ "that some eminent people have exempted their sons entirely from the study of Greek." And again, "The tendency of the times is to consider a knowledge of French entirely indispensable to such persons."

The connection is evident between the exemption of the sons of these eminent people from studying Greek and the considering a knowledge of French indispensable to them.

When Sturm's gymnasium, in 1578, contained more than one thousand scholars, and among them about two hundred nobles, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes, yet all these scholars, great and small, were instructed according to one and the same plan. The Baron von Sonneck was,§ as we have seen, examined exactly like his fellow-scholars in rhetoric, Latin, and Greek. The same equality among the scholars prevailed at Trotzendorf's gymnasium, and here they even proclaimed in the school laws, He who is a scholar can no longer play the noble.‖

What honorable firmness and disregard of consequences on the

* "Among writers in that tongue, (French,) it can not fairly be denied that there were many of very finished talents; but an all but intolerable conceit obscured the excellencies of some of them. They boasted, often in a ridiculously ostentatious manner, that they only were men, that they only possessed talents," &c. Morhof, Polyhistor. I., 759.

† For the malignant and truly devilish way in which the French perverted our princes, and poisoned their morals, see Rüh's "*Historical Developments of the Influences of France and the French upon Germany and the Germans.* Berlin, 1815." A book of the greatest interest and value. Corruption of German princes, 167. French education of the young, 174. Astonishment of an *emigré* upon finding that the Princess Sophie Charlotte of Brandenburg understood German, as she usually spoke only French, 205. How French gradually came to be the language of diplomacy, 358. The work contains many other facts of the same kind. How different the custom of the Romans! "The ancient magistrates took the most watchful pains that no answer should be made to the Greeks except in Latin. So that those of that nation, being unable to use that volubility of speech on which they were accustomed chiefly to depend, were obliged to speak through interpreters." Valerius Maximus, 2, 2, 2.

‡ L. c., 118.

§ Part I., 249.

‖ "Ponit etiam personam nobilis qui induit scholastici." Ib., 216.

part of these old rectors! How rightly did they feel that in the realm of learning there is no respect for persons!

How disgusting, on the other hand, is the conduct of later rectors, who treated their noble scholars in a more respectful and entirely different manner from the others! The same France which, in the Revolution, preached a thoroughly false equality, preached, in the time of the tyranny of Louis XIV., an equally false inequality of rank, and thus pointed out the way to the later preachers of equality. This French servility to those of higher grade spread into Germany, and even infected the schools. We give a few examples of it.

Baumeister,* already mentioned as rector at Gorlitz, has an especial arrangement of lessons for the noble scholars. Greek, which the citizen scholars studied assiduously, is omitted from it. It was promised that a French teacher should be appointed. It was said that "mathematics chiefly were to be learned by nobles." The man is even not ashamed to say "We make a distinction between the children of nobles and gentlemen and those of lower birth; in part because a more intimate, loving, and trustful intercourse with their teachers is proper for them, for instruction in the manners appropriate to their rank, and in part that they may be safe from faults into which they might fall by intercourse with the others. If the children of gentlemen," he continues, "bring a tutor with them, they are not strictly required to attend the public recitations." For such lessons a nobleman paid double.

Rector Müller, of Zittau, agrees with him of Görlitz; and his programme, both in language and in matter, is made up of stiff pedantry, plastered over with a dressing of French gallantry. Modern history,† according to him, must be studied thoroughly, but other history only in a cursory manner. "We study," he says, "not for old times, but for the present. And we might well study also heraldry and genealogy." Again, "The languages of the present political world must not be neglected in the schools;" these are of practical use to "many classes of persons, especially the nobility and those about the court." Müller‡ assures patrons that in the gymnasium their children will have abundant opportunity to acquire noble and gallant studies, especially mathematics, French, Italian, and English, as well as dancing." "Yes," he continues, "if any one should be most graciously pleased to intrust their children to my own house and table, I will myself instruct them in French and dancing, in

* "*Account of the Gymnasium at Görlitz*," 28, 29, 30.

† L. c. 9, 8. At p. 29 we read, "A lecture upon history entirely modern, from 1700 down to the present time."

‡ Ib., 33.

order to have them more completely under my own observation, and when needful to give them an occasional admonition."

It was always, however, an ungrateful task for the gymnasium rectors of that time to instruct their noble scholars after the model of the French aristocracy. The purpose of the system of education, the method, the organization, and the character of the teachers of the gymnasium were all opposed to it. From the troubles arising from these sources came the practice of founding special institutions for noble youth, such as the Pædagogium at Halle, the Knights' Academy at Liegnitz, &c.

Thus we see that the schools of literature, in the century after the peace of Westphalia, assumed a character very much varied from that of those of the sixteenth century. We see that the Latin lost its place as a second mother-tongue, and that the German took its rightful one as the native and honored language; but that, in consequence of the disgusting influence of France upon our country, the French language and French education ruled our higher ranks with an unholy spell.

How deeply soever these influences had already changed the idea of the character of our literary schools, still other causes were at work to the same end.

"For a long time," writes Rector Wenzky of Prenzlau, in 1746,* "the old methods of teaching have been discontinued in most places, and others have been adopted more in accordance with the times. The object now is, though it is pursued in various ways, to instruct scholars who may be able to serve the state best in the present emergency. The times change, and the school-teachers must vary with them." We have already seen how unfortunately the times had varied. Wenzky sought especially the introduction of a multitude of new studies, and names, besides the already mentioned instruction in the mother-tongue, genealogy, heraldry, geometry, military and civil architecture, astronomy, dialing, botany, theoretical and practical philosophy, &c., &c. "I teach," he says, "how to judge of books; and show how to compose, write, examine, complete, and correct the proof of a book." "I dissuade scholars from prejudices as from irreconcilable enemies." "If one should tell me these 'subjects are too many, and the chief object, the learning of language, must be obstructed thereby;' I answer, these subjects are nevertheless all useful, and are such that the scholar must have some knowledge of all of them. Why are the arts and sciences so many?" In this strange error we see a picture of the theory of pedagogical development, of the second half of the eighteenth century, and which has

* L. c., 32.

existed down to our own times. These exercises may be described in two words: real subjects, and exercises of the understanding. We shall hereafter become sufficiently acquainted with both of them; but their real objects remined us but little of the profound views of Bacon and Comenius.

There appeared also a third element which has been named pietism, which originated with August Hermann Franckè and his school. Before I speak of this school, I must discuss the pedagogy of a man who is to be considered a follower of Montaigne and Bacon, and as a predecessor of Rousseau; the pedagogy of the Englishman Locke.

III. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF PEDAGOGY.

[Translated for this Journal, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

PROF. RAUMER introduces the third volume of his "*History of Pedagogy*" with the following remarks:—

In this third volume, I am far from wishing to put forth a system of pedagogy. I have been deeply impressed by some strong expressions of the great Bacon, against systematizers.

"The wonder of men at learning and at the arts," he says, "has been made to increase by the cunning and technical arts of those who, having studied the sciences, gave out that they were perfect in them and had brought them to completion. For when men turn their attention to systems and subdivisions, these systems seem to them to include every thing, and to contain within themselves all matter which relates to the subject. And though such system may be ill filled out, or as it were empty, still they impose upon the common understanding by the form and fashion of a perfect science. The first and oldest investigators of truth, however, with more faithfulness and good fortune, bestowed the knowledge which they had received from the observation of things, and wished to preserve for use, in the form of aphorisms, or short separate thoughts, not knit together in any method; and thus they did not feign and pretend to set forth the whole of their art."

So far Bacon. As I abide by his doctrine, and therefore do not pretend to set forth the whole extent of my subject, the reader will find, instead of a system of pedagogy, mostly descriptions of single pedagogical subjects. These, moreover, are not treated at all after any one plan. Sometimes the presentation is of a historical kind; sometimes I have considered rather the present time. Sometimes the theoretical side is most prominent, and sometimes the practical. In this I was influenced by the various characters of my subjects, by my greater or less knowledge of them, and by the mode in which they had appeared to me in learning and teaching; in short, by my own experience of them. If I had undertaken to discuss all these subjects in one and the same way, the work would have been done in a colorless, monotonous manner; and such a method would evidently have been very closely connected with the evolution of a system.

The reader here receives the first division of the third part. In the second division will be treated instruction in the subjects omitted in the first. As a conclusion of the whole work, I have thought of giving a comprehensive view of the present condition of pedagogy; and am even desirous of endeavoring to portray truly and impartially the most eminent of living teachers.

I know well how difficult is this task, and how much self-denial it implies. Perhaps an author who has entered his sixty-fifth year is better fitted for such a task than younger men, who yet are "vigorous in love and hate." It is more easy for one near the end of his life to speak of the present as if it already lay far behind him, as it soon will.

Erlangen, June 1st, 1847. KARL VON RAUMER.

We shall continue our translations from this volume until we have completed them, by the reproduction of the whole of Prof. Raumer's great work in the English language.

INTRODUCTION.

THE EARLIEST CHILDHOOD.

"Speak, that I may see thee," said a Greek.

Accordingly, the child being unable to speak, comes into the world, as it were, invisible; and long preserves the deepest incognito. All the care of the parents is bestowed upon the little helpless body; physical education is the main object. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans. The Spartans used a rude method of alleviating the task, by passing a sentence upon the new-born child, of life if its body seemed healthy, of death if not. Rousseau's doctrine was little better. "I could not trouble myself," he says, "about a sickly child, if it were to live to be eighty years old. I can not be concerned about any pupil who is a burden to himself and to those who have the care of him."

To give all the honor to the body is a coarse and brutal estimate of man. Such barbarians would not have thought worth preserving the life of Kepler, the great German astronomer, who came into the world a sickly seven months' child.

Rousseau, in his teachings as to physical education, has kept in view, as his ideal, a completely healthy North American savage; a rule which will not serve for us domesticated Europeans. But one extreme introduces another; there prevailed, for great part of the eighteenth century, especially in France, a frivolous, unnatural method even in the education of small children. We have already become acquainted with these unnatural ways: the frizzle-wigged boys, with laced coats, and swords at their sides; and the little frizzle-headed girls, with their great hoop-petticoats. By their contests against these evils, Rousseau in France and his followers in Germany, as advocates of natural principles, did great service to the cause of physical education. The extreme views which they held, as happens at every reaction, disappeared with time, and the real good remained.

To refer once more to a few points. Rousseau admonished mothers of their maternal duties, in striking terms. It is not nurses, but they themselves, who are destined to bring up their children. If they would have their children love them, they must wait upon them with efficient maternal love.* He zealously combated the abominable custom of swaddling children, as a child so swathed up can not exercise any of its limbs; and recommended cool bathing, fresh air, simple diet, and a costume permitting the freest exercise of the body.

However correct these views are in the main, it would not, as has already been said, be advisable to follow Rousseau absolutely. He is

* Gellius had already (12, 1,) laid down the same principles; as had Ernesti after him.

no physician—he even hates physicians; proceeds recklessly, and often blindly, after his Huron ideal; and is determined, either by bending or breaking, to harden the French children.*

The little work of the able physician, Hufeland, on the contrary, his "*Good Advice to Mothers, on the Physical Education of their Children*," is highly to be recommended. Intelligent mothers may safely follow his advice, particularly as to diet, where so many go astray. According to Hufeland, coffee and tea are altogether unnecessary to children; he prohibits the usual overwhelming of children in thick, soft feather-beds, and their sleeping in heated, unventilated rooms; recommending, instead, the utmost cleanliness, and especially what he calls air and water-baths.

Children do not give information; we do not see into the quiet and hidden secrets of their existence. In instruction, the most helpless scholar will receive the most assistance from the intelligent teacher. But we often have to stand in doubt and irresolution by the cradle, and to recommend our child to the care of its angel in heaven. I have known farmers' wives, who permitted their children to play in the street, without any care. And if any one drew their attention to the danger, they would say, "My child is not three years old yet—the angels take care of those." Their idea, probably, was that after the third year, when the child is more active and intelligent, it can take care of itself.

But, although the inner life of the child is a secret to us, we may be confident that its mind is no vacant space, but a place consecrated by baptism, in which are slumbering the seeds of divine gifts, which shall develop with advancing years. But let it not be imagined that the mother can do nothing for the child in the first years of its life, except in the mere matter of physical care. Is the heartfelt love which inspires this care nothing? Who knows whether it is not this love which implants the first seeds of the answering love in the child's heart? Shall, then, the dependence of little children upon their mother be only animal and selfish? Who can tell how much influence the beautiful cradle-songs of the mother have upon the child? And, above all, we believe that the intercession of the parents brings a blessing.

With the acquisition of speech, begins a new course of life for the child; and it comes out of its mysterious isolation. Learning to speak is connected with learning to walk;† and these two compre-

* For instance, Rousseau rejects Locke's admonition never to permit a child, when heated, to lie down on damp ground, or to drink cold drink.

† First, to creep. This strengthens both arms and legs. A child who learns to creep well will, as he begins to go upright, and often falls down in trying, usually come down on his hands and arms, which he has learned to use. Children who have not crept fall more awk-

hend the first elementary instruction of a child. I anticipate the question, what reason is there why children should be born dumb, and require almost a year before they can speak a word? It is because they must needs awake gradually from their deep, nine months' embryonic slumber. Light awakens the eyes, sound the ears, and in this way the senses become active, and of themselves receive impressions from the world around. This is the beginning of living, and of experience. It is when the child's impressions mature into ideas that there arises within him the need of expressing himself; words are the ripe fruit of childish experience.* It is provided that the attempt to speak shall not be made too soon, by the original influence of the organ of speech. If this is overcome, there is in most cases an end of a judicious course of learning language. Such children misuse the treasure of language, which others have laid up; and, as if ornamenting themselves with the feathers of others, they allow their thinking and speaking to be done for them.

Learning to speak is, in part, a mental process, and partly bodily. The latter portion of it is concerned with the training of the originally awkward organs of speech. Children themselves take pleasure in this practice, and very often say and repeat words and phrases for the sake of speaking. Their ears learn gradually to apprehend more accurately and fully the words pronounced before them, and thus they become able to pronounce them better.†

The mental labor of the child in learning language consists in the correct comprehension and experience of the thing to be expressed, and in the memory of the right word for it. Without any stiff, schoolmaster-like, incessant pronouncing over before him, the child observes for himself the names of things by repeatedly seeing the same things always called by the same names; cherries, for instance, always called cherries. In the same manner, he learns from grown persons words and phrases to express his inward impulses; his wishes, desires, pain, pleasure, &c.‡

The ideal to be pursued in the child's first learning to speak, is the same which should remain such all his life as a man; namely, truth; adequacy; the fullest correspondence of the thing to be expressed with that which is expressed; of the inner seeing, feeling, thinking, with the verbal language. To such a correspondence and truth we

wardly and dangerously. And still how hasty are parents in hurrying their children onward, and forcing them to walk without having crept!

* J. M. Gesner says: "The Greeks have a most valuable word. *λόγος*, with a broad significance. For it may mean either *reason* or *speech*. When the word has ripened within, then it can be spoken out. The child does not learn to speak like a parrot; it is no organized echo to return what is spoken to it. At least, it ought never to be taught, by the incessant chattering of nurses, &c., parrot-like habits of imitating such chattering."

† See the chapter on the training of the senses. ‡ See Augustin's Confessions, Lib. I., 6, 8.

should educate the child; it is this quality which characterizes the greatest poets, orators, and philosophers.

The mother usually gives the first elementary instruction in language, and may commonly be expected, proceeding in a natural manner, and with sure instinctive tact, to do what is right; while the subsequent instruction in language, by teachers who boast of using the best methods, is very often extremely fantastic, and well calculated to defile, or entirely to dry up, the deep and living sources of human language. Let him who desires to instruct mothers in this thing be cautious; let Pestalozzi's "*Book for Mothers*" be a warning example to him. Instead of intelligent mothers, eagerly, freely, and delightedly teaching their beloved children to talk, as opportunity serves, we shall have, by means of these methodologists, stiff, wooden schoolmistresses, giving methodical lessons in language to children one year old, every day at a fixed time.*

It might almost be believed that unrhythmic language is not for children, but song; which passes so magically into their hearts, and thence into their memories.

Scarcely can children speak, when many parents are at once uneasy to have them learn all sorts of things. A confused idea of education prevails, like a dusky phantom, in our day; to which many parents blindly submit, without examining whether his authority is legitimate. I shall hereafter speak more fully of this tyranny, which must bear the blame when parents induce or force their children to learn to read and write at the earliest possible moment, especially if it is too early.† "Good things take time," says the proverb. The child grows in mind as in body; unpreoccupied and intelligent attention by the teacher is necessary, in order to observe whether he is ready for any particular subject. How few exercise this observation! The farmer might put them to shame, who watches closely to see whether his

* See "*History of Pedagogy*," Vol. II., p. 411, 2d ed. I shall say more on this point when speaking of the so-called intuitional instruction.

† This haste is doubly material in a time when a celebrated pedagogue ventures to praise his widely-known system of instruction in reading, as follows:—"It makes the child conscious of his actions, by observing how he forms one or another letter by his organs of speech:"—it is designed "to direct the children's attention to their actions, by this regulated practice." This beginning is continued by instruction in "logical and æsthetical reading:" in which the reason is every where given "why the reading is to be so and not otherwise," which is called "reading with a distinct consciousness." This method is carried to such an unnatural extent, that any plain woman, who has been made to believe that she ought to teach her children to read in this way, and no other, had better quite give up instructing them at all.

I shall speak in another place of the wretched "thinking method" of teaching language, which is so utterly repugnant to the youthful nature, which dries up the very marrow, destroys the feeling for poetry, and misunderstands and despises all childlike simplicity; deifying, in its stead, a so-called "consciousness," commonly an empty form. Let us hope that the good natural character of the German youth, so hard to extirpate, can maintain a strong opposition to this unreasonable training in self-consideration and self-management, until their teachers' eyes shall be opened to their exceedingly unnatural theory and proceeding.

colt is strong enough to carry saddle and bridle. If he errs, and harnesses him in too early, the beast is worked beyond his strength; and I have with grief known more than one boy broken down by similar untimely and excessive labor. The farmer knows but one mode of bringing his poor beast to his strength again; he looses him, and turns him into the green meadows. I know of no better mode of restoring a boy, so broken down, than a similar vacation in the country.

The child therefore must not too soon proceed from hearing to reading, from speaking to writing. He should at first be kept within the region of the living voice (*vox viva.*) In his mother he should love and respect his only source of tales, songs, &c.; she will speak to him in an appropriate style. Even the Bible must. at first, not be read by the child, but must be narrated to him in a free style. Telling and listening form a beautiful bond of affection between mother and child; while, when he begins to learn to read, he often turns his back to his mother, sets himself down in a corner and devours books.

While I must oppose this intellectual hothouse forcing of children, there is another matter which many parents, led astray by Rousseau and his sect, put off far too long. Our pious forefathers used to teach their youngest children to pray, and to know edifying Bible-texts and hymns. A child's heart finds, in prayer, the life of its life; and the deep impression never fades, and consecrates its whole existence, even until death. Yet these illuminati arose, inquiring, What can a child think about the names of God and Christ?—and children's prayers were in many families discontinued.* Would to God that grown persons, with all their so-much-praised "consciousness," were as capable of deep and heartfelt prayer, and of trust in their heavenly father, as children whom a pious mother has taught to pray! But unless grown persons become like children, they can not so pray; and men would destroy even this strength of feeble children!

I shall hereafter discuss the beginnings of various branches of instruction.

INFANT SCHOOLS.

The farmers' wives in a Silesian village, in the year 1817, at the suggestion of an excellent landlord, contrived an agreement that, during harvest-time, when they were busy in the fields, one and another should take turns in remaining in the village and taking care of all the children. The plan was certainly very praiseworthy and intelligent, and to be recommended in all similar cases; *e. g.*, when a number of mothers are occupied in washing or factory labor—in short, wherever there is the same occasion.

* See Rousseau and Philanthropinum, in "*History of Education*," Vol. II., pp. 258, 301.

Though there are many infant schools which did not originate in this necessity, still the idea is closely related to them.

The bond of affection which connects the members of a family is, at the present time, continually slackening. Father, mother, children, each have their own views, and follow their own paths. Every thing which aids in this unfortunate dissolution and scattering of families should be carefully avoided. Pestalozzi felt this deeply. To him the family sitting-room was so holy that he even opposed sending children to school at an early period, and would have the first elementary instruction confided to the mother. It would seem as if the infant schools contemplated the opposite of this, and were school-rooms instead of home-rooms.

Attendance at the infant school by children, whose mothers remain at home and are not obliged to labor elsewhere for their support, should ordinarily not be allowed; certainly not encouraged. I say this of children under six years of age—of those not arrived at school age, and whose mothers would therefore not be expected to instruct them, but only to give them maternal care and protection. To whom else, in God's name, than mothers should that duty be intrusted; and who would venture to perform it, uncalled?

Such are my views; and I hope that they will, in general, be accepted. Still I must confess with pain that, at the present day, the exceptions to the rule increase. Our day is a day of succedanea. A succedaneum, accordingly, must be had for a large class of mothers; especially for unnatural mothers. But it may be objected, where is the use of saying that mothers ought to be so and so, and of turning away from what is actually practicable? When so many mothers fulfill their maternal duties so ill that they rather injure their children in all ways, shall not every one, in whom there remains one spark of Christian sympathy, lay hold and save all that can be saved? Shall we not at least bring these poor children, for a few hours daily, into a better and purer physical and intellectual atmosphere, so as to give them more strength to resist a corrupted atmosphere for the rest of the time? Will not such a mode of proceeding perhaps afford the means of acting upon the mothers themselves, and of bringing them into a better way?

Who could oppose to such applications of the principles of love a mere stiff adherence to what ought to be? Only so far would we adhere strictly to principles and rules, especially the fundamental laws of divine and human order, as to avoid the danger of becoming so estranged from them and accustomed to our substitutes as at last to think these absolutely right. We would rather use all possible means to aid in re-establishing those ancient and obsolete laws, and a pious and honorable family life.

There is a second thought, which I can not avoid expressing; it relates to the mode in which the unhappy condition of these children is to be remedied. The problem is one of the most difficult of the art of education; and but few men have the gifts which enable them to pass many hours a day with a crowd of little children in a natural, childlike manner, without affected childishness, and to do the right thing every moment, with assured tact, and without uncertain and uneasy meddling.

But what are the consequences of failure in this direction? I may be excused if, at the risk of going too far, I present a sketch of the errors which in such a case are probable, and which have sometimes actually happened.

Children not yet of school age are collected together in a schoolroom. If they were taken into an inclosed meadow in the woods, where they could play at making sand-houses, their instructor would have scarcely any thing to do except to keep an eye upon their lively, unwearied, and mostly innocent fancies; indeed, he would scarcely have any thing at all to do.

What a task is it, on the other hand, to preserve from weariness, to oversee and govern a crowd of children shut up together in a room! A mother can often scarcely get along with only four or five children; and has to require the help of the older ones.

A method has unfortunately been invented of meeting the exigency; but how? The poor children, who would otherwise have enjoyed a vacation up to their sixth year, and thus would have suffered no weariness, have to sit still on benches and at desks, and study. Although it may be said that this is only an introduction to the school, it is nevertheless itself a school. When a good mother at home repeats or sings a stanza to her children until they can say it or sing it after her, this is harmless private teaching and learning. But how different is the proceedings in such schools where a multitude of little children learn, repeat, and sing by rote and simultaneously!

Many teachers suppose that they must drill the children in order to bring them forward. Invisible, quiet development is indifferent to them. And even if we confess that the same indifference apparently prevails here and there in the public which supports such schools, still they will see the fruits of their support of them, even if these are apples of Sodom—rosy outside, but within dead ashes. Woe to those teachers who only endeavor to make a show of these little ones, and in them of their own skill; who aim to make them, at public examinations, or even before any visitors, sing, declaim, and even pray with theatrical and affected manner, at their age so unnatural and repulsive! Thus is instilled into these lamentable little creatures

a poison which remains with them all their lives; an utterly unfeeling and hateful vanity. Thus are produced children who take no pleasure in verses and stories, but only in the praises which they can obtain by telling them with acquired and drilled naturalness; who are rolling their eyes about even while they are praying before the company; while the last trace is gone from them of that devotion which a pious child feels when his pious mother hears him repeat his evening prayer, before he goes to sleep in his little chamber.

It would be better than this even to have the children grow up in the streets and squares, in sight of the whole city.

I ask excuse for the foregoing. It may be considered as a caricature, drawn by way of warning. Yet it is certain that its features were not composed from imagination.

It is, I repeat, a difficult task to conduct an infant school. Aside from the numerous external difficulties, the place requires men who, besides great christian humility, and heartfelt love for children, do what is right and true in all simplicity, hate pretense, and without being led astray by experiments and controversies will walk and act as quietly and unobtrusively as possible, conscientiously, and as if in the sight of God.

The Lord has already sent many pious laborers, who are working unweariedly in the field. He will carry forward the work of his hands. He has pronounced heavy curses against those who offend children; and will give blessings equally great to those who save their souls from death. The mistakes, errors, and even faults, which have appeared in various places, should not betray us into looking only at the dark side of these institutions; although we would not shut our eyes to their faults; since we desire that they should be recognized and cured, and that this important work may from day to day become purer and more pleasing to God.

SCHOOL AND HOME.

The child attains the school age in his sixth or seventh year; at which time new relations arise, namely, those between the child and the parent on one side, and the teacher on the other. Hitherto his parents' house has been the central point of the child's existence; now it is the school. Education is the object at home, and instruction at school.

In simple communities, the father can be the teacher of his boys; especially when the latter are brought up in and for the father's calling. But if the son does not follow that calling, or if the extent of the matters to be learned is larger, or if those matters have little or nothing in common with the occupation of the father, the teacher

becomes a necessity. Thus there comes to exist a special class of teachers, as by the progress of division of labor the various other professions and occupations have been originated.

Of the teacher is required a definite amount of knowledge and skill, a thorough acquaintance with certain sciences and arts, and particularly a mastery of the art of teaching—the art of awakening in the young the love of these arts and sciences, and of communicating them to them.

The relations between the parents and the teacher are most important; as a constant co-operation is necessary. The father should ask the teacher, How does my son go on at school? and the teacher again should ask the father, How does he conduct at home? Thus will be established the most healthy species of influence; which will bring the boys, particularly the insubordinate ones and the real good-for-nothings, between two fires.

Parents and teachers must treat each other with respect, especially before the children. In no case should either of them speak criticisingly, contemptuously, or inimically of the other, before them. Great errors are committed in this particular by injudicious parents, who treat the teacher like a hired servant, who is bound to govern himself by their views—usually narrow—and prejudices. They find fault in the presence of the children with the instruction or the strict discipline of the teacher, and even say that the tuition-fee is altogether too large. Will the children obey, respect, and love persons of whom, and even to whom, such things are said?

My own parents impressed upon their children unconditional love and respect for their teacher. But my father once violated his own rule in an instance apparently quite unimportant. He found fault in my presence with the mode in which my teacher made pens. This trifling blame made me for the first time entertain doubts of my teacher's perfection.

ALUMNEA.—PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

Elementary instruction is provided for, in every village of moderate size, by a common school. Small towns have also schools in which the rudiments of Latin are taught; but only the large towns have gymnasia, which afford a complete preparation for the university. It is therefore only in the large towns that the relation which we have sketched between school and house can continue while the boys are receiving the higher grade of school instruction. Many fathers of families, as for instance landed proprietors and clergymen, live in the country, or at small villages; how are such to secure for their children, if destined to a course of learned study, the higher gymnasium instruction? To secure it, I say, because cases are so unusual where

such a father himself affords the whole course of school instruction, from the elementary up to entrance into the university, as scarcely to need notice. Where they do not do this, however, they must either send away their son to the place where the gymnasium is established, or must place him at a private establishment, or must employ a tutor at home.

In the former of these cases, it has always been a great evil that the father usually finds it difficult to obtain a good place of abode for his son, and to find a man who will receive him into his family as if one of his own children, and exercise a like conscientious care over his education. It is besides also beyond the parents' means to pay the expenses of their children's board.

To obviate this difficulty, there have been established, at many gymnasia, *Alumnea*, in which children from other places live together under supervision; and the establishment of the Saxon and Wirtemberg cloister-schools was for the same purpose. The mode of life in these Alumnea was very different from the previous life of the boys at home; indeed, there was no distinct aim to supply the place of family life. There was wanting, above all, a housewife—a housemother. The liberty of the Alumnists was much circumscribed of necessity, on account of their number. In the Alumneum of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium, at Berlin, where the author was an Alumnus from 1798 to 1801, no pupil might leave the house for more than a quarter of an hour without a written permission, signed by the inspector, which he presented to the door-keeper. We were awakened at a fixed time, and the lights were to be extinguished at a fixed time. Every thing had the character of the discipline of a strict father; a character no longer in agreement with our freedom-loving age. I do not wish to be understood that there was no opposition among the Alumnists to this strictness, nor that there were not manifold evasions of the legal regulations.

The instruction, like the discipline, was mostly on the ancient plan. If any thing new was introduced at any time, with cautious selection, it was done as quietly as possible, so that we scholars scarcely observed it; there was not the remotest, slightest approach to innovation or charlatanry.

The private institutions for education were precisely the opposite of the Alumnea. They have mostly risen up in Germany and Switzerland, within the last seventy years, since the establishment of the Dessau Philanthropinum. This institution sought new objects, opposite in nature to the old, and thus came in conflict with the schools already existing, which adhered to the old plan. After this time, any one who desired to promote the new system was obliged to seek

to do it either at his own risk, by establishing a private institution, or by joining himself to one already existing under it; and parents of the same views placed their children at such an institute, and supported it by their payments for tuition.

It is not to be denied that the old-fashioned schools were conservative in excess, and even to obstinacy; and that they often rejected any thing new, even when it was good. Many private institutions made a beneficial opposition to this excessive tenacity. They experimented with devotion to the cause of progress, and the results were of service to the old-fashioned schools, which imitated their success and avoided their failures. Many private institutions might be named, which in this manner exercised a most healthful influence. Others of them are enterprises which are entitled to gratitude, because they took the place of public schools which had disappeared, and disappeared as soon as they resumed their places. Many of them were called cities of refuge for orphan children, and others whose own faults or other means had brought into a necessitous condition. Such is the bright side of the private institutions; let us now look at their dark side.

If the old-fashioned schools were too conservative, the private institutions showed themselves to be, on the other hand, too progressive; inclined to innovation. This was clearly exemplified in the case of the Philanthropinum; which despised the wisdom of previous centuries, and proposed to fashion all things anew. They pulled up wheat and tares together. This fault, it is true, many modest and judicious principals endeavored to shun. But such teachers, by trying to satisfy the excessive requirements both of the old and new periods, only overworked themselves and their pupils, in their endeavor to accomplish impossibilities, without being thanked for it. It is evident how much such experimenting must have injured the pupils intrusted to them.

The private institutions were designed to identify the school and the house. The school assimilated itself to the family life, and brought the latter under its roof; the principal, who received the boarders into his family, representing both the teacher and the father of the family. Thus wielding the double scepter of school and home, it was thought that he could not fail, as every thing was under his hand, to conduct every thing without any divisions, and in unity of spirit.

But this was an error. He represented the father of a family, but was not it; and, in like manner, he only represented the rector of the school, without really being such.

It is easy to explain why he was not actually the father of such a

family. The very number of the children rendered a domestic and affectionate family life impossible, even though the director should have the services of the most conscientious, industrious, and kind-hearted of housekeepers. Nor can the director, even with the utmost good will, embrace each child separately in his affections; he must manage them as a body, and what father manages his children as a body?

And though he were able to embrace them all in his heart, still that is not the heart of a father; even granting him the utmost good will, it is only a substitute for the love which God plants in the heart of a father. And the children, collected from the most various families, are doubly destitute of childish love for the director. They feel themselves as it were in exile—banished from their parents' houses; and they compare their present life with their previous life at home, finding nothing right, and every thing hateful and oppressive. And even if they become gradually accustomed, their liking remains but lukewarm, and it is only seldom that they acquire a real love for the new state of things, and then their previous condition must have been quite bad.

Private schools, moreover, are frequently under the necessity of receiving pupils who do well nowhere; or who are excluded from other schools for deficiency in intellect. And, although parents and guardians ought to describe the children they bring just as they are—as worthless or ignorant if they are so—yet the contrary practice prevails, and they are silent about their faults and conceal them, especially their secret ones; and, after all, they charge the institution with all the ignorance and badness of their children. It is well-advised, therefore, that pupils, at entering, should be examined in the presence of their parents, that the results should be set down in a protocol, and the protocol signed by the parent or guardian.

It is a common delusion that the director of a private school is free; having no authorities to limit him and prescribe laws to him. Instead of school authorities, who may honorably be obeyed, there are many parents and guardians who take upon themselves to prescribe, in all possible matters, to the director what and how he shall teach, how his table shall be managed, &c. Woe to him, if he promises to comply with every thing; if he lacks the necessary judgment and firmness to meet all these requirements in a proper manner.

These assumptions have usually a very vulgar origin; namely, the idea that the instructor depends upon their favor, as if they were his official superiors. If he does not obey them, they threaten to take away

their children.* And they tell them, even in the teacher's presence, to be very industrious, because they cost so much money. Such admonitions naturally make the children think that the teacher is supported by them, and can not exist without them. Is that the position of a father of a family?

Want of a capital to begin upon, and dependence upon payments for board, has a bad influence upon private teachers. One who desires a permanent situation prefers a place in a public school to one in a private institution. The latter affords no certain support, and he can not think of marrying in reliance upon it. And even if his income is sufficient on one day, what assures him, with his sliding-scale of boarders, that it will be sufficient to-morrow? The consequence is, that in the private institutions we usually find only young teachers, who have just come from the university. These make experiment of their gift for teaching upon the pupils. As soon as they ascertain that their ability is good, they begin to desire some position elsewhere, which will assure them a certain income. In this only the more incapable teachers are usually disappointed, and thus they remain for years burdens upon the schools; while the abler ones find situations. Thus there is almost never established, in a private institution, a corps of teachers with the skill of years of practice and experience. But it is not only the desire of a sure maintenance which drives off the teachers; there is a second reason—the almost intolerable burden of labor. The gymnasium teacher has the time of his evenings to himself, as soon as the regular school-hours are over; but not so with the teachers in a private school. He must continue his supervision of the boys at table, at play, and even through the night, if he sleeps with them. He has no time to breathe; and one can scarcely endure such a burden, unless he has a not overscrupulous conscience. The principal is worst tormented of all. Besides instruction and supervision, he has many other duties: correspondence with the parents, the housekeeping management, the general care of the whole institution, &c. And these burdens are doubly oppressive because he is not governing in the strength of an official appointment. And such a man, beset day and night, is expected at the same time to be a cheerful, friendly, loving father to a multitude of strangers' children, and to maintain the tone and atmosphere of a pleasant family life!

He is even expected to do more than this. He is expected to be rector, and to maintain discipline among the mass of children. Thus he has two inconsistent occupations, and this inconsistency—that of

* An honorable and conscientious teacher must meet these vulgar assumptions with the most distinct *sint ut sunt aut non sint*—things must be as they are, or not at all—at the risk of having his school entirely deserted.

family life and school discipline—runs through the whole institution. If the former is the prevailing element, the strict discipline and order, which are so healthful and beneficial to the child, suffer; and if the latter, there is from morning to night a stiff regulation-movement to play, meals, sleep; every thing has the impress of the rules upon it. This is intolerable to intelligent and active boys; and they try to get free air for themselves by constant opposition to the incessant pressure of the stupifying legal code. And this very opposition often causes the teacher to still greater strictness.

Thus there is a vacillation between a corporeal despotism, which would assimilate the school to a barrack, and a so-called family life, which would resolve itself into lawless anarchy.

Having thus displayed the dark side of the private schools, I gladly turn once more to the other.

It should first be observed that it would be very unjust to charge that all parents and guardians of pupils at such schools are such as have been described. At all the institutions which have been known by me, there have always been fathers, mothers, and guardians, who have been sincerely thankful for every thing which has been for the good of their children. And there were also many among the children, who felt and recognized the honest and disinterested exertions of the teacher for them. And even those to whom their life at the institution was not pleasant, often in after years sincerely thanked the teachers for what they had done for them.

Intelligent parents and good children influence the others, and strengthen the teacher in his difficult calling. Such parents are far from entertaining that foolish notion that the teacher, in return for their tuition-fee, is their servant, and must fall in with their wishes in every thing.

If the teachers of a private school are respectable men, free from interested motives, kind and conscientious, and if the parents of the children are liberal-minded, and place full confidence in such teachers, many of the evils which we have described will disappear. The pupils, after the example of their parents, will confide in the teachers, and good feeling will prevail in the school.

TUTORS.

Parents who love their children sincerely find it very hard, at so early an age, and under such circumstances as have been described, to send their children away from them, and to intrust them to an Alumneum or a private institution. They have remaining, in such a case, the alternative of employing a private tutor, who shall educate their children jointly with them, and who shall have entire charge of the department of instruction, and thus supply the place of the

school. This is the business of the tutor in the country; in the city, however, he will usually have charge only of the supervision and education of the boys, who will attend some school, receiving additional private lessons.

To consider more in detail the task of the tutor. And, firstly, as to instruction: the duties of the city tutor are in this respect much the lightest; as he will have only to supervise the boys during their studies at home, and to assist them wherever necessary. In this position it is difficult always to observe a proper medium, so as to avoid—if a somewhat colloquial form of expression may be admitted—making a personified asses' bridge of one's self. If the study of self-taught persons is often an oppressively severe task, that of the scholar, who is always assisted, is too easy. By always depending upon external aid, he loses the right control of his faculties, which alone will bring him to a proper independence.

The country tutor must instruct in all studies; he must be a whole school in himself. He must understand and be able to practice whatever he is to teach; and he must do still more. Even a master of any subject does not thereby become a master in teaching it; many virtuosos might be named, who could not teach their science or art.

It may be said that, as the art of swimming must be learned by swimming, so the art of teaching must be taught by teaching. This is very true; but still, each of these arts has rules and modes of operating, a knowledge of which can be acquired before proceeding to the practice of them, although the right understanding and practical knowledge of them is only to be acquired by actual practice.

Candidates in theology and philology are usually tutors. They have seldom, while at the university, made any special preparation for the place, and do not know what its difficulties are. They frequently imagine that, because they can read and reckon, they can teach both of those studies; and even delude themselves as to the clearness and certainty of their knowledge and ability in them. Experience is necessary before one can know how teaching brings the teacher to the right estimation of his knowledge; that is, how it cures him of an overestimate of it, and humbles him.

Most of what is to be taught, it will be necessary not merely to be practically master of, nor scientifically to understand, but both. The teacher must conjoin clear theoretical knowledge and practical skill. An apparently ready arithmetician undertook, rashly, to teach the rudiments of arithmetic. He soon found out, for the first time, that he was destitute of any true knowledge of the essentials of the four ground rules, especially of division; and thus convinced himself that he could not teach properly without that knowledge.

If the tutor is likely to make such a discovery as this on subjects which he has diligently studied at school and university, the case will be still worse when he undertakes to instruct on subjects which he has studied and practiced only superficially, or not at all. Such are drawing, singing, piano-playing, gymnastics, geography, and natural history; departments of especial importance for a teacher in the country.*

Any person, therefore, who is proposing to become a tutor, should use the opportunities afforded him at the university to ground himself more thoroughly, and increase his readiness in the studies which he pursued at school, and to learn also much more. And even if the theological student has no design of becoming a tutor, he should have a reason for such a course of study, aside from the noble motive of self-cultivation. If he afterward becomes a pastor, he will commonly have the supervision of a country or city school. In this event he must become acquainted with the subjects and the method of school instruction; in order to which, he needs to prepare himself almost in the same manner as for a place as tutor. The fact that this has always been neglected by the great majority of theological students has done much to promote the unhappy division between church and school. Teachers feel it to be unjust that they are under the supervision of clergymen who have made themselves acquainted neither with the theory nor the practice of teaching, while they themselves have labored assiduously for years in preparing themselves for their vocation. I am aware that many teachers protest against subordination to the clergy from quite other and improper motives; but they are right in demanding of the school-inspector an acquaintance with the subjects and methods of school instruction.

But to return to the subject of the tutor. In the country, he must teach, singly, what all the teachers of a school teach together. To make up for this great field of subjects of instruction, he has been encouraged by the consideration that, to compensate for it, he has fewer children, perhaps but one or two, to instruct. But this is a poor comfort. It is true that to instruct a class of seventy or a hundred scholars is a task to which no one ever felt himself competent who was seriously desirous of teaching, in the true sense of the word. But an opposite extreme brings with it an opposite disadvantage to the teacher. This is, that nothing could be more irksome than to sit six or eight hours daily opposite two pupils, and to instruct them without cessation. The case is the same as in gymnastics. What would the teacher of gymnastics do if his class at leaping, for instance, consisted of only one or two? He can not keep these two

* The study of French is especially to be recommended to those who would oppose the excessive valuation of this language; so that it need not be said that they can not judge of it, because they do not understand it.

jumping incessantly; they would very soon be exhausted. But, if he has a class of fifteen, each, after his exercise, rests and looks on at fourteen others before his own turn comes again.

The case is generally similar in mental training. Suppose a class of fifteen are studying the Æneid. The scholar who is reciting has to make a much greater mental effort than the rest; but, when he is through, he only listens while the other fourteen recite, until his turn comes round again. And it is precisely this alternation of the productive and receptive mental activity, in speaking and hearing, which is most profitable to the pupil.

It is, therefore, to be recommended to the tutor that, wherever practicable, he should, when the case requires it, have a few pupils joined with his own, who will certainly gain by it. No parents could object to this plan, except such as consider that, if the tutor should instruct their boy only, his whole powers would act on them; but, if he should teach four others, only one-fifth of them.

It is also said that the tutor has an easy time, as long as the children are quite young—having to give them only elementary instruction. This again is poor consolation; for this is the most difficult instruction to give. It is certainly more difficult to communicate the right rudiments, in the right way, of arithmetic, Latin, &c., than to study algebra and read Cicero *De Officiis* with a boy of fifteen, already practiced in them.

Having thus considered the task of the tutor in respect to instruction, let us look at his duties in disciplining.

In instruction he is usually unrestricted, and regulates it as he chooses; but he must administer discipline in conjunction with the parents. And the discipline will be successful only when they labor in harmony with him. If this harmony is wanting, the blame is sometimes due to the tutor, sometimes to the parents, sometimes to both.

Until the first employment of a tutor, the parents are usually the only educators of their children. It often happens that the tutor, at first entering upon his office, lays claim to sole authority. This is as much as to tell the parents to their face, You do not understand this affair; let me transact it alone—and this too from a person who has usually not even made an experiment in education. Before he makes such a demand he should have made proof of his capacity by his effect upon the children; and, if he has done this, he will usually not need to make any demand—the authority will fall to him of itself.

This misunderstanding with tutors just beginning their work is especially probable when the tutor is a Christian, and the parents decidedly worldly. In a situation so full of temptations and troubles as this, it is extraordinarily difficult to do well by the children in every

case, or to carry through, with firmness and mildness, any measure requiring uncommon wisdom. The tutor, in such cases, must be careful not to set up a rigid system, grounded not on God's Word but on his own determination, nor the wearisome, painful, and presumptuous formalities of a false pietism; for the gospel will win no hearts by such measures. A seriousness based on strong faith, which is by no means inconsistent with unconstrained cheerfulness, is not at all repulsive; but the case is very different with that ill-humored frame of mind which is always uneasy, out of temper, and displeased with every thing, and which even by its silence passes sentence of condemnation.

This is one error with which a Christian tutor in a worldly family may fall; the other is gradually to become worldly himself. Especially should he beware of becoming so accustomed to the high style of life in a family of high position that it is a necessity to him, and that afterward he will be utterly miserable in a little village parsonage, always longing for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and for what is called cultivated society. He should, therefore, while employed as tutor, find time to attend upon the sick and the poor, and especially on poor children; in order not to become entirely estranged from the occupations of his future life. If, at the conclusion of his engagement as tutor, his employer should offer to present him the place of clergyman of his village, he should be careful lest he play the part of a mere chaplain and guest of his patron, and neglect the congregation intrusted to his charge.

A Protestant tutor can not easily exert a profound religious influence upon Catholic children. He can not accommodate himself to Catholicism; and, if he does not do this, but gives Protestant religious instruction without regard to consequences, this is in fact nothing but a proselytism which is inconsistent with honesty. The same is true of a Catholic tutor in a Protestant family.

Thus much of the duties of a tutor: I shall pass rapidly over those of the parents. I discuss the points under this head in my chapters on early childhood, religious instruction, relations of parents to public and private teachers, and of training generally. To the remarks offered in those places I will add a few words on the relations of the parents to the tutor.

They must, firstly, be cautious in selecting; but, having selected, according to the best of their conscience and knowledge, they must then put confidence in the employed, and not cramp and discourage him by captious misunderstandings. In general, the tutor will command more and more confidence as he approves himself; and it is a matter of course that he has one or another fault or weak side. But if his fault is not one that entirely unfits him for his office, it must be

borne with patiently; and the patience of the tutor will, in like manner, be exercised by the parents. Those parents fare worst who require a perfect tutor; and who try one candidate after another, dismissing them for slight reasons. Such a constant change has a most unfavorable effect on the children.

Parents who employ tutors belong commonly to the educated classes. It ought, therefore, to be a thing of course that they respect the men to whom they intrust the children whom they love, and that they show this respect every where, especially before his pupils. But, unhappily, this is not always the case. Who does not know how often it is the case that the pride of wealth or birth looks down as if from a higher sphere upon the tutor, and considers and treats him little better than a servant? And the children are expected to respect a person thus treated! and a man is to educate them to whom, after the example of their parents, they consider themselves far superior, both in wealth and birth!

Feasting, balls, theaters, and play are the usual diversions of the higher classes. If an intelligent tutor remonstrates plainly against the participation of the children in such dissipations, the parents ought to listen to him, and not to require that both the children and he himself should take part in them.

Thus we have discussed the various difficulties which may arise between the tutor and the parents of his pupils—difficulties, unhappily, only too common. We may now, with propriety, inquire after the ideal of such a relation undisturbed by them. Such a one will exist where the tutor is a decidedly Christian man, cultivated, fond of children, and master of the art of teaching.

"Well is that house where Jesus Christ
  Alone the all in all is thought;
And where, if He should absent be,
  All earthly good would be as naught!

"Well, when the husband, wife, and child
  In faith and truth are joined as one;
When all accord in earnest zeal
  That God's commands shall all be done.

"Well, when before the observant world
  They set a good example forth;
And show that where the heart is wrong,
  All outward works are nothing worth."

Such a house is built upon a rock; peace dwells within it, and the blessing of God rests upon the children, who are trained up in unison by parents and tutor, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. And thus also are the right foundations laid of all higher training in science and art.

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IV. RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

[Translated from Raumer's "*History of Pedagogy*," for the American Journal of Education.]

THE sacred charge of the seeds of the new birth rests upon the parents. The mother must pray* for the child, and teach it as early as possible to pray, in order that prayer may become a second nature. It has already been observed that a man seldom prays with as full confidence in being heard as a pious child in his undoubting simplicity. Our old morning and evening-hymns contain stanzas which are entirely proper to be used by children as prayers.† He may add to such stanzas his own prayers and requests; and no surprise should be shown if these should contain some strange and even comical matters; for what seems comical to us grown persons is sacred seriousness to the child. The mother must also first make the child acquainted with the Bible. A good old-fashioned picture-bible serves to demonstrate its stories. I say an old one, for few of the modern ones are of any value. That of Kügelgen, which is much the best of these, extends, I believe, no further than Genesis; and, if completed, would be too expensive for most families. The Hildburghäusen Picture-Bible, again, begins with a quite unsuitable picture of Paradise. To paint the paradise of innocence requires a chaste and innocent mind.

Among the old picture-bibles, that of Christoph Weigel, of which repeated editions have appeared, is to be recommended.‡ This is not because they possess any remarkable artistic merit, and their execution is mostly of very moderate excellence; but, nothwithstanding these technical faults, the designer had a vivid fancy, and therefore made pictures which stimulate the fancy of children.

Older brothers and sisters will readily show the pictures to their

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* Augustin says of his excellent mother, Monica, "Thy maid-servant, who bore me beneath her heart to bring me into this life, but within her heart to bring me into everlasting life." Conf., 9, 8; 9, 9.

† See "*Spiritual Songs*," (*Geistliche Lieder.*) 2d ed. Stuttgart, S. G. Liesching. 845. For morning-prayers for children, see Nos. 154, 155, and 157—160. For evening-prayers, Nos. 162—168.

‡ I possess two editions One, without date, has the title "*Sacra Scriptura loquens in Imaginibus. . . . By Christoph Weigel, artist in Nuremberg.*" With text. The other, without text, is called "*Biblia Ectypa. Pictures from the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, by Christoph Weigel, copperplate engraver in Augsburg*, 1695."

This I wrote four years since. Since that time Cotta has announced a picture-bible, to which Schnorr is to contribute. I saw, as early as 1836, his remarkably-excellent illustrations of the Old Testament, of the history of creation, &c. The illustration of Joshua 5, 13—15 impressed me deeply.

juniors, and describe the contents to them. In this way both one and the other soon become firmly grounded in the Bible; a matter of importance both to boys and girls. It has already been said that the mother should not read the stories, word for word, out of the Bible, to very young children, but should tell them in her own way; for the style of the Bible is too unaccustomed to these, who need milk for food.

But if the child has learned to read, and is able to become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures by reading, he should be taken at once to the original sources, not referred to the so-called biblical stories. It is now time so to accustom the children to the sacred style of the Bible, which knows nothing of rhetorical ornament, that they will early acquire a taste for its divine originality, and for its great difference in character of style from all the works of human rhetoric.

Shall children read the whole Bible? At first, certainly not. But what shall be omitted? What can be left out without injuring the connection, and making it obscure? The best course on this point is to use books whose authors have felt the utmost piety toward the Bible, and who have made extracts from it, word for word, as far as possible, for the use of beginners. Zahn's "*Biblical History*" is particularly to be recommended.*

Care should be had not to regard as unsuitable for children such books of the Bible as they may happen especially to like, and in their simple way to understand better than many grown persons. Among the prophets, for instance, they are especially fond of Daniel, his visions, the stories of the three men in the fiery furnace, and of the den of lions. It should not be said that the children do not understand the Bible. The child has one understanding, and the man another; just as the artist has one very different from that of the learned commentator. And still Palestrina and Handel understood the 53d chapter of Isaiah better than Gesenius.

It is an old question, what is to be done respecting those accounts in which the relations of the sexes are handled without fig-leaves. Except the Mosaic law, which ought not to be read at all,† there are very few accounts which should be omitted.‡ And if in any ordinary reading it is thought best to omit any part, it should be done in such a manner as not to make the children doubly attentive to the omitted part, and then go and read it for themselves. It is by the emasculated editions of Horace that boys learn most easily to find the obscene odes, &c., in complete copies.

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* "*Biblical History, by F. L. Zahn. With a preface by Tholuck. Dresden*, 1831." (*Biblische Geschichte von F. L. Zahn.*)

† With few exceptions; as, for instance, Levit., xix., 1—18.

‡ Perhaps Gen., xix., 30—38; xxxiv., xxxviii.; 2 Sam., xiii.; Lot's Daughters; Dinah; Judah; Tamar and Amnon.

Above all, it should be remembered that it is not so much the subject of an account which is corrupting in itself, as it is the impure mind of the narrator which corrupts and poisons the reader. Even in these brief biblical narratives, which are impure in themselves, there appears plainly the austere, divine, and strict purity of the perfectly Holy Scriptures. Are we to consider it mere chance that the story of Judah's incest is immediately followed by that of Joseph's God-fearing chastity? David's adultery brought the curse upon his house, and brought after it the incest of Amnon and Absalom. The truly brutal crime of Amnon is described in a few words of fearful truth. (2 Sam., xiii., 15.)

Truly, God is not a tempter to evil, but the truest monitor against it. Sooner or later, the Bible may with confidence be put in the hands of the young. But their elders, who have with humility and earnestness penetrated the meaning of the book—father, mother, minister, or teacher—must advise them during their reading, especially when they are in doubt, at any place where they are liable to be led astray.*

It may also be inquired in what order the Bible must be read; whether in the order in which it stands, beginning with Genesis and coming afterward to the New Testament? I think not. Children should first become acquainted with the Gospel, and proceed thence to Moses and the prophets. After reading the two first chapters of Luke and Matthew, they may take Genesis and the other historical books, alternately with the Psalms and selections from the prophets. The Old Testament prepares them for the coming of Christ; it is, indeed, one great prophecy of the Saviour, whether typical by persons and religious ceremonies, or in the express words of the prophets. No one, who has diligently read the Bible from youth, and with an honest mind, will be so foolish as to say that the Old Testament is of no importance, and to boast of confining himself to the New.

When the connection is clear, prophecy and history may be conjoined. In the course of repeated readings of the Bible, the prophecies and evangelists in particular should be read in connection; as, for instance, Isaiah, ix., 53, with the gospels for Christmas and the Passion.

Sooner or later a Christian must take a general view of the whole Bible, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, from the creation to the end of all things. God is the Alpha—such is the substance of the first

* Astonishing misinterpretations of the Bible prevail among the people, who even cite texts in defense of their sins. The distribution of the Bible can, therefore, never render the ministerial office superfluous. The people need profound and pious interpreters of the Holy Scriptures, especially in our own times, when evil-minded interpreters are seeking, by every means, to lead them astray.

chapter of the Bible. God is the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, who is and was and is to come, the Almighty—such is the oft-repeated lesson of the last book of the Bible, the Revelation of John; and these lessons are the foundation of all our faith and hope.

Thus the Bible appears as a history of the world from the beginning to the end; from its first creation to that future renewal of it which is to begin with the coming of Christ.

With the reading of the Bible may very early be joined the learning, by rote, of the smaller Lutheran catechism. Luther himself, in his preface, has given most excellent directions for using it.

Many of the catechisms which appeared subsequently were expansions or explanations of the smaller Lutheran catechism, and collections of applicable biblical references. Some of them are useful only for the teacher, as the larger Lutheran; others, as Spener's, are intended both for the teachers and the older scholars. Among the reformed catechisms, the Heidelberg holds the first place. A celebrated man of learning said of it, "That child's book, which begins 'What is your only consolation in life and death?' makes men."

The catechism is a dogmatic system, closely interwoven with ethics, for children and laymen, and set forth in question and answer. It is not the child who answers for himself, but the word of God answers through the mouth of the ignorant and immature child. The answers are texts of the Bible, or are based upon them.

Catechising is directly the opposite of the socratic procedure of the rationalistic ministers, who endeavor to question out of the children what they assume to be innate and natural religious ideas. Thus they try to lift them, through the chain of cause and effect, up to God, as the highest and ultimate cause.* Jehovah's method at Mount Sinai was far otherwise. He did not question the ten commandments out of the children of Israel, overcome by sacred terror, but thundered them into their hearts, so that the mighty impress of that legislation has propagated itself for three thousand years, down to their latest posterity.

With reading the Bible and the catechism should be connected the learning of pious hymns. With the narrative of the birth of Christ might be learned, for example, Luther's Christmas hymns "From Heaven high" and "Praised be thou, O Jesus Christ;" and with the history of the Passion, "O thou bloody, wounded head." Children learn best by singing the hymns; the words impress themselves vividly and permanently upon the mind by the help of the melody.

In what I say on this point I do not refer merely to singing in

* See my "*History of Education*," II., 302.

schools; I wish, with Herder, that "the old times and the old spirit" might return, "in homes and churches;" "when the old hymns were sung with devotion and the whole heart; when no father began or ended a day otherwise than in the beautiful singing-circle of his family. May God bring that sincere, joyful, and praisefully-singing period back again."

But now the song is silent in many pious families; where the children should now rather learn their hymns from the devotional recitation of their mother than from their own reading.

At a more recent period, war has been declared by many against learning by rote; and, as the history of pedagogy shows, the memory has been treated as the lowest and the reason as the highest mental gift. "Memory-cramming" was spoken of with the utmost contempt; and it was laid down that children should learn nothing by rote which they had not already intelligently understood. If this is correct, then they ought neither to learn the smaller Lutheran catechism nor texts from the Bible and sacred hymns. In these we have chiefly to do with mysteries of faith, which the understanding can not reach in the longest human life; with a tree whose roots and whose crown reach into the unfathomable depths and hights of eternity. But it is these very mysteries which are our consolation and our hope in life and death.

It is a divine provision, as kind as it is wise, that we have in the memory an intellectual store-chamber, in which we can lay up seed-corn for the future. The ignorant may think this seed-corn dead; but not so he who knows that at the proper time their vital energies will suddenly germinate and grow. If a boy learns the text "Call upon me in time of need, and I will save thee; so shalt thou praise me:" if he knows no time of need in his youth, he will not understand the text. But if in his mature age a time of unforeseen and overwhelming necessity should come suddenly upon him, this text will come before his soul, all at once, like a helping angel of peace and consolation, and he will understand it, and still more than that. If a child learns the text "Though I depart from thee, depart thou not from me," he does not understand it; the thought of death is far from him. But old men in the hour of death pray in the words of the same verse, which they learned when children; they understand them, and more than that.

In the seven full years Joseph laid up for the seven years of famine. When the time of need comes it is too late to gather.

Texts and hymns I call seed-corn. The hymns I mean are those inspired by the power of the divine word. These only should be committed to memory. The living germ has confessedly, in our

modern hymn-books, been cut out of these powerful old hymns. With such dumb, dead seed-corn as this children's memories should not be troubled.*

But shall the Bible, or the hymns, be taught to the child entirely without explanation? There are so many cases of misunderstandings of texts of the Bible, which the teacher might easily have removed by a few words of explanation. The answer is: Whatever is susceptible of explanation should be explained; but the inexplicable mysteries of our faith should be read with the hand upon the mouth.

From a confusion of the explicable and inexplicable of sight and faith come error and controversy. Only little minds claim unlimited insight, will believe nothing, insist every where on seeing and comprehending, and on making every thing intelligible to the children; and expend efforts on empty explanatory chattering about mysteries which require a serious and humble silence. "I have often suffered the efforts of many persons to teach me these things, but saying nothing," says Augustin.†

It is however always better in reading the Holy Scriptures to explain too little than too much; that the divine text may not be hidden or obscured by the human commentary, and that be expanded over much surface which is said clearly and impressively with energetic brevity. The seed-corn of the divine word should not be ground up into meal.

Poetic power should not be weakened by prosaic exposition. To say, "If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me," sounds otherwise, and makes a different impression from an abstract and insufficient exposition of the omnipresence of God.

Explanations relative to real objects are necessary, but should not be pushed further than is necessary; and not to the point of scientific detail. Geography, chronology, and archæology should serve as aids to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, but should not become independent and superior to it.‡ A map and geography of Pales-

* It is very important that the clergyman should know by heart many old hymns; not merely for use in preaching, but to be able to apply them at proper times in exercising his care over souls, without having first to take out his hymn-book. Ministers regret extremely having been in youth neglected in this particular. Young theological students might learn a verse daily, which would be three hundred and sixty-five a year—thirty or forty hymns—a large treasure of them already.

† And in another place, of those who seek to comprehend God: "Let them prefer to find thee without seeking thee out, rather than not to find thee though they seek thee out." In the former case they would learn self-knowledge and humility, but in the latter self-delusion and pride: in the former, therefore, truth, yea, him who is truth; in the latter, they would fail of it.

‡ An excellent work is "*Guide to Instruction in Biblical History and in the Knowledge of*

tine would be useful in reading the book of Joshua; but Joshua should not be treated as a geographical compendium.

Practical applications should proceed naturally from the text, but should not be dragged in by the hair of the head, nor protracted into long sermons. They should rather be in the tone and manner of conversation. One who knows and sincerely loves his scholars will find that the Bible, even the historical books of it, offer much more occasion for practical applications than would have seemed probable. I was reading, for instance, the account of Eliezer's conduct when he went after Rebekah for his master, to girls who were, as I knew, to become servants. It was quite natural for me to exhibit Eliezer to these girls as an instance of a reliable servant, who with faithful conscientiousness performed his master's business, and avoided every thing which might obstruct it.

We possess, at present, many Bibles with commentaries, both orthodox and heterodox. Whether they are the former or the latter depends not merely on their contents, but also on their form. We have commentaries which are correct in their teachings, but which, by reason of their diffuse, wearisome, and thoroughly prosaic method, operate as depressingly on the young as if rationalistic. To read them, one would believe that God's Word was only given in order to lay it off into the so-called exercises of the understanding (*Verstandesübungen.*)*

That whole modern phase of pedagogy which was adopted especially under the influence of Rousseau, Basedow, and even of Pestalozzi and his school, has, among other characteristics, that of not merely neglecting, but by evil arts of destroying, the most active faculty of youth, a sensitive imagination. This creative power of unreflecting simplicity, and the religious blessing which springs from that simplicity, are unknown to the dry pedagogues who, by means of an unintelligent torture of the understanding, which anticipates the period of mental maturity, would screw up the child to their much-praised "consciousness," and to the comprehension of every thing in general and in particular.†

If a child, whose imagination is still vigorous and lively, reads the Scriptures without being perverted, the forms and occurrences appear before his mind so that he lives among them as if he were present. For example, the narrative of our Lord's passion, resurrection, and

the Bible, by W Bernhardi, minister, and principal of the Royal Cadets' Institution. (Leitfaden beim Unterrichte in der Biblischen Geschichte und in der Bibelkunde, &c.) Potsdam, 1842.

* See what was said above on explanations.

† The present mode of instruction in the German language is especially injurious in this respect.

ascension make the deepest impression upon such a child, and secure in him a firm historic faith. For the unimaginative reader—and such at last will even the most active-minded child become under the influence of a mistaken and wearisome style of instruction—for such an impotent and exhausted reader, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob are names, and nothing more; and their narratives are empty words, totally without power to bring the living scenes before their minds. The concrete is, with them, only a ghostly, unsubstantial abstract; and this is the reason why in our times so many complaints are heard of want of historic faith. A generation thus wearied out in the schools will be, if the opportunity serves, easily betrayed by the merely moralizing rationalists, or by the mythicists, who deny all truth. But children not thus corrupted by their teachers will read the Bible, after the manner of the ancient, plain, and pious painters; and will inwardly behold what those painters have outwardly portrayed. Hence the sympathetic pleasure of children in biblical pictures, which rude puritans and modern iconoclasts reject and despise.*

We can not be careful enough to avoid every thing that can in the least injure this simple, plastic comprehension of the Holy Scriptures, or can destroy the capacity for it. These injuries are, however, most likely to be suffered from an incessant, shallow, and prosaic sermonizing and questioning by overwise teachers; which deprives the children of the quiet and stillness and peaceful attention which are necessary to the realizing of the Scriptures.

Instruction at confirmation must be so administered by reading the Bible, catechism, and hymns as that it shall be almost only a short connected review and systematization of Christian doctrine. It should point backward to the baptism, and forward to the expected communion, and its connected entry into the Christian church. That their instruction must be accordant with the doctrines of the church need not be urged; it follows from the conception itself. The clergyman gives the instruction, as the servant of the church.

Of what character should be the religious instruction of gymnasiasts already confirmed? In reply, I refer to two excellent little manuals by Prof. Thomasius.† In the first of these, intended for the middle classes, the kingdom of God is briefly and excellently described, as under the old and new covenants, after the historical development given in the Scriptures; and the pupil receives a compre-

* How different was Luther! "Not that I am of the opinion," he says, "that all the arts should be struck down and destroyed by the gospel, as some superstitious persons maintain; but that I would gladly see them all in the service of him who has given and contrived them."

† "*Outlines of Religious Instruction in the middle classes in literary schools.* (*Grundlinien zum Religionsunterricht in den mittleren Klassen gelehrter Schulen.*) by Dr. G. Thomasius. Nuremberg, 1842." And "*Outlines of Religious Instruction for the higher classes in literary schools*, (*Grundlinien, &c., an den obern Klassen, &c.*) 2d ed. Nuremberg, 1845."

hensive view of the whole Bible, from Genesis to Revelations.* Upon the second of these manuals its author observes that it follows the order of development of revelation. "My purpose in instruction for the upper classes," he says, "is to bring religion near the young, principally but not exclusively on the side of the thinking faculties. Not that I am of the perverted opinion that the secrets of the kingdom of God can be comprehended and demonstrated from without it —no one is further than I am from that belief—but there is a knowledge of revealed truth, an understanding of Christianity based upon faith, upon which the apostles of our Lord insist with all earnestness; and to produce such an understanding I consider one of the most important duties of the religious instructor, especially where he has to deal with youth already somewhat mature. At an age when reflection, not seldom doubt also, begin to govern, it is no longer sufficient and merely to testify to Christian truth in a simple manner; but it must be deduced from its fixed principles and from inner necessity. I know well that this is by no means all; that the proper and latest aim of religious instruction, life in Christ, is not in this way attained. And it was an especial object with me to bring forward the relations of revealed religion to heathenism and its manifold phases, and to discover points of connection between Christianity and the other efforts and knowledge of students; so that it might not be an isolated and separate thing in the midst of their studies of the classics, but a living central point of their whole knowledge and life. Thus it would become clear to them that Jesus Christ is the true light, that shineth in the darkness."

When the religious teacher advances with such Christian wisdom toward the teachers of other subjects, it only remains to be wished that they, on their part, would do the like. The Christian religion must be the heart of all instruction. No study is strange to it, though one may be nearer than another. For example: When the philologist is reading in Tacitus, with his pupils, the life of Tiberius, is not a comparison forced upon him between that and the cotemporary life of Christ? If in Tacitus and Suetonius we become acquainted with a dark and godless world, sunken in sins and hatred, the light, peace, holiness, freedom, and love of the gospel form an astonishing contrast; and we can scarcely believe that the Lord and his apostles lived at the same period with Herod, Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero. It seems as if, in the first century after Christ, extraordinary gifts of evil had been poured out, in contrast with the extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost. How strongly, in Cicero *De Natura Deorum*, do we see a state of loss and uncertainty, and the need of a divine reve-

* Of the importance of this general view I have already spoken.

lation! The teacher of history, especially, has innumerable opportunities of referring to Christianity. Or rather, is not the whole of history one great opportunity for the praise of Christ? Antiquity had been longing for him. Not the Jews only, but with more or less consciousness of it the heathen also—all were longing for salvation from sin and death. And all the greatness, goodness, and beauty of the new period was born of the world-renewing power of Christ. More will be said on this point in discussing separate studies; let us return once more to the proper religious instruction for gymnasia.

Prof. Thomasius says, "The aim of the whole (religious instruction in the gymnasia,) should be, in my opinion, to elucidate the Augsburg Confession; so that the pupil may leave the institution with the conviction that the faith which he has learned from the Holy Scriptures is also the faith and the confession of his church." In our own time of agitations and movements, within and without the church, this would be doubly necessary, especially for scholars who are not studying theology, and who will, therefore, afterward have little or nothing to do with ecclesiastical relations.

In continuation of the history of the apostles, a brief church history may be studied, giving especial prominence to the history of the Reformation, and to the missionary enterprises of our own day.

In many gymnasia is read, in the two higher classes, the New Testament in the original. Every person, properly informed on the subject, will approve of not putting it into the hands of beginners, that they may learn the elements of Greek by means of reading it, as is done in many pietistic schools. It is sufficiently well known how repulsive those books become to the pupil who has begun his studies in them. *Fiat experimentum in re vili* holds good in this case also. Grammar, at this reading of the New Testament, must rather be only a maid-servant. But a teacher who unites with pious regard for the Scriptures a thorough knowledge of language, will demonstrate to the pupil the importance of the assistance of so true a servant. And the same is true when he comes to learn the peculiar Greek of the New Testament. Alexander the Great was the means of extending the Greek language over a large area, which gave, indirectly, occasion for the Septuagint translation; and this first broke down the distinction in language between Jews and Gentiles, so that the Old Testament escaped from its esoteric position, and became accessible to the Greeks. The Septuagint, again, prepared the road for the Greek of the New Testament, and thus for the diffusion of Christianity.

It now becomes very important to consider the entirely different meanings of the same word in the heathen authors and in the New

Testament. It was requisite to describe a whole new spiritual world with the words of the old one, and thus the significance of these words was changed from a heathen to a Christian sense; they were transfigured.

This comparison of the New Testament with classical Greek follows naturally after previous studies in language; and is well adapted to bring out the contrast between heathenism and Christianity.

More advanced scholars will also perceive that the more detailed investigations in language of modern times have done much for the profounder and surer knowledge of the Bible, and have freed its interpretation more and more from capricious and innovating arbitrariness. The study of the particles, for instance, has often brought out a more delicate and elegant significance of some Bible word, which was beyond the reach of earlier interpreters. And the deeper it is penetrated, even in the philological sense, the deeper and more unfathomable does the Scripture appear.

Such a study of the original text, far from being a disadvantage, in point of edification, will furnish a firmer and deeper foundation for faith, and will render it more independent of opinions. There is a common notion that while, in reading Luther's translation, nothing but the meaning is to be attended to, and thus the reader can give himself entirely up to it, the reader of the original text must first labor through linguistic difficulties, which put hindrances in the way of his edification. But what if the same evil arises from precisely an opposite cause? It is well known that most men are very little impressed with the greatest natural phenomena—the blue vault of heaven, the sun, moon, stars, &c.—because they see them daily. The inhabitants of the vale of Chamouni wonder at Mont Blanc as little as do the Neapolitans and Genoese at the sea. In like manner, men become accustomed to the Holy Scriptures only too easily, and undergo a species of stupefaction about it because they know it from childhood, and even by rote. Nothing is so good a remedy against this stupefaction as to go from the translation back to the original text. What was known so long becomes suddenly new, and is also accompanied with a feeling that this original has a sure and unfathomable depth, stimulating to profounder feeling and living, which must be lacking even in the best translation.*

Conscientious parents and teachers are often in doubt as to the proper amount of religious instruction in family devotions, in attend-

* In relation to the reading of the New Testament in the original, I differ from the author of the excellent article "On Evangelical Religious Instruction in the Gymnasia," in the "*Evangelical Church Gazette*," (*Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*,) 1841, No. 2, &c., although I quite agree with him in the main principle. In ascribing no great influence to religious instruction in the family and by the confirming clergymen, while he depends entirely upon that in the gymnasium, he seems to have been influenced by his own experience. But how would it be if the gymnasia were quite heathen, and the family and the clergy Christian?

ing church, and in the employment of Sunday. They are doubtful whether they do not apply too little time to religious instruction, so as to omit some important part of it, by devoting to it a much less number of hours than to most other subjects of study.

The Lord has fixed one Sabbath to every six week-days. He knows well that man, oppressed by his earthly tabernacle, can not long endure the pure atmosphere of the lofty region of Sunday. This principle must be remembered in judging of the proportion of time to be observed between religious instruction and devotional exercises on one hand, and the remaining hours of study on the other. In case of doubt, it is better to give too little religious instruction than too much. Any one who has instructed children who have been previously overcrammed with religious teaching, even to repugnance and nauseation, will agree with me here. There is reason almost for despair, when such children hear of the Highest and Holiest with complete indifference; especially if they have been stupefied with diffuse and superficial explanations.

With regard to Sunday, care should be taken not to practice upon such a hyperpuritanical interpretation of the third commandment as will conflict with repeated expressions of Christ respecting the Sabbath. Such puritans as I refer to forbid even to do good on the Sabbath; even to knit stockings and make shirts for poor barefooted boys. They forbid truly spiritual music, the most innocent walks, and what not. Nothing could be imagined more proper to disgust children with the really pleasant system of Christianity. To this extravagant puritanism an opposite is a wicked indifference, which develops into frivolity and recklessness. The curse "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" was alleviated by a good God, by the ordinance of a day of rest, in which we may relieve ourselves of the earthly labor of the week, and, in looking forward to our heavenly rest, may enjoy a foretaste of it. It is an ignorant self-enmity with which so many transgress this most loving commandment, and labor restlessly on and on, like so many machines, week-days and Sundays together.

And what multitudes, in the most fearfully sinful manner, violate the day of the Lord—a dreadful desecration which is increasing terribly in our own times.

Every man should protect his own children from the company of such; and should say, like Joshua, "But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

The subject should first be treated on the supposition that the family, the clergy, and the gymnasia are all Christian; and the case should afterward be dealt with where faith and piety are supposed to be lacking in either of them.

V. HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ITALY.

[Translated, for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

I. THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE 14th century ushered in a new era, the era of the restoration of the Greek and Roman classics. Classical learning became the goal of every desire; and this new ideal, pursued as it was with unremitting ardor, gave birth to new modes of teaching and of training.

Far different had been the ideal of the Middle Ages, and their character had been marked with striking peculiarities. But the Middle Ages had now passed away. Nevertheless their influence continued to be felt, even down to the time of the Reformation; for not until then did the new ideal obtain full and undisputed sway over the human mind.

Meanwhile the defenders of classical learning rejected with contempt every thing that savored of the past, and with them originated the so long received opinion of the darkness and barbarism of the Middle Ages. For it is only within our own times that champions have arisen to assert the claims of mediæval learning also. The first question that here suggests itself is: what standard ought we to adopt in judging of a period in which human efforts and achievements presented so many remarkable contrasts—grandeur and littleness, strength and weakness, depth and insipidity, beauty and repulsiveness, being mutually opposed to each other on every hand? But when we have fixed upon a correct standard, we are to apply it correctly and conscientiously; nor regard with a partial eye the bright side alone of our favorite epoch, and refuse to see any but the dark side of the period to which we are adverse.

Now Latinity constituted the chief standard by which the earlier moderns measured all attainments in learning. By as much as the Middle Ages were removed from the style of Cicero, by so much were they destitute (so thought these moderns) of all true learning, and given over to barbarism. Baronius applied to the period from the 10th to the 12th century, the epithets, *iron*, *leaden*, and *dark*. Compilations were made of the wretched Latin* of those centuries: es-

* Take, for instance, the etymology of *Presbyter*: "homo qui præberet suis iter;" or such a blunder as the following: "Baptizo te in nomine patria, filia et spiritus sanctus." In the "*Epistles of Obscure Men*," this sort of Latinity is held up to ridicule.

pecially was ridicule aimed at the anti-classical terminology of the schoolmen, and boys even who had been moderately drilled in Latin writing were thought far superior to those mediæval barbarians.

But this narrow-minded pedantry early met with a severe rebuke from Erasmus, in his spirited treatise against the imitation of Cicero. "It is astonishing," he says, "with what arrogance they look down upon what they style the barbarism of Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, and the like; and yet, if we scan the merits of these authors critically, although they laid claim neither to eloquence nor to Ciceronianism, we shall nevertheless see that in both they far outstrip their detractors, this blustering crew, who all the while deem themselves not Ciceronians alone but veritable Ciceros." The unbiased intellect of Erasmus perceived that Ciceronianism consisted not in the imitation of words and periods alone, but chiefly in thoughts adequately expressed. Without defending the style of the scholastics in other respects, he yet ranked their awkward, and uncouth, but pointed, expressions far before all the smooth but meaningless phrases of the Ciceronians.

At the commencement of the last century, Leyser defended the Middle Ages against this charge of barbarism, adducing as his chief argument the old Latin lyrics of the church. From him too we learn that the stigma of barbarism was attached to all that was not graceful. But it was reserved for our own day to accord full and complete justice to the Middle Ages, since they are now no longer measured by the pedantic standard of the schools, but all their aims and achievements have been explored and appropriately rated by men of superior intellect—by Goethe, Tieck, A. W. and F. Schlegel, J. and W. Grimm, the brothers Boisseree, Schlosser, and others.

Says Schlosser, "We have been too apt to conceive of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages as sluggish and well-nigh dead, because the scholars of that period were not chiefly busied with the writers of ancient Greece and Rome." But this fact is sufficiently accounted for by the scarcity of manuscripts at that period. Even the far-famed Paris Library contained, at the beginning of the 14th century, but four old authors—Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius.

If others were cited in the writings of the Middle Ages, it was not often from first sources, but chiefly from Augustin's "*City of God*," and from Isidore of Spain. In this dearth of Latin classics, it was no wonder if men gradually lost the pure style of the Gold and Silver Ages, and framed their Latin for themselves. And yet in such Latin were composed those immortal lyrics of the church, the "*Dies iræ*" and the "*Media vita.*" A single hymn such as these outweighs all the

servile imitations of Horace and other poets, that the later philologists expended so much pains upon.

In the epoch under consideration no one had yet ventured to dissent from the doctrines of the church. There were two men, whose dicta formed the highest human authority; and as they differed widely from each other, so different was the influence. These men were Aristotle and Augustin; the first however was not read in the original. Nevertheless in one respect they occupied common ground, viz., that both of them furthered the scholastics in their speculations upon church doctrines. In these, Anselm of Canterbury, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and other dogmatics, proceeded from knowledge and understanding; mystics, like Bernard and Bonaventura, from emotion and faith; while in Hugo and Richard St. Victor, both elements, the dogmatical, and the mystical, were united. And lastly, sceptics, like Abelard and Duns Scotus, started with doubt and denial. But all these aimed to leave the authority of the church intact, for they directed their speculations into lines parallel with the teachings of the church and never ventured to touch or run athwart those teachings.*

The later philologists were never weary in their attacks upon the scholastics. "But the philosophical queries of scholasticism appeared ridiculous and absurd," says Schlosser, "only because none of them were cited except the most trivial and childish."

In any case it was unfair to overlook the great difference which subsisted between the men who bore the general name of scholastics, and to pass the same condemnation upon deep thinkers like Anselm, Hugo St. Victor, and Bonaventura as upon the later sophistical word-mongers. Yet the repulsive, odious, and even boorish air of these latter formed a species of justification for the hostility that the philologists manifested toward them.† But the holy ire of the reformers, as they saw the word of God in manifold ways utterly set aside by the arrogant human traditions of the scholastics—this needs no justification. In the schools of the Middle Ages the seven

* We find in Cicero a similar distinction, when, in the "*Natura Deorum*," he speaks of the different modes in which the same person, now in the character of an *augur*, and now in that of a philosopher, views and pronounces judgment upon the same fact.

† The following extract from Walter St. Victor, cited by Schlosser, will serve to show that the sophists of the Middle Ages bore a striking resemblance to the same class in modern times. "The logicians," he says, "spin nets of all manner of ratiocinations, and surround themselves with the thorn-hedge of syllogisms. Propositions and facts are alike forever indeterminate with them, one and the same thing being now true and now false and again neither true nor false. For a thousand refined distinctions lead them at one time to deny, at another to assert, the same thing. If you allow yourself to be guided by them, you are speedily involved in a whirl of questions and counter-questions, so that you will no longer know whether God is God or not God, whether Christ is man or not man, or whether there be in existence any thing or nothing, nothing or not nothing, a Christ or no Christ; and so it is to the end of the chapter.

liberal arts were taught. The *trivium* comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; the *quadrivium*, which came subsequent in the course, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Logic was foremost, while grammar stood in the background. Further on, we shall see how after the lapse of time this order was inverted, when the philologists gained the upper hand. In the 13th century, Henry d'Andely wrote a satirical poem, the subject of which was "*The battle of the seven arts.*" Grammar had its camp in Orleans, while logic intrenched itself at Paris; grammar, in whose ranks were enrolled the ancient poets, was nevertheless finally defeated by the other arts.

The chief seat of the mathematics in the Middle Ages was among the Arabians. Gerbert, afterward Pope Sylvester II., who became distinguished as a mathematician above all his cotemporaries, learned of them; Campanus Novara, with the English Benedictine monk, Athelard, translated in the 12th century Euclid from the Arabic; and Jordanus Nemoratius wrote an arithmetic in ten books.

In the 13th century, Alphonso X. employed Arabians to construct astronomical tables (*the tabulæ Alphonsinæ*,) and the Emperor Frederick II. set on foot a version of the Almagest. John de Sacrobusto wrote a little astronomical text-book, which continued to be used in schools down to the 16th century, and was thought worthy to be republished in 1531, under the auspices of Melancthon, who wrote a preface to it.*

Natural history in the Middle Ages was exceedingly barren. With extraordinary credulity, the most incredible things were received as true; and mankind, led astray by accounts of unreal monsters and marvels, had no eye for the unfeigned marvels of God in the creation. One man there was, however, who stood apart, and, as a natural philosopher and mathematician, was greatly in advance of his age. This was the gifted Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon of Ilchester, in Somersetshire, England, (1214—1294.) Among other inventions, that of the telescope, if not in its perfection, lay in the clearest outlines in his mind;† and he appears also to have known of gunpowder. His

* He was commonly called Holywood, from the place of his birth in the county of York, England. He died in Paris in 1256. His text-book above referred to is entitled "*Libellus de Sphæra.*" Melancthon says of it: "This little book has received the approbation of all the learned now for many generations." It is simple and clear, and as a text-book, aside from its advocacy of the Ptolemaic system, it surpasses many astronomical compendiums of modern times. He wrote also an "*Ecclesiastical Calendar*," "*De Computo Ecclesiastico*," and an "*Algorithm.*"

† In his "*Opus Majus*" he says, "There are still greater results dependent on "broken vision" or refrangibility; for the canons above laid down clearly prove that large objects may be made to appear small, and distant objects near, and the reverse. We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect to our sight and objects, that rays can be broken and bent as we please, so that objects may be seen far off or near, under whatever angle we please, and thus from an incredible distance we may read the smallest letter."

just views of nature, and of the true method of investigating nature, entitled him to the praise of being a forerunner of his great fellow-countryman and namesake, Lord Bacon.

Had no other production of the Middle Ages come down to us than that great poem, the Lay of the Nibelungen, it alone would have sufficed us in proof of the superior character of our early German poesy; and no one, who has seen either the Cologne cathedral, or the minsters of Strasburg or Freiburg, can hesitate for a moment to admit the sublimity of mediæval architecture. Yet time was, and that not very long ago, when these greatest works of art that the world has ever seen passed for unsightly monstrosities. After all that he had read and heard, Goethe feared, he tells us, lest he should find the Strasburg cathedral a "shapeless excresence, bristling with deformity." "But," he goes on to say, "what an unexpected feeling overpowered me, as I stood before it! My soul was filled with one entire and grand impression, which, because it was made up of a thousand harmonizing unities, I could indeed feel and enjoy, but by no means understand and explain. And how often did I come back, to taste again the celestial joy, and again to commune with the mighty spirits of our elder brothers, manifested to me in their works."

The Germanic and Roman races were distinguished in the Middle Ages, notwithstanding all national diversities, for their common European character; "they formed as it were one general politico-ecclesiastical state." The authority of the church was the main bond which united them, nor should we overlook in this connection the important fact that pope, emperor, and kings invariably made use of the Latin language in all their communications, whether religious or secular. Moreover all the clergy spoke and wrote in Latin, and Latin was every where employed in divine service. German priests could minister to churches in England, France, etc., and English priests to German churches. Alcuin was Bishop of Tours, Boniface Archbishop of Mentz, and Albertus Magnus taught at Paris.

But in succeeding centuries the distinctive features of these various nations became more prominent, while their common European character was proportionably effaced, as the bonds which united them were gradually rent asunder.

With these brief outlines of the learning of the Middle Ages, we shall now be prepared to trace the steps by which, from the 14th century onward, this learning was supplanted by another type, viz., the classical. For the introduction of this, the Italians were the first to pave the way, and they gave themselves with ardor to the study and imitation of the ancients. Their enthusiasm afterward infected

the Germans, and these also, like the Italians, though with other motives and under other conditions, adopted classical culture as *their* ideal. But the ideal of attainment of any people shapes and controls the whole course of education among them. To this principle is to be ascribed the great influence which the Italians directly exerted upon German education, and the history of this education would be accordingly incomplete did it not recognize this influence. Hence it becomes necessary for us to take a survey of the intellectual development of Italy during the period from the 14th to the 16th century. There were three Italians who were foremost in striking out new paths; Dante Boccaccio, and Petrarch—of whom we will now speak.

II. DANTE AND BOCCACCIO.

DANTE ALLIGHIERI, who sprang from an illustrious line of ancestors, was born at Florence, on the 27th of May, 1265, became fatherless at the early age of five years. His teacher was Brunetto Latini, secretary of the Republic of Florence, and author of an encyclopedia, which treated not only of the philosophical sciences, but of geography, astronomy, history, and natural history: it contained also remarkable traditions, and stories of ghosts and demons, and accounts of strange freaks of nature. With such a teacher, Dante might well have laid the foundation of that universal learning for which he afterward became so distinguished.

It was in his ninth year (1274,) that he saw for the first time Beatrice Portinari, a little girl of the same age as himself, and daughter of an influential citizen of Florence. That passing glance, he tells us, enkindled within him the power of love; though he rarely met her again. She died in early womanhood, in the year 1290. Dante's love for Beatrice was no earthly passion, but a love which one might cherish for a saint in glory: this his poems abundantly show.

The contest between the Ghibellines, the partisans of the emperor, and the Guelphs, who sided with the pope, in Dante's time was raging at its hight. Florence was under the dominion of the Guelphs, but they were here divided into two opposing factions, the Blacks and the Whites; to the latter of these Dante belonged. He played an important part in the city of his birth; was present in many campaigns, and was often chosen to fill the post of ambassador; in his 35th year he was elected to one of the twelve influential *priorships*. When the faction of the Whites incurred the suspicion of having made overtures to the Ghibellines, Dante was dispatched to Rome, to ingratiate them into favor with Pope Boniface VIII.* While there, he probably heard that Charles Valois, with the aid of the Blacks,

* He accepted this embassy reluctantly, yet proudly, saying, "If I go, who will be left behind, and if I stay, who is there to go?"

had seized upon the government of Florence, and that he himself together with his party had been banished from the city. He continued in exile for nineteen years, until his death, "and felt the bitterness of eating the bread and salt of strangers, and crossing a threshold not his own."

Once only did he entertain the hope of re-entering his native city; it was in the year 1310, when the Emperor Henry VII. came into Italy. In a letter, bearing date April 16, 1311, Dante implored the emperor to take possession of Florence. He accordingly directed his march thither, and on the 12th of September, 1312, pitched his camp before the city, but was forced, on the 31st of October, to depart without success; and in August, 1313, he died, not without suspicion of poison. But Dante had in this step taken decided ground in favor of the emperor and the Ghibellines and against Florence, and there now remained for him no further hopes either of reconciliation or of return.

In the closing years of his life, 1319—1321, and after his long and weary wanderings, he at length found with Guido di Polenta, at Ravenna, a friendly reception and patronage. Here he died, on the 14th of September, 1321, at the age of 56. His corpse, decorated with the insignia of a poet, was borne to the Church of the Franciscans and there interred. The following epitaph was afterward carved upon the tablet that marks his resting-place:—

"Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini voluerunt fata quousque;
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris
Auctoremque suum petiit felicior astris,
Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris."*

Of all the works of Dante the "*Divina Commedia*" is by far the greatest. As the mighty Strasburg cathedral looks out upon us in its enduring majesty from the far period of the Middle Ages, so likewise does this powerful poem. In it are embodied all the elements of that period; its Paganism and Christianity, its imperiality and hierarchy, its sciences and its arts, all are mirrored in the "*Divina Commedia*." From the blackness of hell, where God's justice is terri-

* The above may be versified thus:—

The rights of kings—the Paradise of God,
Dim chaos, and that awful stygian flood,
I've seen and sung, while so the Fates decreed:
But when injustice forced my soul to bleed,
She spurned the earth, and starward sped her flight,
To seek her Author 'mid unchanging light.
So Dante's exiled form lies moldering here in foreign earth,
But time will ne'er remove the stain from Florence, city of his birth.

[*Translator.*]

bly displayed, the poet comes up again into the light of the sun and ascends the mount of purgatory, which is fabled to lie at the antipodes of Jerusalem; and from the summit of this mount, he soars up amid the heavenly spheres of Paradise. This poem combines a rare speculative philosophy with the most exquisite sense of beauty. With a wondrous range and power of fancy, it portrays the torments of hell, the joys of Paradise, spirits of darkness, angels of light, the holy anger and implacable wrath of the Judge, and a love full of tenderness and irradiated by celestial glory.

But not only does this work of Dante's reflect the elements of the Middle Ages, we detect here and there foreshadowings also of the coming centuries.

He commenced the "*Commedia*" in Latin; soon however he turned to the Italian in preference. He loved his Italy, and he longed to see her dismembered territories, kept apart as they had been by their fourteen different dialects, united once more by a common language in one common nationality. Already had the first steps to this consummation been taken, especially by the polished court of Frederick II. of Sicily, of the family of the Hohenstaufen. But it it was none other than Dante who first created the "Vulgare illustre," or pure vernacular, and who presented a living exemplar in his great poem of a loftier dialect that was to supersede all others and yet to be common to the whole of Italy. It was at a subsequent period that he composed his admirable little work entitled "*De vulgari eloquio*," in which we have his views upon language. He here distinguishes between the "*vulgaris locutio*" and the "*grammatica elocutio*," or the language of the people and that of the grammarians. The one is that vernacular which we learn from the mouths of our nurses by imitation alone, not by rule; the other is a language at second hand (*elocutio secundaria*,) not found in every nation, and, where found, thoroughly mastered only by a very few individuals, and after long years of study. "The vernacular," Dante continues, "has the decided advantage over the grammatical that it was the earliest language of men, is coextensive with the various tribes that people the earth, and comes, as we say, by nature, while the grammatical is based wholly upon art."

Having laid down this general distinction between the two forms of language, he pronounces the Italian of his own day in all its dialects a vernacular, *vulgaris locutio*, and the Latin, an educated tongue, *grammatica elocutio*. These various dialects now come under his consideration: some he rejects altogether, for their utter coarseness and rusticity; in each of the remainder he finds beauties peculiarly its own. The higher or pure vernacular was to be eclectic, at-

tracting to itself all these diverse and separate graces, but carefully repelling every thing of a harsh and discordant nature. It was sheer arrogance in the Tuscans to impose their dialect upon Italy as in itself such a pure vernacular.

Thus did Dante draw a sharp dividing line between the Latin and the Italian; placing the Latin among those learned and dead languages that were no longer capable either of life or of growth.

Nor did he merely enunciate, as a philological ideal, this plan of a language to be common to the whole of Italy, a fair and noble blossom to unfold from the union of her separate dialects, but he embodied this ideal in its full splendor in the "*Divina Commedia.*" Thus he bequeathed to the great intellects of coming time the rich legacy of a perfected native tongue.

As this distinction between Latin and Italian became generally received, there appears to have arisen a new mode of reading and of enjoying the classics, and their value as works of art, which had been wholly lost sight of in the Middle Ages, was again felt and acknowledged. Dante placed the highest estimate upon Virgil; this poet is his guide through hell and purgatory. That he was thoroughly acquainted with the Æneid, numerous passages conclusively show. He had also read Horace and Statius, but Greek he never learned.

And as he longed to see Italy one and undivided, so he advocated for her a purely temporal government, a Roman imperialty. In his three books on monarchy, he defended the claims of the emperor against the popes in so plain-spoken a manner, that at Rome his treatise was shortly after condemned to the flames.

On the contrary he attacked the temporal sovereignty of the pope: "sword and crosier befit not the same hand; for the pope should guide men to the rewards of heaven, while the emperor is to lead them toward earthly felicity."

The more earnestly he labored for the unity of the church, the more implacable was his hatred of corrupt popes. Pope Anastasius he placed in hell among the heretics, Nicholas III. and Boniface VIII. with the Simonists. He was unsparing in his denunciations of the avarice of these popes. And it was only his reverential regard for the keys of St. Peter that withheld him from applying to them severer language than this:—

> "Trampling the good, and raising up the bad—
> Your avarice o'erwhelms the world in woe.
> To you St. John referred, ye shepherds vile,
> When she, who sits on many waters, had
> Been seen with kings her person to defile."

And in the 27th canto of the "*Paradise*" St. Peter is represented as saying of Boniface :—

——"He who on earth, my place,
My place usurps, my place, which in the eyes
Of God's own Son is vacant, hath long space
Rendered my burial-ground a sink abhorred
Of blood and filth, which to the inveterate foe,
Who fell from heaven, doth high delight afford."*

And in a third passage a lost spirit is made to curse Boniface VIII., because this pope had lulled him into security by an indulgence, which he found when too late was powerless to rescue him from the clutches of the devil. But despite this sweeping denunciation of godless popes, he was not wanting in a due regard for the dignity of the vicegerent of Christ, for we find him hurling anathemas without stint against Philip the Fair, for injuries done to this same Boniface VIII.

BOCCACCIO.

Hardly was Dante in his grave, when the Florentines entreated for permission to remove his remains, but Guido di Polenta turned a deaf ear to their suit, and to this day the bones of Dante rest in Ravenna, where in life the tired wanderer found his last refuge and repose.

Within a little more than fifty years after his death, or in 1373, Florence founded a special chair for the interpretation of the "*Divina Commedia*," and called Boccaccio to occupy it.

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO was born at Florence, in the year 1313, eight years prior to the death of Dante. Destined by his father for the mercantile profession, he was placed with a merchant, with whom he remained from his 10th to his 16th year. After the conviction had been forced upon the father that he had mistaken the bent of his son's genius, he altered his plan, and put him to the study of the canon law, "with which," the son informs us, "I wearied myself for six long years, but all to no purpose." In his 25th year, Boccaccio visited the tomb of Virgil, near Naples, and there he conceived the resolution to devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge and the arts. In Naples too it was, "on the anniversary of that day," we quote his own words, "on which men celebrate the glorious return of the son of Jupiter from the despoiled realms of Pluto," that is on the Saturday before Easter, in the year 1341, and in the Church of St. Lorenzo, that he first saw his beloved.

But how different the love of Boccaccio from the pure and lofty idolatry of Dante!

The energies of Boccaccio were directed both to the study of the

* The two quotations from the "*Divina Commedia*" made above, are from Wright's translation, published in Bohn's Standard Library.

ancient classics and to the elevation of Italian prose. He collected original manuscripts of the classics, had copies made, and wrote a Genealogy of the Gods. In one respect he surpassed Dante, and, as we shall see hereafter, even Petrarch; namely, in the acquisition of Greek. This he learned from Leontius Pilatus, whom in the year 1360 he brought to Florence. This Leontius professed to be a Thessalian, but was in reality a native of Calabra. Boccaccio read Homer with him, and was afterward the means of his giving public lectures upon this poet.

The Latin poems of Boccaccio were held in very high esteem by his cotemporaries, his eclogues being ranked higher even than those of Virgil.

But these Latin poems are forgotten, while on the contrary one of his Italian works, the "*Decameron*," after passing through ninety-seven editions, is yet at the present day being continually reprinted. This work has exercised and still is exercising a vast influence for the elevation and purity of Italian prose. Of its origin we have the following account. In the year 1348 Florence was visited by that frightful pestilence the plague. After describing its ravages, Boccaccio goes on to relate how, to escape from it, seven ladies and three young men withdrew to a country seat, and there during the space of ten days improvised or recited stories, to the number of ten each day.

Preceding novels had been extremely simple. They were sketched with a few bold and prominent touches; but these of Boccaccio, on the contrary, are rich in musical words and graceful in incident, and reproduce the refined conversational style of a highly polished society. Many of these novels are familiar under different forms to many persons who perhaps are not aware that they originated with Boccaccio. Of this class is the story, in Lessing's "*Nathan the Wise*," of the "Three Rings."

We find here the most unsparing attacks upon the hierarchy and the monks. Instance the story of Abraham, the Paris Jew. A Christian urges him to be baptized; but first, to assure himself, he takes a journey to Rome, the center of Christendom. There he finds all the clergy, from the highest to the lowest, wallowing in the most abandoned impiety, avarice, sensuality, gluttony, and unnatural lusts, and carrying on a most shameless traffic in spiritual things, etc. On his return to Paris he tells his Christian friend how he found at Rome neither holiness nor devotion, but rather the very opposite of these. "In short," said he to the Christian, "your shepherd and all his flock appear to think of nothing else than how they may annihilate the Christian religion, and drive it from the world; since however their efforts do not succeed, but this religion emerges all the more radiant

and glorious, it is doubtless upheld and directed by the Holy Spirit. And for *this* reason I will permit myself to be baptized."

Many among these novels are prurient and obscene, and in their composition the inventor did not trouble himself even for a fig-leaf to hide their shame. It indicates an extreme corruption of morals that he put such words in the mouths of Florentine ladies, and we should judge his fiction a slander, if we had not Dante's express assurance, that at that period even sermons were preached from the pulpit against the immodesty of the Florentine women.

About the year 1360, Boccaccio was warned by a dying monk to give up his studies and to prepare himself for death. Seized with terror, he wrote to Petrarch for direction. Petrarch consoled him by casting suspicion upon the prophecy, and continued with a defense of legitimate studies. "I well know," he wrote, "that one can be a holy man without learning, but I also know that learning is no hindrance to holiness, as many would have us believe. We should be cautious how we compare an ignorant devotion with an enlightened piety."

That Boccaccio did not give up his studies, we have unmistakable testimony; for it was in the year 1373, or 13 years after this prophecy, that his work on the Genealogy of the Gods first made its appearance. He died in the year 1375, aged 62 years.

His writings he bequeathed to the pious care of Martin, an Augustan monk in Florence, with the injunction to him to pray for his soul. To a monastery of another fraternity he left a collection of relics that he had been at great pains to bring together. All this proves that in his later years he underwent deep contrition for the unblushing frivolity of his youth. In a letter he laments that "no one will urge his youth as an apology for the transgressions of his pen." And he adjures fathers not to place the "*Decameron*" in the hands of their children.

What an important part this book played two hundred years later, in Italian literature, we shall see in the course of this history.

PETRARCH.

Petrarch was born at Arezzo, Aug. 1, 1304. He says of himself: "In exile was I conceived and in exile born." His father, a notary at Florence, adhered, as did Dante, to the faction of the Whites, and was likewise driven from the city in the year 1302, not long after Dante's banishment. He went thence to Arezzo, where Petrarch first saw the light on the first of August, 1304. The child was not yet a year old when his mother removed with him to Ancisa, and in his seventh year his parents located themselves in Pisa. Well wrapped up and intrusted to the care of a sturdy horseman, the lad narrowly escaped drowning as the horse made a false step in the ford of the Arno. In Pisa

he was placed under the instruction of Barlaam. In his eighth year he journeyed with his parents to Avignon, where the pope had temporarily fixed his See. At Carpentras, not far from Avignon, he studied, for four years, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In his 15th year his father sent him to Montpelier, and four years after to Bologna, to prosecute the study of the law. It was with great reluctance that he acceded to his father's wishes in this respect, and we find him reading Cicero and Virgil in preference to Justinian. When his father heard of his course, he went forthwith to Bologna, upbraided his son for thus misspending his time, and threw his manuscripts into the fire. He was only induced, by his son's promise of reformation, made on bended knees, to spare Cicero and Virgil. Nevertheless, on the death of his father in 1326, Petrarch bade adieu both to Bologna and to his studies, returned to Avignon, and entered the service of the church.

In his 27th year, on Good Friday, 1327, and at church, he caught his first glimpse of Laura de Noves, who was espoused to Hugo di Sade. From that moment to her death she was the object of his pure, idealized love; and this love he has embalmed forever in canzonets and sonnets written in his native Italian. Then it was that he retired to the shades of Vacluse, in the neighborhood of Avignon, a spot which his poems have rendered sacred to this day. Here he began, in 1339, the composition of a great Latin epic, that he called "*Africa.*" His hero was the hero of Livy, Scipio Africanus the elder. This poem, he fondly dreamed, was to bear his name down to posterity. But five hundred years have come and gone, and his Italian poems have lost none of their original freshness; but who ever reads, nay, we may ask who ever *hears of*, that Latin epic? Time, the unerring judge, has glorified those, and drawn an impenetrable veil over this.

But Petrarch's cotemporaries thought differently: their opinion agreed with his own. On one and the same day he received two invitations, one from the chancellor of the University of Paris, the other from the senate of Rome; each offering him the honor of a public coronation. He decided in favor of Rome, but went beforehand to the court of that "great philosopher and king," Robert of Naples. Having presented to Robert a copy of his epic, the monarch urgently solicited him to accept the laurel then; but his love for Rome did not permit him to embrace the proffer. Robert accordingly dismissed him with a retinue of envoys, and with letters to the Roman senate. It was on Easter Sunday, the 8th of April, 1341, that the poet was crowned at the capitol. Early in the morning the shrill sound of trumpets gave notice of the approaching festivities, and the streets were soon full of thronging multitudes, eager to witness the unwonted

spectacle. And first a high mass was performed at the altar of St. Peters by the vice-legate, the Bishop of Terracina. Then twelve young men in scarlet robes escorted the poet to the capitol, chanting verses before him. After them came Petrarch himself, sumptuously arrayed in violet-colored vestments, the gift of the king of Naples, and attended by six of the most distinguished citizens of Rome, clad in green, and having their brows wreathed with chaplets of flowers. After proceeding thus for a short distance, he mounted a lofty chariot, upon which were represented symbols of the art of poetry, and whose throne was supported by a lion, an elephant, a griffin, and a panther. Around the throne stood a group of personages in the character of Grecian deities, and upon it on either hand of Petrarch were statues of the Graces, of Bacchus, and of Patience. It was drawn by four horses, and preceded by a maiden, singing. After it came Envy, attended by satyrs, fauns, and nymphs, dancing. When Petrarch had thus arrived at the capitol, he solicited the laurel in a Latin speech, whose theme he had selected from Virgil. Then, amid the threefold acclamation, "Long live the Roman people!" "Long live the senate!" "God guard our liberties!" he kneeled before the Senator Orlo, Count of Anguillara, who placed a laurel crown upon his brows, with these words pronounced in a loud voice: "This crown is the reward of merit." The count then declared Petrarch to be a great poet and historian, and, by virtue of the authority of Robert, king of Naples, of the senate, and of the people of Rome, he accorded to him full privilege, "as well in this all-consecrated city as in every land in Christendom, to teach in public, to hold disputations, to comment upon old books, to compose new, and to produce poems, which by the grace of God might endure to the end of time;" and this permission was confirmed to him by a written decree. Petrarch then recited a sonnet in honor of the heroes of Rome, and all the people clapped their hands, and shouted with a voice of thunder, "The capitol forever! long live the poet!" His friends wept tears of joy, and Stephen Colonna spoke publicly in his praise.

The same escort then conducted him to the Church of St. Peter; here he scattered amongst the people four hundred gulden, furnished him for this purpose by the family of Colonna. Count Anguillara presented him with a ruby valued at five hundred ducats, the Roman people five hundred ducats more, together with all the paraphernalia used in the coronation. He then bowed in prayer before the altar, and dedicated to the apostle his threefold crown (of ivy, laurel, and myrtle,) to be suspended from the dome. At last the procession returned to the palace of the Colonnas, where the festival was closed with a sumptuous supper and ball.

An honor such as this coronation had been conceded to no one within the memory of man. Nor could it well be said of any one, in any former age, that during his lifetime he had enjoyed so much reputation in such a wide circle, and had been so highly honored both by kings, emperors, and people, as had Petrarch. Hence in his old age he became surfeited with renown.

Petrarch, in common with many of his countrymen, cherished the memory of the ancient glories of Rome, and longed to see those glories restored. For the power of the hierarchy, that, under Gregory VII., Innocent III., and others, had made the nations of Christian Europe mere dependencies of Rome, had since the division of the church greatly declined.

Every movement that tended to the restoration of Rome, was hailed by Petrarch with delight. Hence, when Rienzi, in the year 1346, during the Pontificate of Clement VI., attempted the sublime scheme of reinaugurating the Roman Republic, Petrarch wrote enthusiastic letters to the Romans, in which he compared Rienzi to the elder Brutus. But this man, who, in the delirium of his pride, had summoned emperors and kings before his throne, and who had arrogated to himself the possession of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, was in the following year driven from the city.

Petrarch then turned his eyes upon Charles IV., and invited him as the descendant of Charles the Great to come to Italy and reconstruct the Roman Empire. He came finally in 1354, but played a cowardly part at Milan and at Rome, and made all haste back again to Germany. At this Petrarch was incensed, and wrote him a letter full of bitter reproaches. "Thou," he said, "thou, lord of the Roman Empire! Thou hast no aspirations which reach beyond Bohemia. When had thy grandfather or thy father acted thus ignobly? But virtue, I perceive, is no inheritance." The retreat of Charles he stigmatized as "inglorious, not to say infamous."

But he used still stronger language of the hierarchy. The Papal See, at Avignon, he called the second Babylon; and he laid bare its corruptions both in prose and in verse. "Here thou mayest behold a people," thus he wrote to a friend, "that is not only at variance with Christ, but that arrays itself against his cause while marching under his banner; a people that serves Satan, and thirsting for the blood of Christ, taunts him with the words, 'Our lips are our own: who is Lord over us?' They are a froward, godless, smooth-tongued, and avaricious generation, and, like Judas, they betray their master. They have the name of Christ in their mouths by day and by night, but yet they are ever ready to sell him for silver." In another letter he says, "In this stronghold of avarice, nothing is deemed iniqui-

tous, provided only that the pay is secure. The hope of life everlasting, and all the terrors of the second death, have become to them as a fable; the resurrection of the flesh, the end of the world, and the coming of Christ in judgment, they look upon as the devices of a juggler. Truth they call folly, moderation weakness, and modesty a disgrace. In fine, a life of open sin they make their highest wisdom and their truest liberty; the more scandalous the conduct the more worthy they think it, and the greater the crime the greater the glory." In still another place he says, "Shall I choose Babylon (Avignon) for my residence, where I shall be compelled to see the good abused and the vile exalted, eagles creep and asses soar aloft, where wolves roam at large but lambs are led to the slaughter, where Christ is persecuted and Anti-Christ is Lord, while Beelzebub sits in the seat of judgment?"

Such is the picture which he gives of the pope and the clergy, not upon hearsay evidence, but as he himself had seen them; and of the cardinals he relates deeds that are absolutely too shameless to repeat.

Petrarch's attainments belonged wholly to a subsequent age; he was the precursor of the philological poets. Hence it was that he apparently had no sympathy with Dante, that gigantic spirit of the Middle Ages, prophetic not of one age alone but of all coming time.

Cicero was his delight, even from boyhood. "At an age," he writes, "when I could not understand him in any degree, I was attracted to him purely by the sweetness and the rhythmic flow of his words." So likewise was he enthusiastic in his love for Virgil. And the study of the law tended in his opinion to diminish this enthusiasm. "Nothing," he writes to Thomas of Messina, "nothing succeeds that is undertaken against nature. She has formed me for solitude and not for the forum. I do not venture to say that I acted with a wise forecast, but only that I happened upon the right course, when I threw off the fetters of Bologna."

Petrarch had a most ardent desire to learn the Greek. His earlier teacher, Barlaam, a Calabrian of the Order of St. Basil, first met him at Avignon, in 1342. "With glowing hopes and eager desire," he writes, "did I apply myself to the Greek; but the complete foreignness of the language, and the sudden decease of my teacher, put an end to my project." Nicholas Sigeros subsequently sent him a Homer from Constantinople. He acknowledged the gift in these terms: "You have sent me a great, a priceless treasure; I only wish that you yourself had come with it; then could I learn this difficult language under your direction, and so enjoy your gift. But, alas! what shall I do? For you live in a distant land, and Barlaam has been snatched from me by death. To me Homer is dumb, or, much more,

I am deaf for him. Yet I delight myself in gazing on him, and often do I embrace him, and exclaim with a sigh, 'O thou great man, how joyfully would I listen to thy numbers, but my ears are sealed, the one by death, the other by long distance.'" Petrarch added, notwithstanding, the request to Sigeros to send him a Hesiod and a Euripides. His enthusiasm for the Roman classics was that of an Italian who honored in them the genius of his ancestors, and who longed for the restoration of the olden power and glory of Rome. He must have had, moreover, as his poems show, a most delicate ear for the sweetness of the language. The charming periods of Cicero, and the stately hexameters of Virgil, exercised a magical influence upon him. His absorbing devotion to the ancient classics, his daily and constant communion with them, and withal his endeavors to imitate them, are every where evidenced; in his letters especially. So much the more must we honor him, in that he was not warped from Christianity by his attachment to the ancients. "It is permitted to us," he writes to John Colonna, "to admire and to esteem the philosophers, provided that they do not turn us aside from truth, nor blind our eyes to the chief end of our existence. Should any of them tempt us to this, even were it Plato, Aristotle, Varro, or Cicero, then must he with an unyielding steadfastness be despised and trodden under foot. No acuteness of argumentation, no seducing array of words, no authority of great names, should be allowed to have any weight with us. For they were but men, their learning was no deeper than human penetration and experience could go; and, though their eloquence was surpassing, and their intellectual gifts of the highest order, yet we should compassionate them, because they lacked that good which is unspeakable and above all price. Inasmuch as they trusted to their own strength, and turned away from the true light, they have stumbled and fallen, after the manner of the blind. We may admire their talents, but at the same time we should not forget to give the glory to Him who bestowed those talents upon them. We may feel compassion for the errors of these men, but we should not forget to be grateful for our lot, and to acknowledge that we have been more highly favored than our ancestors, and that, without any merit of our own, but purely through the grace of Him who conceals his mysteries from the wise but reveals them unto babes. Let us so philosophize as to abide by the true wisdom. But the true wisdom of God is in Christ. To philosophize then in the true spirit, we must love and honor Christ first of all. Let us be Christians, first and foremost. Let us so read philosophy, poetry, and history, that Christ's gospel shall ever sound in the ears of our heart, that gospel through which alone we can become sufficiently learned and blessed, but without

which our highest accomplishments will but render us more ignorant and wretched. Upon the gospel alone, as upon the only immovable basis of all true knowledge, can human diligence build with safety."

But clearly as Petrarch beheld the relation which the classics sustained to the gospel, and just as was the opinion which he pronounced upon them, yet he was equally free from the narrow-mindedness of those who foolishly deem themselves the more acceptable to God the more they clip the wings of their own spirits. "You tell me," Petrarch wrote to James Colonna, "that I only feign a love for Augustin and his works, while in truth I can not divorce myself from the poets and philosophers. But why should I tear myself away from those studies in which Augustin himself took so much delight? Had it not been so with him, he had never put together those sublime books 'of the *City of God*'—to say nothing of his other works—with so much cement borrowed from the poets and philosophers, nor adorned them with so many colors drawn from the orators and historians. And he himself moreover freely testifies that he found much of the Christian element in the works of the Platonists, and that the Hortensius of Cicero made a wonderful change in his views, so that he was diverted thereby from vain expectations, and the profitless controversies of sects, and attracted to the unmingled study of truth. Thus was this great teacher of the church not ashamed to put himself under the guidance of Cicero, although Cicero's ideal was in the main so widely different from his. And why should he have been ashamed? We ought not to refuse the aid of any leader, who points to us the way of the soul's safety. I do not deny that much is to be found in the classics that we ought to avoid; so too in Christian writers there are often many things which will mislead an incautious reader. Yea, Augustin himself has given us a laborious work, in which, with his own hand, he has rooted out the tares from the rich wheat-field of his writings. In short, the books are very few that we can read without danger, unless the light of divine truth shall shine into our minds, and discover to us what to choose and what to shun. And if we have this light to guide us, we shall walk every where in a sure place."

But the men of that day did not all share Petrarch's opinions. He lamented, as Augustin had done before him, "that so many, in their enthusiasm for study, neglected to strive after holiness, and thought more highly of eloquence and renown than of a blameless life and of virtue. Poets were more willing to be faulty in their conduct than in their verse; historians cared more to trace the annals of the world than to render an account of their own short lives; and orators shrank with far more disgust from deformity in style than from

crooked dealings with their fellow-men. Theologians had degenerated into logicians, nay, into sophists; they did not seek to *love*, only to *know* God, nor this except for appearance' sake and to deceive others, while in secret they cherished their unholy passions."

The preceding paragraph discloses Petrarch's aversion to the logicians, that is, the scholastics. In two letters to Thomas of Messina he holds up to ridicule an old, contentious logician, depicts his bloodless, lanthorn-jawed visage, his sunken eyes, his ragged attire, and his rough, austere manner. Accusations and slanders form the staple of his discourse. With hoarse yelping he has given utterance to the dictum that Petrarch's art, *i. e.*, the art of poetry, was the least useful of all the arts. Petrarch admits, in passing, that it ministers to the desire for delight and for beauty, not to mere utility. But the logician argues, that, if the poetic art is the least useful, it is therefore the least elevated. According to such an irrational conclusion, the barest handicraft is to be held in the highest honor. "Out upon this new and barbarous doctrine," Petrarch continues, "a doctrine unknown even to Aristotle, whose name they sully by the imputation."

The hatred of the scholastics toward Petrarch was subsequently displayed in the most violent manner. At Venice they sat in judgment upon him, and decreed that he was devoid of learning; upon which he wrote the treatise "*On his own ignorance and that of others.*" In another quarter he was cried down as a disciple of the "black art," because he read Virgil so constantly, a poet regarded in the Middle Ages as a sorcerer, and also because he wrote poems himself. The chief and most rancorous enemy of the poets at that period was Solipodio, a Dominican and a Grand Inquisitor.

In his youth, Petrarch was accounted beautiful: in a letter to his brother he alludes jocosely to their mutual pride of personal appearance. "Yet would that I could say with truth," he writes, "that I had ever remained entirely free from the dominion of pleasure! But I thank God that, while I was yet in the flower of youth, He rescued me from this debasing and detested yoke." He owed his safety to his pure, poetical love for Laura, who remained to the end true to her marriage-vow.

In the year 1348, that terrible pestilence, the Black Plague, raged throughout Asia and Europe, from China to Iceland. During that period, Petrarch wrote to his brother as follows:—"My brother, ah! my dearest brother, what shall I tell you? Where shall I begin, or what shall I speak of first? All is anguish and terror. Oh! my brother, would that I had never been born, or at least that I had not lived to witness these horrors!" "Was it ever heard, does history any where show the record, of houses emptied, and cities depopulated, of

fields piled with the dead, in short, of the whole globe being changed into a waste, howling wilderness? Ask the historians, they are dumb; ask the physicians, they are struck with amazement; ask the philosophers, they shrug their shoulders, draw down their eyebrows, and, with their finger on their mouth, they bid you be silent. Will posterity credit this, when we ourselves, who are eye-witnesses, can scarce believe it?" In a tone of despairing sadness he mourns over the loss of numbers of his friends. In these dark days his thoughts were continually with his absent Laura. On the 6th of April, he tells us, she appeared to him in a morning-dream, fair as an angel. "Dost thou not know me?" she said, "I am she who led thee aside from the beaten paths of worldliness, when first thy young heart inclined itself to me." To his question whether she yet lived, she replied: "I am living, but thou art dead, and so thou wilt remain, until thou hast left the earth behind thee. Thou wilt never find true happiness, so long as thou courtest the favor, or art awed by the displeasure, of the populace. Thou wouldst rejoice at my death rather than mourn over it, couldst thou realize but a tithe of the bliss which is now my portion."

On the 19th of May, next following, Petrarch received the news that Laura had died upon that dream-night, the 6th of April; it was on the 6th of April, twenty-one years before, that he had first seen her. At such a trying period, and with such experiences, it is not to be wondered at that Petrarch, as he advanced in years, became melancholy and austere, withdrawing himself more and more from the vanities of the world. He had from the first, however, cherished an especial reverence and love for the austere Augustin above all the church fathers; the "*Confessions*" chiefly had exercised a marked influence upon him. This book he had with him as he once ascended to the summit of the lofty Veutoux, and from thence enjoyed the glorious prospect over the Alps of Dauphiny, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Cevennes—while the Rhone flowed at his feet. He there opened the book, and the first passage upon which his eye alighted was the following: "Men go on long journeys to admire lofty mountains and mighty oceans, but meanwhile they forget themselves." This thought made a profound impression upon him, and was the occasion of his afterward writing the "*Conversations with Augustin*." In his last years he resided at Arqua, in the neighborhood of Padua. On the 18th of July, 1374, he was found dead, his head resting upon a book. Sixteen doctors bore his coffin to the grave; nobles, clergy, and multitudes of the common people joined in the funeral-procession. The following epitaph, which he had himself composed, is upon his tombstone:—

"Frigida Francisci tegit hic lapis ossa Petrarchæ;—
Suscipe Virgo parens animam; Sate Virgine parce,
Fessaque jam terris Cœli requiescat in arce."*

In his will he bequeathed, amongst other things, money to Boccaccio to buy himself a winter-robe to wear whilst studying at night. His choice library he had before his death given to the Venetians, and it formed the nucleus of the afterward so celebrated Library of St. Mark. He had spent an extraordinary amount of labor in collecting manuscripts, and many he had copied with his own hand, while others he had employed his scholar, John of Ravenna, subsequently renowned as a teacher, to copy.

III. RETROSPECT. DANTE, BOCCACCIO, AND PETRARCH.

Looking back for a moment at these three men, let us ask ourselves what they had in common, and wherein they differed from one another. All three, sons of Florentine citizens, they first fashioned a common national and written language for the whole of Italy. This they did, not so much by means of convincing philological demonstrations, based upon established principles, as by recognizing and authenticating the language, in the works of their genius. "Poets and authors, in the lofty moods of their inspiration, feel the invisible sway of the untiringly creative spirit of language."†

All three of them moreover paved the way for the study of the classics, and in them first we behold an awakening feeling of classical beauty, and an enthusiastic love for the ancients; nevertheless Dante and Petrarch were familiar with Roman writers only, though Boccaccio read the Greek also. This enthusiastic love for the classics was destined sooner or later to come into conflict with the Christian faith. In Dante however this faith ruled in a sublime and undisputed tranquillity. Petrarch's passion for the classics was likewise unconditionally subordinate to the doctrines of the church. And it is only later, and chiefly among the Italians, that we find the Pagan element frequently victorious over the Christian.

Side by side with this conflict we behold an extremely singular intermingling of Pagan and Christian words, metaphors, and sentiments. Thus we find in Dante the following:—

"Forgive, O highest Jove, enthroned in light,
Thou who on earth wast crucified for mortals."

* The above epitaph, a compact rhyming triplet, in dactylic hexameter, I have reproduced in trochaic heptameter, as follows, viz:—

"Cold the bones of Francis Petrarch here beneath this marble lie:
Take his soul, O Virgin parent; Virgin's son in grace draw nigh
From the weary earth to bear it to thy peaceful courts on high."

[*Translator.*]

† Jacob Grimm, in the preface to his German Grammar.

We have seen that Boccaccio calls Christ "the son of Jupiter, who ravished the realms of Pluto." It was of a piece too with this mode of representation that, at the coronation of Petrarch, satyrs, fauns, and nymphs were made to dance before the poet, when he was about to offer his prayers at the altar of St. Peter, and to devote his crown as a sacrifice to the apostle.

This Christian-Pagan intermixture was carried by the later Italians into the grossest caricature.

The mediæval method of writing Latin, and heedlessly corrupting it without any knowledge of the Roman writers of the golden age, now began to die out; the classics were sought for and read, and all possible efforts were made to imitate them.

Although these three men thus prepared the way for the Italian writer whether of prose or verse to express his thoughts in his own living vernacular, yet more than a century passed before any new works meriting attention were composed in the Italian language. On the contrary, so absorbing was the enthusiasm for the classics during the 15th century, that the Italian scholars of that period treated their native tongue with contempt. In the Latin Dialogues of Leonardo Aretino we find that well-known statesman and scholar, Nicolo Nicoli, speaking in the following manner of Dante:—"I can not conceive how any one can place this man, who wrote such poor Latin, among poets and scholars, or, as some do, prefer him even to Virgil: he ought rather, I think, to be classed with belt-makers and bakers, and people of that kidney."

Even up to the time of Lorenzo di Medici, Florentine fathers and teachers forbade their boys to read books written in Italian, which language they contemptuously styled a vulgar tongue.

But when, toward the close of the 15th and in the 16th centuries, the vernacular was again brought into repute through the efforts of master writers both of prose and poetry, then the *Academy della Crusca* constituted itself a supreme tribunal to decide between good and bad Italian. By it, Petrarch's poems, and of Boccaccio's prose the "*Decameron*," were pronounced the highest authority in Italian, in the same manner as Cicero was in Latin. Men had indeed been so long accustomed to imitation, that they did not even deem it possible to be original. That Dante, the *inimitable*, must necessarily have been neglected by the Academy, is hence quite natural. It is worthy of remark that both Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, were unanimous in condemning the gross corruption of the clergy. They did not even spare the pope; Dante's sharp rebuke of indulgences was eminently a prelude to the contests of the Reformation. In the succeeding centuries, the advancement and upbuilding of classical culture—

in Germany especially—was most closely leagued with the cause of reformation in the church; so closely in fact, that Erasmus, for example, was often unable to determine precisely what he was advocating, whether the claims of sound learning or of ecclesiastical purity.

Dante's powerful imagination and most delicate appreciation of beauty were made tributary to an intellect flashing with the keenest subtleties of scholasticism. Petrarch, on the other hand, belonged rather to the coming time, as his antipathy to the repulsive and degenerate logic of most of the schoolmen indicates. They too on their part regarded his poetry as altogether useless, and solemnly stigmatized the poet as an unenlightened dunce. It was a Grand Inquisitor, and a Dominican, who in that age testified the greatest degree of hatred toward all the poets. What an apt introduction is this to the battles which, in the 15th and the 16th centuries, raged between the well-meaning, though often superficial, champions of antiquity and the last representatives of an unlearned and misshapen scholasticism, with the Dominicans at their head!

With these preliminary hints, we resume our history, in the course of which it will become more and more apparent that the influence of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio upon the learning of Germany, if not direct, was nevertheless immense.

IV. GROWTH OF CLASSICAL LEARNING IN ITALY, FROM THE DEATH OF PETRARCH AND BOCCACCIO TO THE AGE OF LEO X.

1. *John of Ravenna and Emanuel Chrysoloras.*

Three sons of Florentine citizens, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, had thus laid the foundation of a new style of culture. Within a century and a half after the death of the latter, the passion for classical studies ran high. Florence fostered these studies above all other cities, and chiefly through the influence of Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici. Next to Florence, Rome, Venice, Milan, and Ferrara were conspicuous; in fact no city of note in Italy remained entirely aloof; all desired to see one or another philologist, if only for a time, as a teacher within their walls. Hence the most distinguished men were constantly called from one city to another. Among the earliest teachers there were two who formed many illustrious scholars. One of these was John Malpaghino, commonly called, after the place of his birth, John of Ravenna. He was born in 1352. He spent several years with Petrarch, who treated him with the fondness of a father, and gave him instruction. Having superior talents, and a wonderful memory, he made rapid progress. Nevertheless he left Petrarch suddenly, from a disgust for transcribing, joined to a desire to see the world. Some time after, he taught at Padua, and was there distinguished as well for his blameless life as for his learning. In the year

1397 he was appointed by the city of Florence to a professorship of the Roman language and eloquence. In the year 1412 he obtained the further honor of lecturing upon and explaining the "*Divina Commedia*" of Dante, upon feast-days in the cathedral. He died somewhere between 1412 and 1420.

As John promoted the study of the Roman classics, so did Emanuel Chrysoloras the like for the Greek. At first a teacher in Constantinople, he was, after the year 1391, sent by the Emperor John Palæologus repeatedly into the West, to secure help against the inroads of the Turks. In the year 1396 he was invited, upon a salary of 100 gulden, to Florence to teach Greek literature. He was the first native Greek who taught in Italy. "For 700 years," thus wrote his scholar, Leonardo Aretino, "no Italian has known any thing of Greek literature, and yet we acknowledge that all our learning is derived from the Greeks." Afterward Chrysoloras taught in Pavia, Venice, etc. He was sent in 1415, by Pope John XXIII., to the Council of Constance, in which city he died.

John of Ravenna and Chrysoloras were succeeded by a host of teachers, both of Latin and Greek; for the new style of culture demanded a knowledge of both these languages. Latin was the chief language in vogue among the higher orders in Italy; for it had been the language of their great Roman forefathers, and they were therefore too proud of it to regard it as dead. Greek too had been taught by Chrysoloras as his own living, native tongue, not as a dead book-language; and as he had done, so did other Greeks, who afterward came to Italy.

2. *The Teachers Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre.*

Of the many philologists who now came into notice, I will, agreeably to the plan that I have marked out for myself, give a sketch of two who became eminent both as public instructors and as private tutors, viz., Guarino and Vittorino di Feltre.

Guarino was born in 1370, at Ferrara, and as early as 1388 he betook himself to Constantinople to Chrysoloras. On his return home, he taught in Verona, Padua, and Bologna, in Ferrara superintended the education of Prince Lionello, translated Strabo and other classics, gave comments on Cicero, Persius, Juvenal, Martial, Aristotle, &c., and wrote a Latin grammar.

He became distinguished for his sincere piety, and he used great caution lest his scholars, by a constant perusal of the ancients, the grosser portions of their writings especially, should become heathenish in their sentiments or loose in their morals. Hence he insisted upon a diligent study of the Bible and an attendance upon divine service. His mode of teaching was highly applauded, and above all the way

in which he trained his scholars to eloquence. He placed before them classical models, and censured with indignation the scholastics, who looked no further than their bigoted pedantry could carry them. "They waste," he says, "an unspeakable amount of pains, to make their scholars twice as silly and ignorant as they were before." In the year 1438, Guarino was appointed interpreter between the Latin and Greek fathers at the Council of Ferrara, where, as is well known, an attempt was made to unite the Greek and Roman churches. He died in the year 1460, at the age of 90.

Though Guarino showed by his noble pupil, Prince Lionello of Ferrara, what were his talents as a teacher, yet he was surpassed by VITTORINO DE FELTRE, who was the most widely-famed master in that age in Italy. Born in 1378, of poor parentage, he not merely studied philology under John of Ravenna, but directed his attention to theology and philosophy also. In the space of six months he attained to a perfect understanding of the first ten books of Euclid; "a feat without a parallel in our days," said Francesco da Castiglione. His Greek he learned from Guarino.

After Vittorino had taught at Padua and at Venice, he was invited in 1824 by the Marquis Gonzaga to Mantua, to take charge of the education of his two sons. As a teacher, he avoided all pedantic one-sidedness. His pupils were trained to practise themselves in riding, wrestling, fencing, archery, swimming, &c., in short, to harden their bodies in every way, and to shun all Epicureanism. When in the course of time there began to flock to him, not only from Italy, but from Germany, France, and Greece, pupils in great numbers, and he could only give a limited attention to them with his two princely pupils, he found it necessary to establish a separate school for their instruction. In addition to gymnastics, they were taught the languages, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, music, painting, and dancing.

"In his instructions in logic he steered clear of the subtleties of the scholastics, and their writings were not admitted into his school: 'For,' he said, 'I intend that my pupils shall learn the art of *thinking*, not that of splitting hairs.'"

"Like other classical scholars of that age, Vittorino probably neglected the Italian language, for he nowhere appeared to regard the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio as safe guides in the cultivation of taste." He directed his scholars to the ancients exclusively, and to imitation of them; and of Carraro, a scholar of his, who was well versed in Virgil, he said, "he will become a second Maro."* Traver-

* The enthusiasm of the Mantuans for the Mantuan bard, Virgil, was unbounded. And this enthusiasm was shared by Vittorino. The poet was even mentioned in a hymn sung at the Mass of St. Paul. Paul has landed at Posilippo, near Virgil's grave.

sari, who visited Vittorino in the year 1435, relates with rapture how beautifully the young Prince Gonzaga, only 14 years old, declaimed two hundred original lines, and how moreover he had discovered two new propositions additional to those of Euclid. The Princess Cecilia Gonzaga, who was only ten years of age, he says, wrote Greek as elegantly as any of Vittorino's scholars.*

Vittorino exercised the utmost care over the deportment and the morals of his pupils; the looser order of classics were not read at all, and single impure passages, wherever occurring, were omitted or altered. A bad man, he thought, can never be a finished scholar, much less a good orator. A faultless style is of far less importance than a blameless life.

He imparted religious instruction in person, exhorted his pupils to the duty of prayer, and accompanied them to mass daily. With ascetic inflexibility he locked himself in his room every morning, and there prayed kneeling, and scourged himself. He also went often to the confessional. The poor and the sick he assisted by every means in his power, and he was utterly heedless of wealth. It is no wonder that he was held in the highest esteem, not only as an educator but also as a man. When Pope Eugene IV. was entreated by a monk for permission to enter Vittorino's school, he replied, "Go, my son, with good will do we put you under the charge of the godliest and holiest of all living men." His great temperance, joined to the regular bodily exercise which he took among his pupils, secured him vigorous health even to his closing days. He died without a sigh, and with a serene smile upon his lips, in the 68th year of his life, in 1446.

3. *Manuscript-Collecting. Cosmo di Medici. Nicholas V. The First Printed Books.*

While teachers and educators, like Guarino and Vittorino, were displaying the highest intellectual animation and energy in the promotion of classical learning, there arose at the same time a necessity for much labor that was chiefly mechanical. We have seen that, in Petrarch's day, copies of the ancient classics were exceedingly scarce. But in the 15th century a most eager rivalry was manifested to collect

At this point in the narration occurs the verse which we quote, as follows:—

"Ad Maronis mausoleum
Ductus fudit super eum
Piæ rorem lacrymæ:
Quem te, inquit, reddidissem
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime!"

* Italy was celebrated in the 15th and 16th centuries for many such accomplished and learned ladies. Witness Hippolyta Vittoria Colonna. In this we are reminded of Goethe's Princess Eleonore, the student of Plato.

manuscripts, and neither pains nor expense were spared in the pursuit. Says Fabronius, "Scholars were like hounds, snuffing at, and prying into, every nook and corner."

Cosmo and Lorenzo di Medici ranked foremost among the collectors; next after them came Pope Nicholas V. The Medici expended large sums for this purpose, and availed themselves therein of their extensive mercantile relations. Aurispa brought back to Cosmo, as the fruits of one journey, 238 manuscripts. And when Cosmo's friend, Nicoli, bequeathed 400 manuscripts to the city of Florence, Cosmo built, at an outlay of 76,000 ducats, a library-edifice, in which in the year 1444 those manuscripts were deposited. This was the origin of the Medicean Library. Subsequently Lorenzo di Medici dispatched John Lascaris at two separate periods to Greece, to purchase manuscripts; during the second journey he collected 200, mostly from Mount Athos.

In the arrangement of the library, Cosmo was assisted by Thomas Sarzano, the same person who afterward, in 1447, under the name of Nicholas V., filled the papal chair. Nicholas bore sway but eight years, until 1455; yet within this period occurred the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, in consequence of which event Greek scholars and Greek manuscripts poured in great numbers into Italy. Nicholas appears to have collected 5,000 manuscripts, thus laying the foundation of the famed Vatican Library.

About this period also Cardinal Bessarion, whom we shall have occasion to know more particularly hereafter, sent a number of manuscripts to Venice, and with these commenced the formation of the Library of St. Mark.

Multitudes of scribes too were actively employed in neatly transcribing manuscripts, thus increasing their number, and in this work the most learned men did not hesitate to engage. The youthful John of Ravenna, when he formed the sudden resolution to leave Petrarch, and was asked by the latter what impelled him to go, replied with tears, "Nothing but my unwillingness to write any more; I can never again be persuaded to copy manuscripts." And Ambrose Traversari lamented that the constant use of the pen had brought on spasms in his fingers and pains in his arms.

We have here an intimation of the delight with which the invention of printing must have been welcomed by the scholars of Italy. They had made large collections of manuscripts. And when these came to be printed, they collected them with care, and selected only the most approved texts for publication. At Florence, Virgil was the first book printed. This was in the year 1472. The Juntas acquired a high reputation there as printers. At Rome, German

printers established themselves, and the earliest work printed by them was Lactantius. The Greek grammar of Lascaris, printed at Milan in 1476, was the first Greek book which was issued in Italy. But among all the printers of that age the learned Aldus Manutius of Venice stands foremost. And Venice far excelled all the cities of Italy in the number of works published there during the 16th century. For it amounted to 2835, while all the other cities together could show but 2000.

4. *The Platonic Academy. Greek Philologists.*

After the digression which we have now made, we will cast our glance again at the most eminent philologists of that epoch. There were however so many of them, that I shall only notice some of the most distinguished and most active. I have already stated that, after Emanuel Chrysoloras, many other Greeks migrated to Italy. The Council of Ferrara of the year 1438, and that in the following year changed its sittings to Florence, had in view a union between the Greek and the Western churches. The Greek emperor, John Palæologus VII., came to Ferrara in person, bringing with him Greek scholars of note. Among these was Gemistus Pletho, a profound student of Plato. Cosmo di Medici induced Gemistus to deliver lectures at Florence upon the Platonic philosophy. Hitherto in Italy, as in the rest of learned Europe, the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy had reigned supreme, and Plato was known only by name. But now Cosmo was completely won over to Plato, and with him many Florentine scholars, and he founded a Platonic academy. The youthful Marsilius Ficinus, son of a surgeon, he set apart wholly to the study of Plato; and Ficinus applied himself to his task with such effect that his Latin translation of Plato's writings are held to this day in high esteem. He translated moreover the new Platonists. Bessarion of Trebizond, a scholar of Gemistus and like him a Platonist, was also a member of the Council of Ferrara. Originally Archbishop of Nice, he went over to the Western Church, was made a cardinal, and lived mostly in Venice.

Still earlier than Bessarion, George of Trebizond came to Italy. He was a most devoted adherent of Aristotle, and he wrote an essay in disparagement of Plato.* To this Bessarion replied.† There now commenced a hot contest between the enthusiastic Platonists, the Florentines especially, on the one hand, and the defenders of Aristotelian scholasticism on the other. More closely regarded, it appears to have been the old battle commenced by Petrarch, though in another guise. The beauty of Plato's sentiments, and the poetic ele-

* "*Comparatio inter Aristotelem et Platonem.*" † "*In calumniatorem Platonis.*"

ment recognized in him, were his chief attractions in the eyes of the philologists.*

5. *Italians—Philelphus, Poggius, Laurentius Valla.*

The reader has already been introduced to four native-born Italians, John of Ravenna, Guarino, Vittorino, and Marsilius Ficinus. To these we will now add others of eminence.

FRANCIS PHILELPHUS, who was born in 1398, at Tolentino, became so early mature that he was invited when in his twentieth year to give public instruction at Venice. In the year 1420 he went to Greece and to Constantinople, there learned Greek under John, the son of Emanuel Chrysoloras, was promoted to great honor by the Emperors Manuel and John Palæologus, and sent on embassies to Sultan Amurath and the Emperor Sigismund. He did not return to Venice until 1427; and in 1428, through the influence of Cosmo di Medici, he went to Florence. From that place he wrote thus to Aurispa:—"Florence is a delightful city, and all its inhabitants pay me attention; my name is in every mouth; and when I pass through the streets, not only the first citizens, but even the most noble ladies, make way for me in reverence. I have daily toward four hundred auditors, and these mostly the elder men and members of the senate. Cosmo has visited me, not once alone but repeatedly." A short time after this he became most bitterly hostile toward Cosmo, especially after the latter had been banished from the city. On this account it was that he left Florence in 1434, when Cosmo returned. He next lived for a long period at Milan; and, in 1474, Sixtus IV. induced him, by the offer of 500 ducats yearly, to come to Rome. From thence, having become many years previous reconciled to Cosmo, he returned, at the instance of Lorenzo di Medici, to Florence, where he died in 1481, in his 83d year.

Philelphus was actively employed even to his extreme old age in communicating the choicest instruction; even in his 77th year he lectured at Rome with the highest eclat upon Cicero's "*Tusculan Questions.*" At the same time he carried on an extensive correspondence,[1] and translated many of the writings of Aristotle, Xenophon, Plutarch, and other Greek authors into Latin. His "*Convivia*"[2] are conversations upon subjects drawn from the literature of the ancients; in

* Besides the Greeks already named, the following attained to eminence:—Theodore Gaza, who was born at Thessalonica in 1398, and died in 1478. He composed a Greek grammar, and translated Aristotle's History of Animals and Theophrastus' History of Plants. Of John Argyropulus, of Constantinople, we shall speak further on. His successor in teaching at Florence was Demetrius Chalcondyles, who however was supplanted by Politian, and died at Milan, in 1511, at the age of 87. He edited the Florentine edition of Homer of the year 1488.

1 Epistolarum, libri XXXVII. Paris, 1503.

2 Conviviorum, libri II., de multarum ortu et incremento disciplinarum.

his satires[1] he sought retaliation for insults to his vanity; he also wrote fables[2] in elegiac verse.

The character of Philelphus appears to have been despicable. His vanity was excessive, and his disposition was bitter and revengeful. He was profligate too, if we are to admit as true a tithe of what we are told of him by another profligate character, viz.,

Poggius Bracciolini. Poggius was born in 1380, in the neighborhood of Arezzo, and was a scholar of John of Ravenna and of Emanuel Chrysoloras. From 1402 to 1453 he was a member of the papal chancery, then government-secretary of the city of Florence till his decease in 1459. He was never a teacher, and his chief merit consisted in discoveries of ancient classics. Among other manuscripts brought to light by him was Quintilian. This he found at St. Gall. In 1415 he was present at the Council of Constance. In a letter to Leonard Aretinus he gives a graphic description, as an eye-witness, of the last days of Jerome of Prague. On leaving Constance, he visited the baths of Baden, in Switzerland. In the same letter in which the pleasure-seeking man describes the innocent gambols of the Swiss women—and at reading which one might imagine himself transported amid the early scenes of Tahiti—he mentions the instructions in Hebrew, which he was privileged to receive from a Jewish proselyte. "If this study," he writes, "is not from my point of view useful to increase my knowledge of philosophy, it nevertheless enlarges the field of my scholarship in this respect, viz., that by means of it I am able to lay bare the method of interpretation employed by St. Jerome." The Germans passed with Poggius, as with most of the Italians of that day, for barbarians.

The clergy and the monks he could not speak of but with indignation. "Of the cardinals," he writes, "I scarcely dare express my opinion. It were to be desired that those who wear such exalted honors would spend less of their energy in amassing wealth, and in the perversion of justice and judgment. The same may be said of the bishops."

"There is a class of monks called the 'begging friars,' although they would seem to bring others to poverty, while they themselves are idle, living upon the hard earnings of their fellow-men. They are a conceited and useless generation, that only take up their sacred calling as a cloak for their vices."

Besides letters, we have from the hand of Poggius speeches, conversations, (*historiæ convivales*,) and treatises upon various topics. His defamatory attacks upon Philelphus and Laurentius Valla made no small stir; there was no baseness of which he did not accuse

1 Satyrarum hecatostichon decades decem. 2 Francisci Philelphi Fabulæ, 1480.

them, and many of the allegations are too foul-mouthed to translate. Philelphus indeed had laid himself open to a large share of the charges; Valla, on the contrary, in his rejoinders, triumphantly convicted his antagonist of falsehood. He had grievously offended the vain Poggius by some criticisms which he had made upon the Latinity of the latter. The invectives which were thus called out fill sixty-three folio pages; we are amazed at the torrent of words which pour from the blackguard's mouth.

Aside from the consideration of the truth or the falsity of these polemical essays, they certainly do not support the often quoted sentiment contained in the following lines:—

"*Didicisse fideliter artes*
Emollit mores; nec sinit esse feros."

"A thorough intellectual discipline softens the manners; nor does it consist with rudeness."

On the contrary they prove but too clearly the lamentable state into which religion had fallen in Italy, when the most finished scholars of that day—men whom not only princes and kings but even popes deigned to honor—when such men as these could write in such a coarse, despicable, and filthy manner.

And the same Poggius, who reproached his antagonist with sins against chastity, was himself the author of the "*Facetiæ*," a collection of extremely low and sensual jokes. With justice did Valla affirm that he would not defile his mouth and his pages with citations from the obscenities of Poggius, but would choose rather to pass them over in silence, even at the risk of being branded as a traducer. And what reply did Poggius make to him on this point? No other, except to scoff in the grossest terms at his austerity, and to boast that his own *elegant* production had been circulated not merely through the whole of Italy, but also in France, Germany, Spain, and England. And this, alas! was no empty boast; for within the short space between the years 1470 and 1500 there appeared no fewer than twenty editions of this work.

Laurentius Valla was born at Rome, in 1415. His most important philological work was the "*Elegantiæ Latini Sermonis*," in six books. In the preface to the first book he praises the ancestors of the Romans, (*majores nostros*,) in that they were not merely conquerors, but that they extended the empire of the Latin language over vast realms. "Great is the divinity of the Latin tongue," he thus expresses himself, "for it has been enshrined through all these many centuries, by foreigners, by barbarians, by enemies even; hence ought we Romans rather to rejoice that to mourn. True indeed we

have lost Rome, and we have lost empire, though (it should be said,) not from any fault of ours, but in obedience to the behest of time; nevertheless, by the might of this more glorious dominion, we yet rule over a great portion of the globe. Italy is ours, Spain is ours, and so are Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and many other lands. *For where the Roman tongue has left its impress, there is the Roman Empire.*"

"But grief and shame overwhelm me when I consider that for many centuries none have spoken, nor have any understood, Latin." "Yet," he continues, "the time is at hand when the Latin shall again flourish. And, out of regard for my country, I will labor for this consummation, and will strive beyond others to become a reformer of her languages."

His work contains most excellent grammatical notes, especially upon synonyms. It met with such general applause as to reach its 59th edition between the years 1471 and 1536. Valla also translated Herodotus and Thucydides.

He was the first to apply the newly revived classical philology to the interpretation of the New Testament, and he likewise wrote critical notes upon the Vulgate, and emended many passages of the same.

His controversy with Poggius we have mentioned already; he moreover defended Quintilian against George of Trebizond, who in his ardor for Cicero had decried the former.

Valla's treatise "*De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*" made great commotion, as it contained most severe censures of the popes, especially of their grasping after temporal dominion. "To the power of the keys, which was bestowed by the Lord," he said, "nothing can be added. Who is not content with this, must seek what he desires from the devil, who once made bold to offer to our Lord all the kingdoms of this world, if he would but fall down and worship him. The pope resorts to war for temporal aggrandizement. All piety disappears, and wicked men appeal in their own justification to the example of the pope. Simony prevails. The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat. Does this pomp and glitter befit the humility that should characterize the vicegerent of Christ?"

He defended Epicurus,* and thereby drew upon himself the condemnation of the theologians of Rome, and was obliged to flee to King Alphonso of Naples. Here again he narrowly escaped being burned at the stake by the Inquisition. But when Nicholas V. became pope

* In his essay "*De vero bono.*" The treatise "*De libero arbitrio*" was likewise assailed. In reply he wrote the "*Vallæ pro se et contra calumniatores ad Eugenium IV. apologia.*"

he returned to Rome, where he died in 1465, in his 50th year. In his epitaph he is styled canon and papal secretary.

6. *Lorenzo di Medici, Ficinus, Argyropulus, Sandinus, Politian, Picus di Mirandola.*

Cosmo di Medici died in 1564, in the 75th year of his age. Machiavelli says of him, "Cosmo's enemies mourned for him as well as his friends," and Machiavelli was himself an enemy of the Medici. Here is not the place to speak of Cosmo's merits as a statesman; but how he founded expensive and choice libraries, collected works of art, patronized scholars and artists, and built churches and palaces, we have already narrated.

Cosmo was succeeded in the government by his son Peter di Medici. Peter died in 1469; his son and successor, the grandson of Cosmo, was the famous Lorenzo.

Lorenzo di Medici was favored with the best of teachers. One of these, Marsilius Ficinus, we have already met with; he was the same whom Cosmo caused to be educated for the study of Plato. He communicated his own love for Plato to Lorenzo, under whom the Platonic academy founded by Cosmo continued to flourish. And we find among the Italian poems of Lorenzo some of the Platonic cast.

Besides Marsilius, the Platonist, John Argyropulus, an Aristotelian, was one of Lorenzo's teachers. So too was

Christopher Landinus, who was born at Florence, in 1420, and studied under Carl Aretino. In the year 1457, Landinus became a professor of rhetoric and poetics, and had many pupils. His Latin poems are less widely known than his commentaries on Horace, Virgil, and Dante. Pliny's Natural History he translated into Italian. His "*Camaldunensian Questions*" are in imitation of the "*Tusculan*" of Cicero. He died in 1504, in the 80th year of his age.

In addition to these three teachers, Lorenzo enjoyed the society of two younger friends, who were men of high distinction, namely, Angelius Politianus and Picus di Mirandola.

Angelius Politianus (or Ambrogini) was the son of a poor jurist, and was born at Monte Palciano, in 1434. When a boy of only thirteen, being six years younger than Lorenzo, he inscribed to him a Latin epigram, in which he lamented his own poverty. In consequence of this, he was received into Lorenzo's family, and, in company with him, was instructed by Ficinus and Landinus. But he came into much higher favor through an Italian poem upon the knightly victory of Julian, the brother of Lorenzo.

In later years Lorenzo intrusted to Politian the education of his sons Peter and John; the latter of whom is better known as Leo X. In 1480 Politian became a teacher of Greek and Roman literature

at Florence. He read comments upon many of the classics, Aristotle among the number. This was objected to; it was said of him, that he had never devoted himself to philosophy, and yet offered to teach what he had not learned. To this he replied as follows:—"I profess to be an expositor of Aristotle, not a philosopher. Were I interpreter to a king, I would not therefore imagine myself a king. Servicus and Aristarchus did not claim to be poets. The office of a grammarian is to comment upon writings generally, whatever may be their subject." That in his capacity as grammarian he made himself troublesome to the scholastics, "who," as he said, "were naturally enough inimical to writers whose elegant diction was the very reverse of their own," his we see clearly by his own testimony. "I once waded through," he writes, "some of the commentaries on Aristotle, which those philosophers extol so highly; and truly what monstrosities did I find them to be! I also compared the Greek Aristotle with the Teutonic, (*cum Teutonico,*) that is to say, the most finished with the most unformed and expressionless, and ah! how altered did he appear! I saw him, and it pained me so to see him, not in a masterly manner transferred from the Greek, but barbarously distorted,* so that no trace of the real Aristotle could be gleaned from the translation. And yet these blockheads do not blush to assume the name of philosophers."

Here again we behold the warfare between scholastic and classical learning. The grammarian convicted the philosopher of not understanding Aristotle in the least, and thus, by removing the corner-stone of the philosophical edifice, caused it to tumble into ruins.

At that time there subsisted a great jealousy between the Greek and the Italian scholars. "It is incredible," says Politian, "how reluctant are the Greeks to share with us Latins (*Latinos homines,*) their language and erudition. They imagine they have the kernel, and they say that we have the shell." On the contrary he said, in a speech delivered at Florence, "Florentines, in your city has Greek learning, which long ago has gone to decay in Greece herself, again so revived and bloomed that some of your fellow-citizens publicly teach Greek literature, and boys of the noblest families—a thing unheard of within a thousand years in Italy—speak the Attic dialect with such purity and grace that Athens appears to be transported to Florence."

Politian was exceedingly indignant when Argyropulus asserted that Cicero neither understood philosophy nor yet Greek. He held it, he

* "*Non conversum e Græco sed plane perversum*" are the words of Politian. By Teutonic he doubtless meant not German, but scholastic Latin. Hermolaus called the scholastics "*Teutones et Germani.*" It is not to be supposed that Politian understood the language of the Germans, who were then despised as barbarians.

said, to be his duty and the duty of every "Latin professor to defend the reputation of Cicero. Yet he was by no means a Ciceronian in the restricted sense of that term." This is evident from a letter of his to Paul Cortesius. Cortesius had sent him a collection of letters, which the former proposed to edit. "I return you," writes Politian, "the letters, and to speak frankly I have wasted in their perusal many golden hours. I do not wholly agree with your sentiments upon style. For, as I hear, that style alone meets with your approval which bears the features of Cicero. But I prefer the face of a bull or a lion before that of an ape, notwithstanding the latter more nearly resembles that of a man. According to Seneca, the early orators were by no means like to one another, and Quintilian made sport of such as imagined themselves cousins to Cicero, when they had closed their periods with '*esse videatur*.' Horace too satirized those imitators who were imitators merely, and who composed upon a model, speaking, like parrots and magpies, words that they did not understand. What such persons wrote had neither force nor life; it was false to nature, unconnected, and pointless." He then proceeds to advise Cortesius, to the effect that, after he has spent much time in the perusal of Cicero and other good books, has digested them, and so become possessed of a rich store of knowledge, then he may cut himself loose from his painful dependence on Cicero, and boldly venture to become original. "He who in running strives to tread in the footsteps of the man before him can not run well, neither can he write well who has not the courage to deviate from a given model. In short, it is an indication of a barren intellect in any writer, when he never creates, but only imitates." Cortesius was naturally enough somewhat displeased at the tenor of this reply. In the year 1484 Politian accompanied a Florentine embassy, sent to congratulate Innocent VIII. on his accession to the throne: in 1492 he composed for Sienna a congratulatory address to Alexander VI.

Politian was honored and applauded by his cotemporaries in a remarkable degree, and his Italian productions received as much favor as did his Latin. The collection of essays which he entitled "*Miscellanea*" won him especial notice. It is chiefly occupied with expositions of different passages from the classics. "When I hear or read you," Acciarius wrote to him, "I no longer envy the ancient Romans. Let them delight themselves in their Cicero, we will glory in ours." The following expressions of a certain Pulcius, in respect to the "*Miscellanea*," are quite of a serio-comic cast. "That you may be convinced," he writes to Politian, "that I regard the immortality of your work as a thing established, I confess to you that I envy Ugolinus and many of my cotemporaries and friends not a little, because their

names have been introduced into the excellent preface to your book, thereby to be handed down to posterity, and with yourself to become immortal and renowned. Had I thought of it earlier, I would, by request, or by bribe, (*aut pretio etiam*,) in short, by all manner of solicitation, have endeavored to secure a mention among this honored century." We can scarcely trust our eyes when we read this sentence.

Yet Politian found some opponents. George Merula, of Milan, was about to commence an acrimonious controversy with him on the subject of the Miscellanies, but was interrupted by death; and Scala reproved him for straining after obscure terms.

In short he was attacked by some, and by some defended. Was it to be wondered at, that a man like him, who was conscious of his superiority, and who was beyond measure applauded by his cotemporaries, should become giddy and vainglorious? How vainglorious, his letter to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, will amply show. "I have taught," he says, "Latin literature for many years, as all do know, with universal satisfaction, and even the Greek I have publicly commented on with at least as much approbation as any native Grecian; a thing, so far as I know, and I say it boldly, unprecedented with any of us Latins for a thousand years. I have moreover successfully employed my pen upon all conceivable subjects; so that I deserve—I blush to say it, although it is an admitted truth—I deserve, I say, the praises of all the eminent scholars of the age." Next he specifies all the various things that he deems himself competent to do; as "to translate Greek classics, to immortalize the paintings and statues of the king in poems, to write histories of wars or annals of peaceful times in Latin or in Greek, in prose or in undying verse, and moreover to enliven earnest philosophy with a sprinkling of jest." Politian was addicted to the worst species of licentiousness. Nor did he attempt to conceal his shame in the least. Some of his poems in fact far outgo in prurience and filth the worst productions of Horace. Witness his mocking verses addressed to an old woman. And is not it something more than accident that has assigned to this abominable lyric a place directly before two hymns to the Virgin Mary? It was characteristic of Politian, the teacher of Leo X., yea, it was characteristic moreover of many of the most gifted Italians of that period, to join piety and devotion by an almost incomprehensible chain of association to pure and unmixed profligacy. Can there be "no sublimation without its precipitate?"

That Politian possessed distinguished talents, no one has ever disputed. He was a philologist in the most comprehensive sense of the term; in his epitaph it is recorded of him that he had three tongues

in one head.* His delicate sense for the niceties of language and his extensive learning were not the only qualifications that rendered him such an ardent and appreciative commentator upon the classics, for he likewise possessed the faculty of composing, in an easy and graceful style, both prose and poetry in Italian as well as in Latin. The stanzas already alluded to upon the Tournay of Julian di Medici, in the opinion of Bouterwek, "surpass in purity, elegance, and grace of expression all the productions in verse that had appeared since the poems of Petrarch."

Politian's literary controversies were marked by a greater degree of decorum than those of the preceding age; the era of coarse brutality had gone by. The petty and disgusting vanities and jealousies of a Poggius and a Philelphus were exchanged, under the influence of Lorenzo di Medici, for warm and sincere friendships. Politian loved and revered both Lorenzo and Ficinus, but above all that man whom in his admiration he styled the phœnix of the age, viz.,

JOHN PICUS, COUNT OF MIRANDOLA, who was born in 1463. While yet in his 14th year, he repaired to Bologna, and there studied canonical law; from his 16th to his 23d year he traveled. When but 22 years old, (in 1485,) the learned Hermolaus Barbarus wrote to him as follows:—"I behold in thee a poet of distinction and a most excellent orator. Once an Aristotelian, thou hast now become a Platonist. Greek thou hast thoroughly mastered. Thou knowest that, within the many centuries in which the study of the Greek has been neglected, not a single Latin work of merit has appeared; for I do not count among Latin authors those Germans and Teutons, who have not lived even in their lifetime, to say nothing of their continuing to live after their death; though haply, if any do survive, it is only for their greater punishment and disgrace.† They pass for a low, uncouth, uncultivated, and barbarous horde; and who would accept existence at such a price? I will not deny, although I might well do so, that they have brought some useful things to pass, and have

* Politianus in hoc tumulo jacet Angelus, unum
Qui caput et linguas, res nova, tres habuit.

† That by these epithets, "Germans and Teutons," the scholastics only were designated is manifest from the laudatory epitaph which Hermolaus composed upon Rudolph Agricola, who died in 1485, the very year that this letter was written. This is the epitaph:—

"Invida clauserunt hoc marmore fata Rudolphum
Agricolam, Frisii spemque decusque soli,
Scilicet hoc vivo meruit Germania laudis,
Quidquid habet Latium, Græcia quidquid habet."

"The envious fates have inclosed within this marble tomb Rudolf Agricola, the hope and the glory of Friesland. While he lived, Germany, without doubt, deserved all the renown that either Latium or Greece ever obtained." The Italians appear to have used "Teutons" in a sense kindred to that afterward so erroneously applied to the term "Goths."

moreover displayed some intelligence, learning, and research; but it is only a graceful and elegant, or at least a pure and chaste style, that can insure lasting renown to the writer. But perhaps I have spoken of these *bears* too much already."

To this letter Picus replied substantially as follows:—

"That which Hermolaus had said impressed him forcibly. He had spent six years with Thomas, Scotus, and their fellows, but had felt that his time and labor were all lost. But perhaps," he continues, "these scholastics might justify themselves somewhat in this manner; we have achieved fame before the days of Hermolaus, and our name will continue to exist after he is no more—not however in the schools of grammarians and of boys, but in the circles of philosophers, and amid the fraternities of the wise, where their time is not thrown away in tracing the pedigree of Andromache, or the history of the sons of Niobe, but is employed rather upon the great fundamental truths which govern both human and divine affairs.

"And these, our contemplations, inquiries, and analyses, have been characterized by so much minuteness, subtlety, and acumen as to give us at times an anxious and toil-worn look, if indeed one *can* be too anxious and careful in the search after truth. Should our accusers put us to the proof, they would learn that we are not deficient in wisdom, however it may be in regard to eloquence; to disjoin these, the one from the other, is perhaps not merely excusable, but possibly we should be inexcusable if we united them. For rouge and false curls are not seemly in an honorable maiden, but in a vestal they are a mockery. In fact there is a heaven-wide difference between the ends that the orator and the philosopher respectively propose to themselves." He accuses the rhetorician's art of putting black for white, and white for black, and of so ensnaring the hearer in a magical network of brilliant periods as that he shall see things not in their reality but only in the light in which the orator places them. Can such an orator possibly have any thing in common with the philosophers, whose sole desire is to know the truth and to place it clear before others? For this purpose a dazzling array of words is needless and unsuitable, and only excites mistrust. The harsh-toned, barbarous terms of the philosophers ought not to be condemned; the ear is a good guide in music, but not in philosophy—nothing more powerfully moves and convinces us than the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and yet these words which so overcome us are simple and without any admixture of art. They live, and breathe, and full of fire they penetrate the soul, and change the whole man. We will grant that the philosophers have wisdom without eloquence; but, on the other hand, have not there been historians, orators, and poets who

have possessed eloquence without wisdom, being all tongue and no heart? The true philosophizing of a Scotus, though it may have been in bad taste, is far more noble than the elegant untruthfulness of a Lucretius. "Thus," says Picus, "might these barbarian philosophers exculpate themselves." As for his unsparing attack upon eloquence, it was only made to call out a defense from Hermolaus, for his own feelings and his very nature itself were repugnant to such an attack. "Yet," he concludes, "to say the truth, I am provoked with the airs assumed by certain grammatists, who, if they light upon two or three new derivations, take occasion to boast of their own greatness, and to undervalue the philosophers. 'Your philosophers,' they say, 'are beneath our notice.' 'Dogs are no judges of Falernian.'"

But Hermolaus regarded this letter of Picus as a jocose and highly eloquent attack upon eloquence, and moreover as an equally eloquent apology for rough and uncultivated philosophers; yet these latter, he said, would not thank Picus at all for pressing the art of rhetoric into the defense of their cause, while they were themselves striving to overthrow this art by every means in their power. It is nevertheless evident that this attack upon eloquence and defense of the scholastics was no mere jest with Picus, although, as he informs us, he wrote thus somewhat against the promptings of his own nature. This appears unmistakably from the nine hundred Theses which in the ensuing year, 1486, he posted up at Rome for the purpose of public disputation. It was to be a disputation "de quolibet," as the phrase ran, or on every branch of knowledge. Many of the propositions were borrowed from the scholastics, as from Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Scotus; and Picus expressly remarked that he had couched these propositions, not in classical but in scholastic, or as it was also called *Parisian* Latin.

Five hundred of them owe their authorship to Picus himself; upon the question of their harmony or disagreement with the doctrines of the church, he submitted himself entirely to the decision of Pope Innocent VIII. Many were branded by his opponents as heretical, and these he defended in an "*Apology*."

On a careful reading of these Theses we are astonished at the universality of Picus. Especially surprising are his Oriental attainments; he had learned Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. In the Cabbala he hoped to find the solution of many difficulties. To unite the Bible, Zoroaster, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle—all in one vast harmony—this was the leading purpose of his studies; for proof of this, we need look no further than to his "*Heptaplus*," or commentary upon the first chapter of Genesis.

It is worthy of note that this man, whose field of research was so

wide and comprehensive, wrote a treatise against astrology, which brought that spurious science into much disrepute. In regard to magic, he discriminated carefully between a false and a true; in the latter he saw the consummation of natural philosophy.

His views upon mathematics were peculiar. "The moderns," he said, "who employ mathematical reasoning upon natural phenomena, subvert the very foundations of natural philosophy." "Nothing is more injurious to a theologian than frequent and close attention to Euclid's mathematics."

Thus we perceive in Picus the universal philosopher, the historian, and the theologian; we imagine him as a man in middle life, and of a thoughtful, introverted look; and though, when he posted up the Theses he was but 23 years of age, we seem to hear in them the voice of some venerable sage. But according to the concurrent testimony of his cotemporaries, he had none of the features of age, but was on the contrary an extraordinarily beautiful young man, a favorite with the fair sex, and a poet of love. He himself alludes in a sportive manner to his twofold nature. "While I endeavor," he wrote to Politian, "to sit upon two benches, I fall between them; so it comes to pass that I am neither poet nor orator, nor yet philosopher." It was as though the scholasticism of the Middle Ages coexisted in Picus with the elements of the later classical learning, but without such organic union as had been earlier exhibited in Dante.

In his latter years he committed his love-sonnets to the flames, and gave himself up entirely to more serious studies and to a life of sanctification; thus intimating his penitence for even the intellectual follies of his earlier youth. "Philosophy," he wrote to Aldus Manutius, four years before his death, "philosophy searches after truth, and theology finds it, but religion enters upon its possession."

At a later date he wrote to Francis Mirandola as follows:—"I exhort you, from my deepest convictions, to turn away from the fables and the vain conceits of the poets, and day and night to read the Holy Scriptures. Do not forget that the Son of God has died for you, and that you, long as you may live, must yet shortly die." This letter was written on the 15th of May, 1492. But a little over a month previous, or on the 2d of April, Picus had stood with Politian by the death-bed of their common friend, Lorenzo di Medici.

The letter of Politian to James Antiquarius, in which he describes Lorenzo's last moments, can not fail to surprise the reader. The grace and majesty of classical culture appears to beam from the noble features of the dying monarch, but wondrously blended with the lowliest and most penitent spirit of a true Christian faith. With calm and clear judgment and a lofty wisdom he counselled his son how to

comport himself in the affairs of government. But when the priest came to administer to him the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, notwithstanding his feebleness, he raised himself up in his bed, kneeled down, and with contrite accents poured forth the prayer "Lord Jesus be merciful to me a sinner." Afterward, perceiving Politian, he pressed his hand in affection. But Politian, overcome with grief, hurried from the chamber to give course to his tears. On his return, Lorenzo inquired of him why Picus was not there? Hearing that it was through fear of disturbing his repose, he at once signified a desire to see him. He received him with the most cordial expressions of friendship, and asking his forgiveness for the trouble he had occasioned him, added that he should meet his death with more cheerfulness after this last interview with his beloved friend. Then changing the subject, he expressed the wish to Picus and Politian, "not without some degree of jocularity," that he could have been spared until he had completed the library destined to their use. Scarcely had Picus withdrawn, when Hieronymus Savonarola entered the apartment; "a man," says Politian, "distinguished both for learning and sanctity; an excellent preacher of heavenly truth." Being exhorted by him to remain steadfast in the faith and to meet death with equanimity, Lorenzo replied, "that his faith was unshaken, and death was thrice welcome to him, if so God willed it." He then besought Savonarola for his blessing, and after giving suitable answers to his questions, during which he remained wholly unmoved by the lamentations of his friends, he received the benediction. Even to the last moment he retained his wonted serenity and greatness of soul, nor did he betray the least sign of pain. At last he embraced those who surrounded his bed, implored forgiveness of them all, if during his sickness he had occasioned them trouble, then received extreme unction, commended his departing spirit to the God who gave it, and expired with his lips pressed to a crucifix, and amid the reading of the Passion of Jesus." To this narrative Politian subjoined a brief sketch of Lorenzo's character. "He was born," he said, "for the highest station; was untempted by prosperity, and unshaken by adversity; a man of a great, versatile, penetrating, and comprehensive mind; honest, just, and worthy of all confidence; likewise so friendly and affable that he was beloved by all. Add to this that he was princely in his bounty, not however for the sake of glory and to make to himself a name, but out of a pure regard to virtue." Lastly, Politian commends Lorenzo for the protection which he extended to learned men, and for the vast sums of money which he spent in the purchase of books.

Politian and Picus survived Lorenzo but two years: they both died,

the one shortly after the other, in the year 1494; the same year likewise witnessed the death of their common friend, the learned and devout Venetian, Hermolaus Barbarus. Picus lived but thirty-two years. His cotemporaries regarded him with admiration as a wonder of the world. "Picus di Mirandola," says Politian, "that unique man, or rather hero, was richly furnished with all the gifts of fortune, of person, and of intellect; his form was majestic and well-nigh divine, his understanding was searching to the last degree, his memory unexampled, his diligence untiring, and his eloquence rich and clear; nor do I know whether he were more worthy to be admired for the depth of his judgment or the splendor of his manners. In the entire territory of philosophy he was thoroughly versed, and in all the liberal arts likewise equally expert. Early matured for the conflict of life, he was also early ripened for death. Until his 24th year enamored alike of the rewards of fame and of the charms of the fair sex, he turned his gaze during the last eight years of his life, with an unbending asceticism, away from the transient glories of earth, and upward to the heavenly and enduring inheritance." To his nephew he confided his purpose, so soon as he had completed some works upon which he was engaged, to distribute his goods among the poor, and then with his cross to go on a pilgrimage through every land to preach Christ Jesus.

LEO X., AND HIS AGE.

The year of the death of Picus, the year 1494, was fraught with disaster to Italy, through the campaign of Charles VIII. of France against Naples.

The golden days of Florence had ended in 1492 with the death of Lorenzo di Medici.

A succession of entirely unspiritual popes had borne sway at Rome. Sixtus IV. (from 1471 to 1484,) who shrunk neither from conspiracies or murders, when these availed to increase his power, was followed by Innocent VIII. (from 1484 to 1492,) the father of sixteen natural children, and the prime originator of the trial for witchcraft in Germany. After him came Alexander VI. (1492—1503,) a man of shamelessly profligate life, the father of the Duke of Candia, Cæsar Borgia, that "virtuoso of crime," and of Lucretia. Next came Julius II. (1503—1513,) a choleric, ambitious warrior, and the immediate predecessor of Leo X. (1513—1521,) the son of Lorenzo di Medici. "Leo X.," says Fra Paoli, "displayed a singular proficiency in polite literature, wonderful humanity, benevolence, and mildness, the greatest liberality, and an extreme inclination to favor excellent and learned men. He would, indeed, have been a perfect pontiff, if to these accomplishments he had united some knowledge in matters of religion, and

a greater inclination to piety; to neither of which he appeared to pay any great attention."*

He was not the man to atone for the sins of his predecessors, and to reconcile Christendom with the vicegerents of Christ. The holier and more exalted was the office the greater was the offense, and the contrast between this office and the sinful life of many popes was so striking that earnest and reflecting men, who strove after a life of sanctity, were led to the painful conviction that such popes were not vicegerents but enemies of Christ, or rather the Anti-Christ of prophecy.

The historians of the church, Catholic as well as Protestant, have concurred in their condemnation of Leo's unspiritual and worldly temper, of his aversion to the solemn demands of Christianity, and his passion for the outward serenity and sensuous splendor of paganism. But he was the son of his age and his station.

How great the depth of immorality to which the Italian clergy then had sunk, when John Della Casa, afterward created Archbishop of Benevento, wrote a scandalous and profligate poem, in which he advocated unnatural love—when Folengo, also a priest, composed poems teeming with obscenities; "a feature," says Roscoe, "which would seem in general to have distinguished the writings of the clergy of that period from those of the laity"—when Bishop Bandello gave to the press three volumes of novelettes, the greater part of which possessed not even the thinnest veil of propriety to cover their lascivious sentiments?†

That most abandoned and most Mephistophelian of characters, Pietro Aretino, whose life "may be denominated the triumph of effrontery," was invited by Leo to his court, notwithstanding his expulsion from Arezzo for an indecent satire, his discharge from the service of Chigi for theft, and the subsequent disgrace and banishment which he experienced at the hands of Julius II. The pen of this Aretino was both formidable and cheap. He it was who composed those inexpressibly indecent sonnets for the equally indecent prints designed by Giulio Romano (happily all now destroyed,) of which Vasari said, "it was hard to decide which were the more disgusting, the sight of the prints, or the hearing of the verses." "Aretino's death," says Roscoe, "is said to have resembled his life. Being informed of some outrageous instance of obscenity committed by his sisters, who were courtesans at Venice, he was suddenly affected with so violent a fit of laughter that he overturned his chair, and thereby received an injury on his head which terminated his days." And yet Pope

* Roscoe IV., page 420. Philadelphia, 1806.

† Not to dwell longer on this point, we need only to refer to the Calandra of Cardinal Bibiena, and the Mandragora of Machiavelli.

Julius III. gave to this man a thousand crowns, and created him a knight of the Order of St. Peter; although, to his vexation, he fell short of the dignity of cardinal.

To the period of Leo belonged also Pomponazzo, who strove to bring Christianity into supreme contempt, and who wrote a special treatise against the doctrine of the soul's immortality. Leo, and Bembo his secretary, afterward cardinal, took this work under their protection. Startling as this fact may appear, a concurrent testimony to its truth may be found in the two following anecdotes. "They say," continues Luther, "the pope thus addressed the one who argued that the soul was immortal: 'You appear to have spoken with justice and truth, but your antagonist's sentiments and his rhetoric both confer more delight upon the hearer.' So is it with the Epicureans; whatever is agreeable to the senses, and likewise consonant to the reason, *that* they accept." The second anecdote is substantially as follows: "George Sabinus, Melancthon's son-in-law, was asked by Cardinal Bembo 'how Melancthon stood with regard to the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting;' and, on his replying 'that Melancthon's writings evinced his entire faith in both these doctrines,' the cardinal rejoined, 'The man, in my view, would appear far more clever, if he only would not believe this.' "

Nay, in this same age of Leo, the Tenth Lateran Council thought it necessary to decree solemnly, in the name of the Church, "that the soul of man is immortal." Thus it appears that the tenets of the Church in this respect were independent; not resting upon the faith of the pope and the clergy, but a matter external and foreign to them; and the story that Leo observed to Bembo, "It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us," can not certainly be refuted by a resort to internal evidence. When Savonarola preached at Florence with vehemence against the lamentable decline of Christianity, and the profligate lives of its professors, he succumbed to his enemies, at whose head was the corrupt Pope Alexander VI.; and in 1498 he was put to death. But in the year 1510 the eyes of another observer surveyed the abomination of desolation in the holy place, in the capital city of Christendom. What this observer saw he stored up in a good memory; and he became afterward the chosen avenging angel to punish this godless generation.

Such is the repulsive and dark side of this period. He who refuses to look on this dark side will not understand the holy and righteous wrath of Luther; and he who surveys this side alone can not comprehend how it is that so many extol the times of Leo X. as one of the most brilliant epochs in the history of the world.

The most eminent classical philologists of Italy flourished in the

fifteenth century; and we have already given a sketch of them in the foregoing pages.

Through the influence of Lorenzo di Medici and Politian the Italian language had again come into the foreground; and in the age of Leo there were two men of surpassing genius, who contributed above all others to elevate it above the Latin: these were Machiavelli (1469—1527) and Ariosto (1474—1523.) Bembo's counsel to Ariosto to translate the Orlando Furioso into Latin, the poet rejected. Bembo himself (1471—1547) won, both in his Italian and in his Latin productions, the praise of the utmost perfection. Says an Italian critic of him, "It was he who opened a new Augustan age, who emulated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and recalled in his writings the elegance and purity of Petrarch and Boccaccio."

"Whilst these pieces," (Bembo's Italian poems,) says Roscoe, "stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labor, produce works of equal merit. That this conviction is well founded is proved by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated his example—the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering *what* should be said, but *how* it should be said."

As in Italian poetry and prose, so likewise in Latin prose, Bembo was a pattern; that is, he was regarded as the most successful imitator of the style of Cicero. This imitation is wonderfully conspicuous at times, especially in the letters that he wrote in the name of Leo, and while his secretary, in which he avoided every ecclesiastical and unclassic expression. In a letter to the Emperor Maximilian he wrote thus, "Blown upon by the breath of a celestial zephyr, they turn back in true penitence." To the inhabitants of Recanati he wrote that "they must furnish better wood with which to build the church of Loretto, or they would be deemed with their poor wood to be making a mock of the pope, nay of the goddess herself." "The *goddess!*" that is, Mary. In his Venetian history he said of the pope: "He was elected through the favor of the immortal gods;" and he put into the mouths of the Venetians this address to the pope, "that you would put your confidence in the immortal gods, whose vicegerent you are upon the earth."

This is but one example of that extended intermingling of the Christian and the Pagan elements which, first originating with Dante, appeared now more suspicious in proportion as the Christian church had fallen into unbelief and sinful practices.

But it was the artists, the painters above all, who constituted the glory of the age of Leo X. In earlier times the "coy art" had been wholly engaged in the service of the church; for observation of na-

ture, and a just imitation of her, there was then neither any faculty nor yet a fitness acquired by study. All necessity for such imitation also was precluded, so long as only traditional and stereotype figures, and these often but symbolical, were demanded of artists. But there began to appear already in the fourteenth century a new and a more unshackled development of the art. In the fifteenth century this assumed an unwonted energy; especially since myriads of old statues, which had slumbered in their graves for so many centuries, now arose and, side by side with the reanimated classics, exercised a magical power, as of spirits of the olden time, over the living. Those great Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries drew their inspiration and their creative energy from these spirits of the past. So it was with the eminent philologists; but these recede from our view when compared with the wondrous artists whom that fifteenth century produced in Italy, with Angelico da Fiesole, John Bellin, Leonardo da Vinci, Francesco Francia, Michael Angelo, Peter Perugino, Raphael, and others. In these artists two opposite elements were harmonized—the fervor of religious enthusiasm and a deep love of nature and of the antique—and both were fused into one by an almost supernatural power of expression. How, in one and the same country, and during one and the same age, were the most glorious and the most infamous of human endeavors allied to each other! What an angelic child must Raphael have been, and yet the years of his childhood fall within the crime-polluted days of Alexander VI.! Nay, how often was the most dazzling beauty and the most hideous deformity, the truest nobility and the most contemptible meanness, devout piety and groveling sensuality, united in one and the same person among these heroes of art! And into what gross sins did they stumble and fall, when their love for nature and for antiquity had degenerated into lust, when all the sacred restraints of Christianity were thrown off by them, until at last their art as well as their lives became thoroughly pagan!

RETROSPECT OF ITALY. TRANSITION TO GERMANY.

Let us now pause for a moment, and review the growth of Italian learning and art from the fourteenth to the commencement of the sixteenth centuries.

The learning of the Middle Ages, the scholastic especially, gives place by degrees to the classical. The Italians become enthusiastic in their awakened love for the old Roman authors, in whom they recognize their ancestors; and their understanding of the Greek classics is promoted by the means of native Greek teachers. After they are enabled to read Plato, a passionate love for the beautiful arises within them, and likewise a corresponding abhorrence for the hideousness of the scholasticism basing itself upon Aristotle; but, when they

study Aristotle in the original, and learn how entirely different he is from the Aristotle of the scholastics, the authority of this latter begins at once to decline.

Yet the classical philologists, with the exception of Dante and Picus, overlook the depth, and the earnest love of truth, which characterized the more eminent of the scholastics. And moreover there are many among them who become so foolishly enamored of the beauty of the classical form, whether in prose or in poetry, that they imagine their own externally correct imitations of the ancients to possess a worth intrinsically equal to their models; while such imitations, on a close inspection, often prove to be but hollow and delusive phantoms, without either life or spirit.

After the elevation of the Italian language into a vernacular, it gradually comes to supplant the Latin, which in the Middle Ages had been treated as a vernacular, and as such subjected to the varying caprice of writers. And now the ancient classics, Cicero especially, become models for imitation, but an imitation mostly of a lifeless and servile sort.

Only a very few, Laurentius Valla, for instance, apply their philological attainments to New Testament exegesis. Toward the Hebrew tongue and the exegesis of the Old Testament a great and decided repugnance is manifested. The austere and sacred earnestness of the Old Testament frowns harshly upon every phase of pagan epicureanism, while the latter manifests no desire to become acquainted with its own depravity.

Pagan sentiments, a pagan life, and writings imbued with paganism, are characteristic of Italian scholars, and these often united to an orthodox faith and a pious enthusiasm; united too, it may be, innocently, since the example and teachings of the clergy are such as to drown and deaden the voice of conscience. Against the lamentable corruption of the church, both in its head and in its members, the greater part array themselves; a few, like Dante, with holy zeal, but the greater part only with mocking satire. Such in brief was the character of those Italian philologists to whom our attention has been directed. And these men exercised a vast influence upon the learning of the Germans. Rudolf Agricola, Reuchlin, Regio Montanus, Erasmus, and many other distinguished Germans, went to Italy to perfect themselves; the Italians became their patterns, upon these they modeled themselves, to equal them or if possible to surpass them was their highest aim. "I indulge the most sanguine hopes," Rudolf Agricola wrote to Lange, "that we shall wrest from haughty Italy her ancient renown of eloquence, and shall deliver ourselves from the reproach which they cast in our teeth, to wit, that we are utter barbarians,

unlettered and boorish of speech, or even worse. I hope that our Germany will arrive at that degree of erudition and culture that her Latinity shall not blush when compared even with that of Latium.

If we may regard any one man as the pioneer and champion of German culture in the fifteenth century, that man is, without doubt, Rudolf Agricola. But how evident does it appear, from the tenor of the quotation above cited, that he adopted the Italian ideal of learning as the only genuine and just one. And in this respect all his writings agree. Thoroughly to understand the ancients—Greeks as well as Romans—and in Latin speech and writing to reproduce a pure classicity, this is Agricola's highest aim; and so too was it the highest aim of the greater portion of German scholars, from the fifteenth down to the eighteenth century. Although not descended from the Romans, as were the Italians, the learned men of Germany, nevertheless, strove to be accounted as "*Latini homines.*"

Never can such a powerful influence be exerted by an individual upon other individuals, or by a nation upon other nations, as when such individual and nation infuse into other minds or other communities their own ideal, especially if it be their ideal of education. For the ideal always determines the practical direction of the labors as well of nations as of individuals, and training and instruction ever adapt themselves to the accepted ideal of culture, and become both guide and path to lead to the attainment of that ideal.

If then the Italians communicated their own ideal or ultimate end of learning to the Germans, then it is clear, from what we have already advanced, that they exercised a vast influence upon German education. Hence it becomes necessary—I repeat the assertion—in a history of this education, to have respect to the Italians.

Are we then, might a German ask, mere imitators of the Italians? By no means. Because two persons do the same thing, they do not necessarily arrive at the same result. This will abundantly appear in the course of the following history, in which we shall see that the study of the classics was pursued by the Germans in a totally different spirit than by the Italians. "No man understood," says Luther, "the reason why God caused the languages again to put on bloom and vigor; until now, at last, we see that it was for the sake of the gospel. Now, since the gospel is so dear to us, let us hold fast to the languages. And let us bethink ourselves that haply we may not be able to retain the gospel without the knowledge of the languages in which it was written." The earnest and devout spirit of the German people, their Christian life, and their deep reverence for the Bible, these gave a character to their study of the classics which the Italian scholars, though engaged in the same studies, could neither attain nor yet appreciate.

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VI. SAMUEL JOHNSON.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, D. D., the first president of King's (now Columbia,) College, New York, was born at Guilford, Conn., Oct. 14th, 1696. His father and grandfather were both residents of Guilford, and both deacons of the congregational church in that town. His great-grandfather, Robert Johnson, was one of the original settlers of New Haven. From a very early age, he manifested a great fondness for books, and his father, after a trial of four or five years, finding it impossible to reconcile him to the idea of business, finally complied with his earnest wishes, and allowed him to prepare to enter Yale College, then recently organized. He fitted for college under Mr. Eliot, who afterward settled at Killingworth, as a preacher. Mr. Chapman, who succeeded Mr. Eliot as a teacher, at Guilford, and Mr. James, a very eminent scholar of Guilford. At the age of fourteen, he entered Yale College, then located at Saybrook, receiving instruction from Messrs. Noyes and Fisk, at that time tutors in the college, as the rector of the college, Mr. Andrew, then resided at Milford, and only instructed the senior class. In 1714, he took the degree of A. B., having, in addition to the ordinary college studies, made some progress in Hebrew.

The early part of the eighteenth century was a period of great depression to all the interests of learning in New England. The eminent scholars of the early emigration were dead, and most of those who came over, at the period of the restoration, had also passed away; since the revolution of 1688, the causes which had led to emigration had been removed, and more returned to England than came from thence; the generation upon the stage at the time of Mr. Johnson's graduation, were almost entirely educated in this country; and, though the course of study at Harvard College was respectable for the time, and the circumstances of a colony, whose existence was yet numbered by decades of years, yet it was far from being up to the standard of European culture. Yale College had maintained a sort of nomade existence, for some thirteen years; its trustees were among the most eminent scholars of the colony, and they were disposed to do what they could to make it a reputable school of learning; but its course of instruction was extremely limited. At the time Mr. Johnson took his degree, all that was attempted, in the way of classi-

cal learning, was the reading of five or six of Cicero's orations, as many books of Virgil, and a part of the Hebrew Psalter. In mathematics, only common arithmetic, and a little surveying were taught; in logic, metaphysics and ethics, the doctrines of the schoolmen still held sway, and Descartes, Boyle, Locke, Newton, and Bacon, were regarded as innovators, from whom no good could be expected or hoped. In theology, Ames' "*Medulla*," and "*Cases of Conscience*," and "*Wollebius*," were the standards.

With, perhaps a pardonable vanity, Mr. Johnson, who had stood very high as a scholar in his class, regarded himself as possessing superior attainments; but his good opinion of his own abilities was very suddenly lowered, when, a year or two later, chance threw in his way, a copy of Lord Bacon's "*Advancement of Learning*," then a very rare book in this country. Humbled by the sense of his own ignorance, which that book gave him, he was still much enlightened by it, and, to use his own language, "seemed to himself like a person suddenly emerging out of the glimmer of twilight, into the full sunshine of open day." His mind being thus prepared for further culture, he soon had an opportunity for its subsequent development. A collection of books made in England by Mr. Dummer, the agent of the colony, amounting to about eight hundred volumes, was sent over to the college. Among them were the works of Sir Isaac Newton, Blackman, Steele, Burnet, Woodward, Halley, Bentley, Kennet, Barrow, Patrick, South, Tillotson, Sharp, Scott, and Whitby. To a mind, as earnest as was his to acquire knowledge, these books furnished indeed "a feast of fat things." In company with Messrs. Cutler, Eliot, Hart, Whittelsey, and his classmates, Wetmore and Brown, he devoted all his leisure to their perusal.

Meantime, the college was in great danger of extinction. The students, complaining of the unfitness of their tutors, scattered themselves in different parts of the colony, studying under such teachers as they chose; a part, including those living in the vicinity of Connecticut River, placed themselves under the direction of Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, the ministers at Hartford, who were trustees of the college, and at their instigation, Messrs. Williams and Smith, two young ministers, were persuaded to set up a collegiate school at Wethersfield, in the hope of obtaining a removal of the college thither; and to this school, the students of the river towns resorted. Those belonging to the towns on the sea-shore, put themselves under the tuition of Mr. Johnson, at Guilford.

Under these circumstances, a meeting of the trustees was held, in the spring of 1716; a majority of the trustees present, as well as

the governor, Mr. Saltonstall, of New London, were in favor of establishing the college at New Haven; but the minority were very bitter in their opposition, and a vote was passed, referring the matter to the general court, which was to be held at New Haven, in October of that year. This meeting of the trustees was not attended by Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, the Hartford ministers, and they protested against its legality and its action.

At the meeting of the general court, (or colonial legislature,) a majority of the members of both houses were found to be in favor of establishing the college at New Haven, and an act of assembly was passed for that purpose. The majority of the trustees then met, and appointed Mr. Johnson, who was then but twenty years of age, one of the tutors, and, with a view of reconciling the minority, selected Mr. Smith, one of the Wethersfield teachers, as the other. They also commenced a subscription to obtain the means of erecting a college building, and procured an architect from Boston, to oversee the building.

The minority, however, were inexorable; Mr. Smith and all his party refusing to consider any overtures for a union, and the Wethersfield school was maintained. The students along the sea-coast, about twenty in number, came together at New Haven, and Mr. Johnson began his course of instruction there, assisted by Mr. Noyes, the minister of the town. On the 12th September, 1717, a commencement was held at New Haven, and the same day at Wethersfield, and degrees were conferred in both places. The trustees at New Haven, chose Mr. Brown, a classmate of Mr. Johnson, as a second tutor. Harmonizing fully in their views, these two young men exerted themselves to the utmost, for the improvement of the students under their charge, extending the course of mathematical study, introducing the works of Locke and Sir Isaac Newton, into the college course, and substituting the Copernican for the Ptolemanic system, which had hitherto been taught. It was a fortunate circumstance for them, that the troubles without, withdrew public attention from these innovations within. The succeeding year, (1718,) the trouble which had existed between the two parties at New Haven and Wethersfield, was settled by a compromise. The degrees given at Wethersfield were confirmed; a tract of land belonging to the colony was sold, and of the avails £200 currency, was given to the college at New Haven, and £800 currency to Hartford, toward the erection of a state house, as an offset for the loss of the college. As a result of this settlement, the Wethersfield students came to New Haven, and though somewhat turbulent, there was but little subsequent trouble with them.

The same year, Rev. Timothy Cutler, at that time pastor of the congregational church in Stratford, and an intimate friend of Mr. Johnson, was chosen rector of the college, and having received a very liberal donation from Elihu Yale, of London, the trustees gave to their new building, the name of Yale College. In a little more than a year after the appointment of Mr. Cutler to the rectorship, Mr. Johnson resigned his tutorship, to enter upon the duties of the pastorate, and was ordained and settled at West Haven in March, 1720, rejecting several more eligible offers, in order that he might be near the college, and have the advantage of its library, and the society of its teachers.

Of the change which soon after took place in his religious views, and which led him, and several of his friends, to seek ordination in the Anglican church, it is not our province here to speak at length; it was unquestionably the result of an honest, conscientious, and sincere belief in the error of his previous creed, and when we consider that its result was to cut him off from the sympathy and regard of all his previous friends, and to deprive him of the fairest opportunities of preferment and reputation, which were ever perhaps offered to a young man in his position, we can not avoid doing honor to the moral courage which led to the step, however we may regard the creed he adopted. Suffice it to say, that in November, 1722, rector Cutler and Mr. Brown, having resigned their offices, set sail in company with Mr. Johnson, for England, to receive ordination from an English bishop. Mr. Wetmore, another classmate of Mr. Johnson, followed, a few months later. In March, 1723, they were ordained by the Bishop of Norwich, and the week after Mr. Brown died of the small pox.

In May, Mr. Cutler received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. Johnson, of Master of Arts, from the University of Oxford, and soon after, the same degrees were conferred on them by the University of Cambridge. Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson returned to this country, in the summer of 1723, and Mr. Johnson, having received an appointment as missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, settled over the Episcopal church, at Stratford, Conn. The change in his views subjected him to considerable opposition, but his equable temper, his cheerful and benevolent disposition, and the marked purity and dignity of his character, disarmed the enmity of those who opposed him, and caused the people to esteem him highly. In 1725, he married Mrs. Charity Nicoll, the daughter of Col. Richard Floyd, and widow of Benjamin Nicoll, Esq., of Long Island, by whom she had had two sons and a daughter.

It was the fortune of Mr. Johnson to be on terms of intimacy and correspondence, with many of the most eminent scholars of his day, both in England and this country. Among the most intimate of his friends, at this period of his life, was Governor Burnett of New York, a son of the celebrated Bishop of that name, and a man of great learning and genius, but eccentric both in his views and his mode of reasoning. The Governor having embraced the opinions of Clarke, Whiston, and others, on the subject of the Trinity, and of Bishop Hoadley, Jackson and Sykes, on the subject of ecclesiastical authority, sought to win his friend Johnson to his views. Mr. Johnson's mental habits were such, that he would neither receive or reject any theory or doctrine, until he had carefully and patiently examined it on all sides; and he accordingly bent all his fine powers to the investigation of the questions discussed by the authors already named; the result was to confirm him in his previous views, though with a large charity for those who differed from him in opinion. In 1729, soon after the conclusion of this investigation, Bishop Berkeley, then dean of Derry, Ireland, came to this country, and resided for two and a half years near Newport, R. I. During his residence here, Mr. Johnson often visited him and was on terms of close intimacy with him, and often in his after life referred to these interviews, as having been of great advantage to him, in the improvement of his mind, by free intercourse with so eminent a scholar, and philosopher. When the Dean was about leaving America, Mr. Johnson paid him a final visit, and in the course of conversation, took occasion to commend to his notice Yale College as a deserving institution, and to express the hope that he might send the college some books. The commendation was remembered; two years after, the Dean and some of his friends sent to the college a present of nearly a thousand volumes of choice books, two hundred and sixty of them folios. The value of this gift was not less than two thousand five hundred dollars. About the same time he forwarded to Mr. Johnson, a deed conveying to the trustees, his farm of ninety-six acres on Rhode Island, the annual income of which was to be divided between three bachelors of arts, who, upon examination by the rector of the college, and a minister of the church of England, should appear to be the best classical scholars; provided they would reside at the college, the three years between their bachelor's and master's degrees, in the prosecution of their studies; and the forfeiture, in cases of non-residence, were to be given in premiums of books, to those that performed the best exercises. For many years after the return of Bishop Berkeley, to England, Mr. Johnson's life passed smoothly, in the performance of his parochial duties, and

the prosecution of his studies; occasionally, the calm and even tenor of his life, was slightly ruffled by pamphlet controversies, with those who attacked the creed or practice of the Anglican church—controversies in which he rarely or never acted the part of the aggressor, but usually of the respondent. Of this character was his controversy with Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Foxcroft, Mr. Graham, his "*Letter from Aristocles to Anthades*," and his rejoinder to Mr. Dickinson's reply to that letter. In controversy, as every where else, it may be remarked, that Mr. Johnson exhibited the character of the Christian gentleman, never suffering himself to be betrayed into the use of the bitter and acrimonious language, which have made the *odium theologicum*, proverbial, as the most venomous of all hatreds. In 1746, Mr. Johnson published "*A System of Morality*, containing the first principles of moral philosophy or ethics, in a chain of necessary consequences from certain facts." This work had a high reputation at the time of its publication, and met with an extensive sale. In 1743, the degree of Doctor in Divinity, was unanimously conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. The degree was conferred, it is said, at the special instance of Archbishop Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Hodges, then Vice-Chancellor of the University and Provost of Oriel College, Dr. Astry, and others.

The honor thus conferred on him, had only the effect to make him more zealous in his studies, especially in Hebrew and the other oriental languages, in which he was more proficient than most of the scholars of the eighteenth century, in this country.

Dr. Johnson had two sons; William Samuel, and William, both whom he fitted for college himself, and entered them at Yale when they were about thirteen years of age. The elder became eminent as a lawyer, received the degree of LL. D. from the University of Oxford, in 1766, and was, for several years, the agent of the Colony in England; the younger studied divinity, and was subsequently a tutor in King's College, under his father.

Dr. Johnson prepared a compendium of logic and metaphysics, and another of ethics, for the use of his sons, and these were published together in 1752, by Benjamin Franklin, for the use of the University of Pennsylvania, then just established at Philadelphia. Dr. Johnson and Dr. Franklin were constant correspondents for many years, and the views of the latter on electricity were laid before Dr. Johnson, before their publication. The plan of education in the University in which Dr. Franklin was deeply interested, was also modified at his suggestion, and he was offered the presidency of it, which, however, he declined.

In 1753, the principal gentlemen of New York, with Lieutenant-Governor Delancey at their head, undertook to found a college in New York City. In all their plans, Dr. Johnson was consulted, and when the charter was obtained, and they were ready to organize the college, he was elected president. He at first declined, but finding that, unless he accepted, they would relinquish the enterprise, he very reluctantly consented, and in 1754 took leave of his congregation at Stratford, with deep regret on both sides. A singular condition was attached to his acceptance, which shows how great an amount of terror the ravages of small-pox had produced in the minds of all classes, at that time; "he was to be at liberty to retire to some place of safety in the country, whenever the small-pox should render it dangerous for him to reside in the city."* To those who have only known its dangers, when modified by vaccination, this extraordinary dread seems almost incredible.

On the 17th July, 1754, the first class, consisting of ten students, assembled in the vestry-room of Trinity Church, and the regular course of study was commenced, the doctor himself hearing the recitations. In addition to the labor of instruction, he also drew up the form of prayers for the college, composed a suitable collect, compiled a body of laws for their use, devised a seal for the corporation, assisted in the planning of the college edifice, and wrote to his friends in England, Bishop Sherlock, Archbishop Secker, and the Society for the propagation of the gospel, for assistance. On the admission of the second class, his younger son, William Johnson, was appointed tutor, which office he filled, to universal acceptance, for more than a year, when he sailed for England, in November, 1755, with a view to take orders, and settle, as the missionary of the Society for the propagation of the gospel, at Westchester. He received holy orders, in March, and the degree of A. M. was conferred on him by both Oxford and Cambridge, in May, 1756; but, soon after his return from Cambridge, he was seized with the small-pox, of which he died, June 20th, 1756. A Mr. Cutting, educated at Eton and Cambridge, succeeded Mr. Johnson as tutor; the college edifice was making good progress, but, soon after the president received the painful intelligence of the death of his son, he was compelled to leave New York, by the prevalence of the small-pox there, and could not return under a year.

* The small-pox seems to have been, through life, "the skeleton on the hearth" to the good doctor; and this is hardly matter of surprise; for, at the commencement of his ministry, his friend, Dr. Cutler, hardly escaped with his life from it in England; his friend, Mr. Brown, died with it there, as did also, subsequent to his removal to New York, his younger son; he himself more than once left his post in New York, in consequence of its prevalence; and, in 1763, his second wife fell a victim to it.

He left about thirty students in the three classes, and, as Mr. Cutting was unable to teach them all, Mr. Treadwell, a graduate of Harvard College, was appointed second tutor. During the year 1757, the college received from England a library, consisting of about fifteen hundred volumes, the bequest of Rev. Dr. Bristowe, through the Society for the propagation of the gospel. Dr. Johnson returned to New York, in March, 1758, and in June following was called to bury his wife, with whom he had lived very happily for thirty-two years. On the 21st June, 1758, he held his first commencement, at which the students received their first degree, and several other persons the second. During the succeeding year, the college curriculum was more thoroughly systematized, the president giving instructions in Greek, logic, metaphysics, and ethics, while the tutors, or professors as they were now called, divided between them the other studies. In 1759, soon after the second commencement, he was again obliged to leave the city in consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox, and spent the winter at Stratford, though not without much anxiety of mind relative to the college, as the mathematical professor was very ill with consumption, and died the ensuing spring. In April, Benjamin Nicoll, one of Dr. Johnson's step-sons, an eminent lawyer in New York, and one of the governors or trustees of the college, died very suddenly. The loss was a very severe one to the college, and to the community, but Dr. Johnson was almost overwhelmed by it, and desired to resign his office and return to Stratford, to spend the remainder of his days, with his only surviving son; and accordingly he wrote to England, desiring that two gentlemen might be sent out, one to act as mathematical professor, and the other to take his place. The college edifice was at this time completed, and he removed into it, and here held, in May, 1760, his third commencement, and, in connection with Mr. Cutting, performed the whole duty of teaching the four classes that year. In 1761, soon after the fourth commencement, he published an essay, entitled "*A Demonstration of the Reasonableness, Usefulness, and great Duty of Prayer*," and, not long after, a sermon "*On the Beauty of Holiness in the Worship of the Church of England.*" In June of the same year, he married a second wife, Mrs. Beach, the widow of an old friend and former parishioner. At the commencement of the next term, a mathematical professor, Mr. Robert Harper, was appointed, and the cares of the president somewhat diminished. The college had been partially endowed by moneys raised by subscription, and by a lottery, at the time of its charter, and had subsequently received a donation of £500 from the Society for the propagation of the gospel, and a Mr. Murray had be-

queathed to it an estate of about £10,000 currency; but, after erecting the necessary buildings, and incurring other expenses, its funds were reduced so low, that the interest was not sufficient, with the other income of the college, for the support of the officers, and it was therefore necessary that it should be further endowed. The president was desirous that an effort should be made to procure some assistance from England, and a suitable opportunity offering, in the visit of James Jay, M. D., to England, the governors were persuaded by the president to accept Dr. Jay's offer, to endeavor to raise funds for them. The president of the University of Pennsylvania had sailed for England a few weeks before, as was subsequently ascertained, on a like errand in behalf of his own college, and, by the advice of the friends of both, the collection for the two colleges was made a joint one. The king, however, gave £400 to the college at New York, which thenceforward received the name of King's College. The half of the avails of the collection, received by King's College, amounted to about £6,000, above the expenses. In the autumn of 1762, Rev. Myles Cooper, a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, came to New York, recommended by Archbishop Secker as a suitable person for a professor in the college, and to succeed Dr. Johnson when he should resign. He was immediately appointed professor of moral philosophy, and soon won the regard of all the friends of the college. Dr. Johnson had not intended to resign until after the commencement, in May, 1763, but the sudden death of Mrs. Johnson, of small-pox, in February, of that year, determined him to relinquish his situation at an earlier period, and he accordingly threw in his resignation about the first of March, and retired to Stratford. Mr. Cooper was chosen president before the commencement in May, and Dr. Clossy, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, appointed professor of natural philosophy.

In 1764, Dr. Johnson again became rector of the church at Stratford, and continued in that office until his death. But though it would have seemed that, at the age of nearly seventy, after a life of so great intellectual activity, he would have sought the repose and quiet he had so fairly earned, yet we find the instinct of the teacher was so strong, that he devoted himself to new labors in behalf of his grand-children, preparing first an English grammar for their use, then revising his catechism, his works on logic and ethics, and finally preparing a Hebrew and English grammar, published in London, in 1767, and subsequently revised and enlarged in 1771. At the same time, he reviewed, with great care, his theological and philosophical opinions, and the ground on which they were based; spent some hours each

day in the study of the Hebrew scriptures, and, though laboring under a partial paralysis of the hand, kept up, with great punctuality, an extensive correspondence with eminent men, both in England and America. After his death, portions of his correspondence with Bishops Berkeley, Sherlock, and Lowth, and Archbishop Secker, were published, and fully justified the high reputation in which he had been held while in life. His death, which occurred on the 6th of January, 1772, was very peaceful, and, though sudden, entirely unattended with pain. He expired while sitting in his chair, and conversing on his approaching departure, with his family.

The following inscription, composed by his friend and successor in the presidency of King's College, Rev. Dr. Cooper, was placed upon his monument, in Christ Church, Stratford :—

M. S.
SAMUELIS JOHNSON, D. D.,
Collegii Regalis, Novi Eboraci
Præsidis primi,
et hujus Ecclesiæ nupe Rectoris
Natus die 14to Octob. 1696
Obiit 6to Jan. 1772.

"If decent dignity, and modest mien,
The cheerful heart, and countenance serene;
If pure *religion*, and unsullied *truth*,
His age's solace, and his search in youth;
If piety, in all the paths he trod,
Still rising vig'rous to his *Lord* and *God*;
If *charity*, through all the race he ran
Still wishing well, and doing good to *man*;
If *learning*, free from pedantry and pride,—
If *faith* and *virtue*, walking side by side;
If well to mark his being's aim and end,—
To shine through life, a *husband*, *father*, friend;
If these ambitions in thy soul can raise,
Excite thy reverence, or demand thy praise;
Reader—ere yet thou quit this earthly scene,
Revere his name, and be what *he* has been."

MYLES COOPER.

VII. CLASSICAL INSTRUCTION.

[Translated from Raumer's "*History of Pedagogy*," for the American Journal of Education.]

I. THE LATIN LANGUAGE SINCE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.—SPEAKING AND WRITING LATIN IN GERMAN SCHOOLS.

On comparing several school-programmes, in order to determine the number of hours per week devoted to the studies of Latin and Greek, I find at Stendhal there are forty-five hours to Latin, twenty-three to Greek; at Erfurt, forty-two hours to Latin, twenty-one to Greek; at Koesfeld, sixty-eight hours to Latin, twenty-eight to Greek; and in other gymnasiums in like manner. Why is the Greek so far behind the Latin in this respect? Are the Latin classics in so great a proportion superior to the Greek—Cicero to Demosthenes and Plato, Virgil to Homer, Livy to Herodotus and Thucydides? This is nowhere pretended. Or is Greek so much easier than Latin, and therefore to be learned with less effort and less time? No intelligent person will maintain this; the opposite is rather the case. How many more difficulties await the beginner, from the very beginning, from the more complicated nature of the Greek forms and inflection, as compared with the simpler Latin! And do not the different dialects perplex the learner, very much as a Frenchman would be perplexed who should undertake to acquire at the same time the High and Low German and the other German dialects? And, if Greek is more difficult than Latin, if the Greek literature—setting aside the New Testament—is superior to the Latin, we ask again, Why is the instruction in Greek so much less than that in Latin in our schools, when evidently, on the foregoing grounds, more effort and time are requisite to the mastery of it?

The answer to this question is this: that in the study of Latin a very different, higher, and more difficult object is contemplated; namely, the mastery of the Latin as of a second mother-tongue, and the power of writing and speaking it with ease.

But why is not the same command of Greek now sought; the command which Cicero and the Romans thought requisite to education? History answers this question. Let us briefly state the answer.

The reason why, at Koesfeld, sixty-one hours of Latin instruction are given, is ultimately based upon the former universal dominion of Rome, whose influence reaches down even to our own times.

A Roman of the fifteenth century, Laurentius Valla, writes :—"We have lost Rome, we have lost our empire; not by our own fault, but by the fault of time. Yet in the strength of that magnificent empire we yet rule over great part of the earth. Ours is Italy; ours are Spain, Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and many other peoples. For, wherever the Roman language prevails, there is the Roman empire."

The dominion of the Roman tongue, since the overthrow of the Roman empire, has extended itself in two ways; as the language of the Roman Catholic church, and as that of the Roman-German empire. Later, German was the official language in Germany, and French the diplomatic language. Since the Reformation, Latin has been the biblical, religious, and legal language only for the Catholic nations; it has also been that of literature.

Latin is a speech of traditions more than a thousand years old; to disuse Latin would seem to be a radical abandonment of traditions. Therefore it is that the Romish church holds so fast to Latin. By using one and the same language it proposes to maintain its unity in all time and in all countries. To worship God in a variety of tongues it regards as Babelish, and as tending to schism; and accordingly it adheres to the vulgate as the received text.

Luther's translation of the Bible made the greatest breach in this traditional church Latinism; and the most active opposition to Romish tendencies has resulted from the efforts of Bible societies, whose object is to translate the Bible into all languages.

At the revival of classical studies Latin remained the speech of the literary world. I say remained; for it is erroneous to suppose that it was then that it first became a literary language. From the time of the Romans, a current of traditionary Latin learning, never entirely interrupted, flowed even into the sixteenth century. Latin was the medium for philosophers, jurists, physicians, mathematicians, &c. Whoever undertook to study the sciences passed into a strange world, not only of facts, but of speech. The necessary books were Latin, the teachers taught in Latin, the technology of every art was Latin. Here his mother-tongue quite failed the aspirant after a higher culture; he found himself obliged to work into this literary conventional Latin, and to live in it, as he had been obliged to in his childhood into his native language. The operation was a sort of new birth, often symbolized by the adoption of a new Latin or Greek name. Scientific writers could not overstep the charmed circle; indeed it would be impracticable, without the construction of a new terminology in German. Only individuals of the highest authority, like Luther and Keppler, dared lead the way in making any such

use of German, or could bring the literary men to read their books.*

During the long period between the fall of the Roman empire and our own times the European Latin underwent many changes. During the first thousand years it had the character of a language still alive, though dying and degenerating. It was arbitrarily or unconsciously varied to meet the wants or the spirit of every period. The ancient classics were altogether neglected; and, being restrained by no accepted models, most Latinists of the period wrote what was in fact any thing rather than Latin.

The influence of Christianity upon this language† having acquired its strength in the midst of the heathen Latin, it was obliged to substitute Christian significations for the heathen ones of existing words; to give them a new nature, to breathe into them a new soul. Of the divine power exercised in this process a wonderful example is furnished by the mighty, deep-feeling, and mysterious Latin church-hymns; which truly sounded "with organ-tone and bell-like sound." Affairs of state were transacted in official Latin, and the scholastic philosophy prosecuted in literary Latin.

As classical studies revived Cicero became the ideal of all the Latinists; his style was the model, by reference to which they judged all the writers of the Middle Ages, especially the scholastic ones. They could scarcely find words to describe the depth of the barbarism of these last. Many of them fell themselves into an erroneous habit; outwardly quite brilliant, but in truth a mere lifeless and mannered imitation and aping of the ancient classic style. A few intellectual men of the fifteenth century, who had a real feeling for the beauties of the old classics, passed impartial judgments upon this new phase of degeneracy, and the general philological researches and efforts of the age. Such were Picus of Mirandola, Politian, and Erasmus. Picus defended the profound old schoolmen against the unmeasured attacks of his friend Hermolaus Barbarus. The schoolmen, he said, had wisdom without eloquence; these later men have eloquence without wisdom: they are heartless—all tongue. Politian wrote to a Ciceronian:—"On the subject of style I do not entirely agree with you; since, as I hear, you approve no style except such as bears the impress of Cicero. For my part, I prefer the countenance of an ox or a lion to that of an ape, notwithstanding the latter is more like a man's. Those who write only imitations are parrots and magpies;

* I have exemplified Keppler's translations of Latin technics into German, for the sake of being understood by the German literati.—"*Pedagogy*," Vol. I., p. 269.

† See Rudolf von Raumer, "*Influence of Christianity upon the Ancient High German*," (*Die Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die Althochdeutsche Sprache.*) p. 153, &c.

they merely say over words which they do not understand. What they write has neither force nor life; it is truthless, without substance or efficiency." Erasmus severely lashes the mimics of Cicero, in his "*Ciceronianus*." These people, he says, who always have Cicero in their mouths, are a disgrace to his name. "It is wonderful," he adds, "with what assurance this sort of persons revile the barbarism of Thomas, Scotus, Durandus, and others. Yet these last, who never claimed that they were eloquent, nor Ciceronians, will appear on careful examination to be much more entitled to the name than the former, who would pass not only for Ciceronians but for Ciceros."*

Such was the relation between the Latin of the Middle Ages and the Latin which came into extensive use in the time of the revival of classical literature. Since the philology of those times, and the schools of learning which then arose, exerted an influence which is operative even in our own times, they need a somewhat closer observation.

There prevailed an unmeasured and senseless deification of classical authors, studies, and Latin. A few examples will show the extent of this worship. A certain Barrius wrote in Latin a book upon Italy, and called God to witness the curse which he invoked upon any one who should dare to translate it into Italian. "For," said he, "I do not choose that this work should become a prey to the stupid judgment of a malicious, filthy, and ignorant rabble in Italy alone, and should shortly be forgotten; but that it should come into the hands of learned men of all nations, and be immortal." The Roman domination, he continued, and the Roman language, will extend over all the earth; but books written in the vulgar tongue will soon perish. In like manner did the dead and forgotten countrymen of the immortal Dante treat him.

Camerarius tells of a young man who assured him that he would willingly permit himself to be beheaded, could he on that condition leave behind him one epigram equal to the best of Martial's.

No less characteristic are the following expressions, which were used by Aesticampianus,† in 1511, at Leipzig, in a farewell lecture. "It was necessary," he said, "that the word of Latinity should first have been spoken to you;‡ but, seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of Roman eloquence, lo! I turn to the Gentiles. For whom of the great poets have your forefathers not persecuted, and whom of those have you not scoffed at who were sent by Heav-

* For Bacon's opinions of the schoolmen, and their relations to the age of the Reformation, see "*Pedagogy*," Vol. I., p. 344.

† His real name was Rak. He was born in 1460, at Sommerfeld, and named himself after his birthplace.

‡ See Acts, xiii., 46.

en to teach you? May you therefore live rude and empty-minded, savage and inglorious, and die and go to damnation, unless you do penance."

We can scarcely believe our eyes in reading this. This unbounded deification of so-called classical training was the occasion of infinite efforts to speak and write classical Latin; since by this means most especially could men hope to become classically educated and to become members of the literary class.

This then was the idea of the schoolmen of the sixteenth century. We have already seen with what iron perseverance Johannes Sturm, among others, pursued the design of training his scholars into the mastery of speaking and writing Latin, and familiarity with the Roman eloquence; and how, for the sake of doing this, he neglected almost every other study, and discouraged his native language as much as possible.

The object was, however, not only to speak and write with ease, but with good Latinity; that is, to use no word nor phrase which could not be found in some author of the golden or at furthest of the silver age. Analogy, in the opinion of most Latinists, was no rule for making Latin. "*Nil analogiæ tribuimus si auctoritas absit*" said Cellarius, even later.

In order to write good Latin, these men were restricted entirely to imitation. "Whoever maintains that the orator can dispense with imitation," said Bishop Julius Pflug, "must be out of his wits; and whoever shall deprive oratory of imitation will destroy it utterly." Of the way in which the children were taught this imitation, Sturm's school is an instance; his method was to teach his scholars so to deck themselves with borrowed feathers that, wherever it was possible, no hearer or reader should trace the literary theft. Into what caricature this imitation grew the "*Ciceronianus*" of Erasmus shows very clearly.

This practice of imitating the ancients has even continued to our own day. In this connection the preface of Ernesti's "*Initiæ doctrinæ solidioris*" is of much interest; where he gives an enumeration of the methods which he pursued, in preparing the very various parts of his book, to guard himself against violations of pure Latinity. "It was my first care," he said, "to secure purity of language. For this purpose, before I began writing, I sought earnestly and industriously not only to make myself acquainted with what the old models of Latinity—Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, &c.—have here and there said of the subject of arithmetic and geometry, but with the writings of those devoted expressly to mathematical subjects—as Frontinus, Vitruvius, &c.

"For philosophy, Cicero alone was sufficient. I am in hopes that

this industry of mine has prevented any word from creeping into my book which was unheard in ancient Latium; except, in a few cases, when no ancient word could be found fit for my purpose, or when there was some other equally good reason.

"After my care for purity in speech, my next effort—and still more important one—was to give my whole style such a form and such a clothing as completely to resemble that which the ancients would have used in philosophizing. After determining to write this book, I read often and industriously the philosophical and rhetorical writings of Cicero, taking the utmost pains not only to clearly understand his definitions and conclusions, his refutation of errors and his suggestions and solutions of doubts, but also thoroughly to acquire a power of imitating his acute and tasteful method of expression. How far I have succeeded others must judge."

Despite of his care to write *Nihil veteri Latio inauditum*, Ernesti found himself under the necessity of using some unclassical philosophical and mathematical expressions; as, for instance, the word "quotient." "This word," he says, "is well suited to the thing, had its use only been known to the ancients."

Le Clerc advises, for the purpose of avoiding violation of Latinity, and to enter fully into the spirit of it, in the first place, only to write on such subjects as are agreeable to the genius of the Latin language; and he says that such people as pay more attention to the language than to the matter of their books usually write better Latin.

Suppose, however, the advice of Le Clerc and others to be followed—that the best imitation of the old classics is the highest literary attainment—that no word or sentence is to be written which Cicero or Livy would not have written just so—what is to be said for the originality of the latter writers of Latin? In the opinion of the writers themselves, very much. The theory of imitation of Johannes Sturm and others, as we have seen, taught so to imitate that the reader should not observe it, and should think himself reading an original. But who, even moderately acquainted with Cicero, could fail easily to trace the origin of this pseudo-original writing.

Exceedingly naïve, and in agreement with Sturm and the "*Ciceronianus*" of Erasmus, is what Julius Pogianus says on this point. "There is no doubt that the best should always be imitated:" Cicero is by far the best of the ancient classics; and thus he, Pogianus, readily disposes of the rest of the ancients. There are also hyper-Ciceronians, who, in the most lamentable manner, write nothing original, but are only clumsy and unlucky mimics. From such he separates himself; making a distinction as follows: when he meets with a good phrase in Cicero, he transfers it to another subject. For instance, he

reads *Rutilii adolescentiam ad opinionem et innocentiæ et jurisprudentiæ, P. Scævolæ commendavit domus.* Nobody can find fault with him for changing this into *Hannibalis adolescentiam ad opinionem et eloquentiæ et philosophiæ Nobilii consuetudo commendavit.* There are also prominent phrases: such as *Nequid nimis, Late patet invidia,* and the like. When the imitator, instead of these, writes *Tenendum est omnium rerum modus,* and *Nihil non occupat invidia,* who shall assert that the phrase is not his?

In this manner the thoughts of others pass as those of the writer. He even sometimes dares to vie with Cicero in antithetical points. Instead of Cicero's *In lætitia doleo,* he says *In dolore lætor;* and, instead of *Tardius faceres, hoc est, ut ego interpretor, diligentius,* he says *Celerius, id est negligentius.* And, in conclusion, he recommends to learn many portions of Cicero by heart, in order to have a good stock of materials on hand for altering and varying. Is it not almost incomprehensible, to any man of common sense, how any one could frankly and seriously propose such apish exercises as an ideal of training in classical literature?

In spite of all this dishonest struggle to do as the Romans did, there were already great complaints of the degeneracy of Latinity. "Scarcely one in a hundred," says Ferrarius, "writes purely and without errors; and scarce one in a thousand has any critical judgment upon Latinity." And Vavassor says: "Very seldom is there one who knows what it is to write and speak good Latin; and almost nobody who can do either both or one of them." In like manner complain Caselius, Schelhamer, and others; and indeed, from the sixteenth century down to our own times, there has been a constant lamentation over the neglect and degeneracy of Latinity.* Even Sturm, who made every exertion to train his scholars to virtuosoship in the Roman eloquence, complains that nearly all shrank back from the necessary drill, and only a few accomplished any thing. He mourns over the barbarity of the age; and says men use barbarian words instead of those strictly Latin, and that all elegance is utterly extinct. Caspar Scioppius even wrote a book upon the barbarisms and solecisms of Joseph Scaliger, Casaubon, and Lipsius. Scaliger, in particular, in his celebrated work "*De emendatione temporum,*" was guilty of so many faults that Morus occupied a great part of the preface of the second edition of the work with apologies for the concealment of them. Vavassor wonders not so much that the passionate Salmasius should have committed so many solecisms as that Milton, in reproaching Salmasius with them, should himself have permitted to be printed

* Many of these complaints of modern date are given by Director Schmidt, in his "*Programme of the Gymnasium at Wittenberg,*" 1844, p. 6; and in those of Petrenoz, Meiring, Lauff, &c.

such an error as *Salmasius vapulandum se præbuit.* Notwithstanding all the pains which Ernesti took to write faultless Latin, Fr. Aug. Wolf calls attention to them.

Such was the ideal of the imitators; so great their efforts to reach it, and so unsatisfactory their success.

We must, however, allow that these efforts had some result so long as Latin was the current language of learning. But it is historically true that the ancient languages, after the time of the Reformation, and particularly after Luther's unsurpassed translation of the Bible, were gradually driven back by the German.

Latin books grew fewer, and German books grew more frequent; and German academical lectures took the place of the Latin ones. At last, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, German literature attained so much of classical character, the notion that virtuosoship in writing Latin was necessary to a good education quite disappeared. That accomplishment was not possessed by those whom, at that time, Germany honored as its greatest minds. At present, even philologists and educators admit that no reason for the attainment of skill in writing or speaking fine Latin is to be found in the present condition of church or state affairs, nor from that of literature. Shall our scholars therefore continue in their old and almost helpless efforts to imitate classic writers of the golden age, merely to distinguish themselves by a Latin composition at a graduating examination, or at Latin examinations or disputations? and, when these are discontinued, which may happen at any moment, shall every reason for exertion disappear?

Every external reason, I hear it said in reply, but not the inner and intellectual reason; the speaking and writing of Latin, as a means for the formal purposes of the schools, ought never to be discontinued. To this a philologist and educator (Prof. Wurm, of Hof,) answers as follows: "This formal training seems to be nothing but an expedient to conform the Latin language, as far as possible, to the requirements of the age, and at least to save it as a means, after it has ceased to be a principal end, of instruction."

I am very much mistaken if Herr Professor Wurm did not intend to allude exclusively to those who maintain that each and every scholar should be made competent to write fine Latin. For it is asked, Shall there be no Latin written in the schools? No practical person would answer in the affirmative.

Latin should be written just as much as it is necessary to write any language, in order to master it thoroughly. Writing for this purpose is, so to speak, the productive exercise of grammar, which should go parallel with the receptive exercises of reading and memo-

rizing from the classics. "The writing of Latin" says Hector Blume, "may as well be given up, except as a means to an end; that is, for fixing the knowledge of grammar, and for directing the attention more thoroughly to the characteristics of foreign idioms. And Madwig says: "Writing Latin can now only be regarded as a means of improvement, not of instruction; as the means for securing an acquaintance with the language which shall be complete, sure, vivid, and appreciative of the characteristics of its expressions; in short, a receptive knowledge of the Latin in its parts and its whole, and of its differences from our own language."

"We wholly agree with these views," I hear some learned philologists say. "Let it be agreed that the writing of Latin in our gymnasia is merely an exemplification of grammar. Now, however, grammar includes all the language, from the first declension up to the completest syntax; it rejects as well the least barbarism as the grossest solecism. How and where will you set the limits of this exemplification?" We reply, Can not these limits be fixed where a distinction has already been long established—where the specific distinction is recognized between mere Latin school grammar and the grammar of learned philologists? Has not the distinction been long recognized between *grammatice scribere* and *Latine scribere;* the former being the business of scholars and the latter of the trained philologist? That thoroughness of training and complete living amongst the ancient classics, which alone can fit for the *Latine scribere*, neither can nor should any more be cultivated by the wretched scraping together and memorizing of Latin phrases; nor will there be any more education to a mere show of facility in *Latine scribere.*

To this the advocates of an elaborate Latin style reply, "We are not in favor of virtuosoship in writing Latin; but only of a thorough understanding by the learner of the idioms of that language, and of its specific differences from German. Nothing is so efficient for this purpose as the practice of intelligent translation from strictly German composition into a strictly Latin style; and nothing can be a more intellectually useful practice than that of such a comparison of two languages."

We are far from denying that such a practice is useful; but we can not admit the expediency of subjecting mere school-pupils to an exercise which is properly only the business of philologists by profession. Such professional studies, in language as well as in other departments, belong only to the universities. The complaint has been often and with good reason made by educators, that the instruction in our schools is often adjusted as if either all the scholars were to be phil-

ologists or were philologists already. "But," it may be asked, "are scholars then not to enjoy the benefit of so useful a study?" Of course they are, but only in a different way; namely, by means of the corrected and most thorough kind of translation, from Latin into German. This may very properly be a study for the higher classes of our gymnasia; but translation from German into Latin belongs only to philologists, and thus both the one and the other will receive their appropriate benefit from a continued and thorough parallel study of the languages, authenticated by translating.

That it is easier to translate into the mother-tongue than from it into a foreign one all will agree, with the exception of those very few to whom foreign languages become a second nature. The reason can not here be fully investigated; we can say only a few words about it, as follows:—When the pupil sets himself to translate a passage from Cicero, for instance, he seeks first the meaning, and then the correct German expression. The meaning, however, comes to him of course in German words; and the better his understanding of the passage, the more suitable will be the words. The seeking and the finding of the right meaning and the right expression are naturally one and the same mental operation. But, in translating from German into Latin, his task is wholly different. He already understands the German expression; and his question is, How would a Roman—Cicero above all—have said this in Latin? He then proceeds to search amongst the Latin phrases in his memory, for some one which may serve his turn—always under the rule *Nihil veteri Latio inauditum scribere.* This, which would be a pleasant occupation to a philologist, working with a full mind, is to the school-boy a disagreeable and unprofitable exertion. It is also the more unpleasant because he must usually commit to memory, in order to it, much material wholly without interest to him; and, in his reading, leads him off into a useless phrase-hunt, which entirely diverts his attention from the real meaning of the author.

I may now repeat, without any apprehension of misunderstanding, that scholars should write Latin for the exemplification of their school grammar studies, they should write it in the same sense and to the same extent as Friedrich August Wolf advises to write Greek. "I have always found," he says, "in my own experience, that those make themselves most thoroughly masters of any language who write much in it—both its forms and its syntactical combinations; and in that respect I perceive no difference between the ancient and the modern languages. For mastering either, the exemplification of its grammar, by his own exercises, must be the immediate aim of the scholar; and in the third and second forms (*Tertia und Secunda,*)

such themes may be composed as shall require some finish in style; but for the most part such as are composed of short sentences, and none others."

With this design school-books have been prepared for translating the German into Greek; to exemplify its grammar, and thus to faciliate the thorough comprehension of the Greek classics. In doing this there has been no idea of carrying the scholars so far as to enable them to write classical Greek as good as Zenophon's, after the usual fashion of fixing a level of attainment in writing Latin by the persistent imitation of some normal stylist. At least, such was Wolf's idea. "The writing of Greek," he says, "is not learned at the present day, as Gesner, Ernesti, Dawes, and other connoisseurs who tried it, found out." "No drill in German style!" he says in another place.

If it is argued that no study of Latin can be thorough which does not include the attainment of virtuosoship in speaking and writing, then it must be admitted that the same is requisite in the acquirement of any other language, and of the Greek as well. But this would imply that only those can thoroughly understand Homer, Sophocles, and Plato who are connoisseurs in writing Greek; and therefore that our greatest philologists, even Wolf himself, have not understood Homer.

Many eminent men of learning, and able philologists among them, have declared against this confessedly fruitless endeavor to qualify school-boys to write and speak classical Latin. Let us hear some of their opinions.

Locke says: "If a boy is set to learn Latin in a school, he writes Latin exercises and makes compositions and verses, with no further object than to be able to understand a Latin author; not to become himself a Latin speaker and poet."

The well-known Johann Matthias Gesner relates that Christian Thomasius was the first who delivered German lectures at a German university—all those of previous date having been in Latin; and he adds that this was not so much because Latin was becoming disused, as from the exceedingly bad Latin that the lecturers used. "Therefore it happened," he continues, "that educated men, who understood Latin, declared for German, and in favor of teaching in German, while the half-barbarians on the other hand defended the Latin. Even royal commands failed to put a stop to the practice of teaching in German." If this distinguished philologist had to allow that speaking Latin could no longer be required even of the representatives of German learning, and even that requiring instruction to be given in Latin necessarily caused the destruction of Latinity, from

whom then would he require connoisseurs in speaking it? From among the scholars in gymnasia?

A Prussian ordinance of the year 1811, it is true, required Latin orations from graduates. "Latin speaking, truly!" remarks Friedrich August Wolf, the most competent judge. "Not three learned men in each of our renowned universities can do it; often not even the very *professor eloquentiæ;* and not six *per cent.* of the teachers in schools."

As ironically Wolf disposes of the requirement to write Latin. "To write in a language," he says, "does not belong within the sphere of the study of it. A man can be well acquainted with antiquity and not be able to write well in its language. The great scholars in Latin usually write it badly." "Few will attain real facility in writing Latin," he says elsewhere; "since the very great practice, and that contrary to Nature, who has indicated one language for men as she has one native land, is requisite for this purpose: and only those venture to make a great outcry for this object who are themselves unable to attain it."*

With this opinion of Wolf's Jacob Grimm coincides, although on very different grounds. "Language," he says, "is an unconscious and unperceived mystery, which is found implanted within the hearts of the young, and which fits our organs of speech for the native accent, declensions, inflections, and hard or soft characteristics. From this inborn sense arises the ineradicable longing feeling that comes upon a man when he hears his native language amongst strangers. Hence, also, the *unlearnableness* of a foreign tongue—that is, of the radical and thorough acquisition of it for speaking and writing. According to Tzetzes, the "double nature" of Cecrops was his knowledge of two languages (Greek and Egyptian.) It is really true that he who acquires two languages has two bodies and two souls.†

Wolf and Grimm have thus taken a position upon the German side of the question. So also has Herr Rector Hartung, in Schleusingen. "The usual practice of writing Latin," he remarks, "is in fact nothing but a mechanical botching up together of parts from a scanty store of words, phrases, and forms, with the help of lexicons and grammars." Professor Wurm says the same. "Every one, who has half-way arrived at a mastery of writing and speaking Latin, whether is he not as it were about to appear as a ghost of himself; to really give up his German nature, in order to become a Latinist?" This may remind

* Wolf, when he requires facility in writing Latin, in his "*Museum of Ancient Learning*," requires it by no means of any and every scholar, but only of philologists by profession.

† Beneke's "*Erziehungund Unterrichtslehre*," II., 227. His principles of instruction in foreign languages are based, in instruction in Latin especially, in the writing of it.

the reader of Ennius, who boasted that he had three souls, because he understood Greek, Oscan, and Latin. And do boys attain the degree of objectivity which is indispensable for learning a dead language? They leave off studying, in fact, just as they begin to attain it. I even maintain that to attempt to teach a boy Latin to the extent of writing it presupposes the most thorough ignorance of the language in the teachers.

Most of what Herr Wurm says about writing Latin, in his work above quoted, bears the impression of having originated in a desperate experience as a teacher. Latin writing, he complains, is even to this day the basis of the gymnasial instruction; every thing is referred to a Latin style—a Latin production is the chief condition of successful graduation. Pupils are only to learn Latin so far as to be able to read it and understand it, and they will find the Latin grammar a universal grammar for all languages to be learned afterward, and the Latin a preparation for all the Romanic languages. "For all these objects," concludes Prof. Wurm, "a gymnasium course, restricted to reading, and without writing,* would be sufficient."

What he says about writing Latin has a double force as applied to Latin speaking, where the scholar, improvising thoughts which came to him in German, must on the spot unclothe them of their words and reclothe them with Latin ones.† If he can not perform this operation with great quickness, he falls into a most painful stammering of Latin, unless he should instead, as is usual, entirely forego thinking, and merely bring together a set of memorized phrases, which may be used any where, and mean nothing.

Goethe has some valuable remarks upon the speaking of foreign languages. "Shall I speak French?" he says, "a foreign tongue, which always makes the speaker seem silly; in which one may take what position he chooses, and can only express himself about common affairs—only coarse distinctions. But what distinguishes the blockhead from the man of intellect, except that the latter quickly, vividly, and accurately comprehends delicate distinctions and whatever is most appropriate for the present moment, and expresses them with liveliness; while the latter, as every body must in a foreign tongue, has to help himself under all circumstances from the same lot of veteran stereotyped phrases."‡ Few will attain to facility in writing

* In this exclusion of writing, Prof Wurm no doubt does not comprehend writing for the exemplification of the school grammar.

† We need scarcely state here that this Latin speaking does not include the oral translation of short sentences, usual in the lower classes, in exemplifying school grammar.

‡ In connection with this remark of Goethe's we may say that the spread of the French language in Europe should not be taken as an indication of the extent of actual preference for it. The French language offers an especial abundance of "veteran stereotyped phrases" for all kinds of occasions; and thus equalizes "intellectual men and blockheads." It is on

Latin, says Wolf. Another distinguished philologist inquires, How many of our living men of learning can write original Latin with independence and freedom? and he answers, There are perhaps three. Wolf was speaking of philologists; what would he have said of scholars? To train them to a real facility in writing Latin is out of the question; they can at most be forced into an unsound and mimicking method. The truth is that, for this facility, it is not only requisite to have "two souls" but to get rid of the German soul. Soullessness is requisite.

This method of disciplining our German youth in writing Latin leads to the unfortunate consequence of a mischievous degeneracy in writing German itself; for the pupils learn to write the latter as they have done the former. That is, instead of developing mental habits and powers that will enable them to select words, to form correct expressions, and write them well, by practice in writing their thoughts in their native language, and in their natural order and simplicity, they become entirely disused to this natural process, by means of their Latin school-exercises, and only hitch together German phrases, as they have Latin ones. If Cicero will not serve them for a model of German style and a purveyor of phrases, they immediately look up some German author to put in his place, and from him they gather words, style, and phraseology.

Thus they become trained up as mannerists in their own language—to intellectual pharisaism—to a lifeless and ghostlike style. Numberless scholars, thus miseducated, hold fast all their lives to this school ideal, make school exercises all their lives, and remain all their lives in the illusion that their facility in putting together crude borrowed phrases is classical attainment. Of Latin-German phraseologists, so educated, Goethe says:—

> "If you feel it not, you can never hunt it up:
> If it does not burst out of your soul,
> And with deep-seated pleasure
> Seize upon the heart of every hearer,
> Sit still there! stick together
> And brew hashes from other men's meat;
> And blow at the scanty flame
> That comes out of your little heaps of ashes,
> The astonishment of children and of apes,
> Because you can open your mouths so wide.
> But you can never wield the hearts of others,
> Because the words do not come from your own.
> Even those very orations of yours, which are so splendid,
> In which you chop up manhood into shreds,
> Are unrefreshing as the misty wind
> That in the autumn rustles through the dry leaves."

this account that it has gained so much favor; as an arbitrary substitute for thought and education. How many court ladies probably valued themselves over Goethe, because they could chatter French!

The poet can mean nothing by his "Sit still there! stick together and brew hashes of other men's meat," unless he refers to the lifeless labor of gathering together Latin phrases; of brewing hashes out of Cicero and Livy, and then of doing the same over again in German? How many of our preachers weary themselves in efforts of the same kind after excellence of style; and how entirely are their discourses destitute of the freshness and liveliness of an extempore address! Might one not very naturally, in desperation at their elaborate nothings, go so far as to wish that they had had no training at all in language; and that their only rhetorical rule had been, Speak and write plainly the words that naturally come into your mouth.

"Not only of dry homilists," says Herder, "but even of able speakers, must it often be complained that, even from their earliest youth, their style has been formed upon the Latin, and that the periodic ceremonious tone which spread in the schools from the Latin to the German classes, shows itself even amongst their best thoughts. I shall only attack the immense error of the belief that Cicero is a model of style, perfect and without blemish, and that to imitate him is originality! that a dozen bombastic expressions, such as they use in the schools, will make young Ciceros; and that a clear and lucid style in their native language is consistent with the Latin periodic structure."

Entirely opposed to the untoward influence of such exercises is the influence of an intelligent reading of the classics upon German style. Wieland said: "I learned to write German from Cicero's letters." He had gained a clearer style, and a more adequate manner of expressing his thoughts, from that master. For this purpose translation from Latin and Greek classics is very much to be recommended. It obliges the student to enter into the meaning of the author and into the spirit of the language; proves his understanding or not understanding it; and is the best practice in the technics of writing German. This practice makes but little demand upon the productive power of the pupil, but trains his susceptivity. The more fully he enters into the meaning of his author the better will be his German translation.

In conclusion, we have three remarks to make:—

1. The opinion has been expressed that only in the department of speaking and writing Latin does the realist system of education admit of being introduced, as opposed to the humanist system. The realists scoffingly inquire how it is that, after ten years of labor, Latin students show so little facility in writing and speaking it? It is only by the attainment of connoisseurship in those studies, by exhibiting

some such tangible result from the gymnasium studies, that the mouths of these adversaries can be stopped.

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the realists would be contented with that attainment; or even that they would suffer it to be required. They would demand, still more vehemently, To what end this so great expenditure of time and strength for a useless accomplishment? With whom can a man converse intelligibly in Latin? He will not do it for his own pleasure, nor ever, unless absolutely obliged to. We have very clear reasons for writing and speaking English and French; but, for doing it in Latin, none is visible—unless you aim at realizing Comenius' dream of making Latin a universal language for the human race.

The realists would have no such efforts made. And there is no cause for the apprehensions that many feel that the doing away with writing and speaking Latin would open the door to a realist barbarism. And to this barbarism is the barbarous Latin which we hear in disputations, in dissertations, and examinations to be opposed? is one barbarism to be set up against another? By no means.

2. Even if the gymnasium should undertake to satisfy the extremes of these demands for speaking and writing Latin—which, as is well known, they can not do—the result would be the greatest injury to the whole method of Latin instruction. At present all the labor and time are saved which were bestowed upon collecting and memorizing of Ciceronian phrases, that they might be always at hand for writing and speaking. Many grammatical minutiæ are also got rid of which were learned by anticipation, for future use in the same way; being now omitted until found in the course of reading. How many peculiarities of the rarest kind, nay, even strange and monstrous, which the beginner has been, and even still is, obliged to commit to memory, would never occur, even to a diligent reader of classics, in his life!

3. The time thus gained should be used especially in acquiring Greek; and the two classical languages should be learned as nearly in the same manner as possible.* At present, as we have seen, there is on an average twice as much time given to Latin, in the two gymnasia, as to Greek.

How very few are there who leave school able to read even the easier Greek classics with facility, or even without the constant use of

* Beneke and Dr. Schmid express the same opinion. The latter says: "Latin has now lost the place of a living language in our gymnasia, and the Latin literature its pre-eminence over the Greek." As far as that youth may learn Latin before Greek, and therefore come to the latter at a riper and better prepared age, so far should more time be devoted to the former; and it is another good reason for learning it more thoroughly than Greek that it is much more useful in all manner of study. This is evident upon the merest glance at the history of European civilization.

a dictionary! But who that desires real education, and not a mere vain show, would not in his manhood gladly exchange the usual blundering knowledge of writing and speaking Latin for facility in comprehending the Greek classics?

II. CARDINAL WOLSEY'S PLAN OF INSTRUCTION FOR THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT IPSWICH, 1528.

The celebrated Letter of Cardinal Wolsey,* addressed to the masters of the grammar school at Ipswich, prescribes, with almost professional minuteness, the precise method of classical instruction which was afterward confirmed by the ordinances and practices of the leading public seminaries of learning throughout the kingdom. Although Cardinal Wolsey was a schoolmaster before he was either churchman or statesman, he was probably indebted to Erasmus not only for the general scheme but for the language—whole sentences being taken, word for word, from the writings of that eminent scholar.

†THOMAS CARDINAL OF YORK, &C., TO THE MASTERS OF IPSWICH SCHOOL, GREETING.

We suppose no one to be ignorant with what mental effort, zeal, and industry we have always directed our labors to this point; not with a view to our own private advantage, but as far as possible to consult the welfare of our country, and of all our fellow-subjects. In which one object we consider we shall reap the richest fruit of patriotism, if with divine blessing we should adorn by cultivation the minds of our countrymen. Influenced therefore by a warmth of affection incredibly great toward our birth-place, which claims our exertions by its own right, we have dedicated a school, not wholly without elegance as a building, as the clearest testimony of our perfect love. But since there seemed but little done in having built a school, however magnificent the structure, unless there should be added skillful masters, we have endeavored by all means to appoint as its presidents two masters duly selected and approved: under whose tuition the youth of

* Cardinal Wolsey was a munificent patron of learning, as his foundation of Christ College at Oxford, and of the grammar school at his native town of Ipswich, witnesseth. His plan for the latter, as preparatory for the former, contemplated ample endowments out of the lands and tenements belonging to the monastery of St. Peter, and other suppressed priories in that town and neighborhood, intending, as he himself said, in a letter addressed to Court de Beaumont, grand marshal of France, that "Many scholars should be brought up and maintained therein, and always trained in virtue, to the end that a perpetual memory of God shall be kept and honored." The building, for which he arranged with the French Count to bring over stone from a new quarry at Caen, was never finished, and the revenues appropriated for its endowment were seized by his enemies, after his fall from power. The school itself went into operation, and a new charter was granted by Henry VIII., which was renewed and enlarged by Elizabeth, in 1565. Under this charter the school is still administered.

† *Thomas Cardinalis Eboracensis, &c., Gypeuichianæ scholæ præceptoribus, S. D.*

Neminem latere putamus, quanto animi conatu, studio, industria, huc semper labores nostros destinaverimus, non ut nostris privatim commodis, sed uti patriæ civibusque nostris omnibus, quam plurimum consuleremus. Qua una in re, amplissimum pietatis fructum nos assecuturos esse arbitramur, si divino aliquo munere popularium nostrorum animos exornaremus. Proinde, maximo incredibilique pietatis ardore erga patriam affecti, quæ nos veluti jure quodam sibi vindicat, ludum literarium non omnino inelegantem, velut amoris summi erga eandem nostri clarissimum testimonium, dedicavimus. Verum quoniam parum visum est ludum quamtumvis magnificum extruxisse, nisi etiam accesserit præceptorum peritia, modis omnibus dedimus operam, ut nos quos præceptores electos probatosque huic præficeremus: sub quibus Britannica pubes, statim a primis annis et mores et literas imbiberet; mirum intelligentes in hac ætate, velut herba, spem reipublicæ positam esse. Id quod felicius maturiusque consequeretur, libello puerilis institutionis methodumque ac rationem docendi, apprimè huic pubi necessariam, omni nostra cura, studio, diligentia, ut haberetis, curavimus. Vestræ partes erunt nunc vicissim, qui huic novæ scholæ nostræ præceptores

Britain, from their earliest years, might imbibe morality and learning; naturally considering that the hope of the whole state rests on this stage of life, as that of the harvest on the blade of corn. And that this might succeed more happily and early, we have provided, with all care, zeal, and diligence, that, in a little treatise on the instruction of boys, you should have the method and plan of teaching principally necessary for this tender age. It will now in turn be your part, who are masters in our new school, here to exercise the boys with diligence in the rudiments of education; that, as well in elegance of literature as in purity of morals, they may advance in due order to higher views. And, if you strive after this object as carefully as we shall exhibit the plan before your eyes, you will not only now, while we earnestly favor your pursuits, lay us under obligation to yourselves, but you will absolutely make us survive on happy terms with all posterity.

From our own palace, Sept. 1, A. D. 1528.

In what order boys, admitted into our academy, should be taught, and what authors should be lessoned to them.

METHOD FOR THE FIRST CLASS.

In the first place, it has been not improperly resolved that our school be divided into eight classes. The first of these to contain the less forward boys, who should be diligently exercised in the eight parts of speech; and whose now flexible accent it should be your chief concern to form—making them repeat the elements assigned them, with the most distinct and delicate pronunciation—since raw material may be wrought to any shape whatever; and, according to Horace,

> "The odors of the wine that first shall stain
> The virgin vessel, it will long retain;"

on which account it were least proper to deprive this time of life of due care.

FOR THE SECOND CLASS.

Next in order, after pupils of this age have made satisfactory progress in the first rudiments, we should wish them to be called into the second form, to practice speaking Latin, and to render into Latin some English proposition; which should not be without point or pertinence, but should contain some piquant or beautiful sentiment, sufficiently suitable to the capacity of boys. As soon as this is rendered, it should be set down in Roman characters; and you will daily pay attention that each of the whole party have this note-book perfectly correct, and written as fairly as possible with his own hand.

Should you think proper that, besides the rudiments, some author should be given at this tender age, it may be either Lily's *Carmen Monitorium* or Cato's Precepts; that is, with a view of forming the accent.

FOR THE THIRD CLASS.

Of authors who mainly conduce to form a familiar style—pure, terse, and polished—who is more humorous than Æsop? Who more useful than Terence?

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estis, hic rudimentis ac docendi ratione diligenter exercere hos pueros: deinceps cum elegantissima literatura, tum optimis moribus ad majora profecturos. Ad quod si pari cura enitimini, atque nos ad oculum vobis commonstraturi sumus, nos non tam vobis vestro studio impense faventes jam demerebimini, quam plane apud posteros felices reddideritis. Bene valete Ex ædibus nostris, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, calend. Septembris.

Quo ordine pueri, in nostrum gymnasium admissi, docendi sint; quique authores iisdem prælegendi.

PRIMÆ CLASSIS METHODUS.

Principio, scholam hanc nostram in classes octo partiendam esse non incongruè placuit. Quarum prima pueros rudiores in octo orationis partibus diligenter exercendos contineat. Quorum os tenerum formare præcipua cura vobis sit: utpote qui et apertissima et elegantissima vocis pronunciatione, tradita elementa proferant: siquidem rudem matriam licet ad quodvis effingere; et Horatio monete, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.* Quamobrem hanc ætatem justa vestra cura defraudare minime par est.

SECUNDÆ CLASSIS.

Deindè, postquam ætas hæc satis feliciter illis primis rudimentis adulta profecerit, eam in secundum ordinem vocari velimus, ad usum loquendi Latinè, et ad vertendum in Latinum aliquod propositum vulgare; non insulsum neque ineptum; sed quod argutam aliquam aut venustam habeat sententiam, quæ ab ingenio puerili non nimium abhorreat. Quod simul ac versum fuerit, quam mox characteribus Romanis mandari oportebit: dabitisque operam

Both of whom, from the very nature of their subjects, are not without attraction to the age of youth.

Furthermore, we should not disapprove of your subjoining, for this form, the little book composed by Lily on the genders of nouns.

FOR THE FOURTH CLASS.

Again, when you exercise the soldiership of the fourth class, what general would you rather have than Virgil himself, the prince of all poets? Whose majesty of verse, it were worth while, should be pronounced with due intonation of voice.

As well adapted to this form, Lily will furnish the past tenses and supines of verbs. But although I confess such things are necessary, yet, as far as possible, we could wish them so appointed as not to occupy the more valuable part of the day.

FOR THE FIFTH CLASS.

And now, at length, you wish to know what plan of teaching we would here prescribe. Your wish shall be indulged. One point that we think proper to be noticed, as of first importance, is, that the tender age of youth be never urged with severe blows, or harsh threats, or indeed with any sort of tyranny. For by this injurious treatment all sprightliness of genius either is destroyed or is at any rate considerably damped.

With regard to what this form should be taught, your principal concern will be to lesson them in some select epistles of Cicero; as none other seem to us more easy in their style, or more productive of rich copiousness of language.

FOR THE SIXTH CLASS.

Moreover, the sixth form seems to require some history, either that of Sallust or Cæsar's Commentaries. To these might not improperly be added Lily's Syntax; verbs defective and irregular; in short, any you may notice, in the course of reading, as departing from the usual form of declination.

FOR THE SEVENTH CLASS.

The party in the seventh form should regularly have in hand either Horace's Epistles, or Ovid's Metamorphoses, or Fasti; occasionally composing verse or an epistle of their own. It will also be of very great importance that they sometime turn verse into prose, or reduce prose into meter. In order that what is learnt by hearing may not be forgotten, the boy should reperuse it with you, or with others. Just before retiring to rest he should study something choice, or worthy of remembrance, to repeat to the master the next morning.

At intervals attention should be relaxed, and recreation introduced: but recreation of an elegant nature, worthy of polite literature. Indeed, even with his stud-

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quotidie, ut libellos quam emendatissimos, quamque elegantissimè sua quisque manu scriptos habeat universus grex.

Si authorem aliquem præter rudimenta, adhibendum tenellæ pubi censueritis, id erit vel Lilii Carmen Monitorium; vel præcepta Catonis; nimirum formandi oris gratia.

TERTIÆ CLASSIS.

Ex authoribus, qui ad quotidianum sermonem purum, tersum, elimatum, magnoperè conducunt, quis facetior, quam Æsopus? aut quam Ter. utilior? Uterque vel ipso argumenti genere adolescentiæ non injucundus.

Rursum, huic ordini de nominum generibus libellum quem Lilius conscripserat, si adjunxeritis, non improbaverimus.

QUARTÆ CLASSIS.

Præterea, cum quartæ classis militiam exercebitis, quem ducem malitis, quam ipsum Virgilium, omnium poetarum principem, vobis dari? Cujus majestatem carminis, voce bene sonora, efferendam esse operæ pretium fuerit.

Verborum præterita et supina huic ordini convenientia commodabit Lilius. Verum ut hujusmodi fateor necessaria, ita velimus tamen tradi, quoad fieri possit, ut potiorem diei partem non occupent.

QUINTÆ CLASSIS.

Nunc demum video vos cupere, quam docendi rationem hic præcipiamus. Agite, mos geratur vobis. In primis hoc unum admonendum censuerimus, ut neque plagis severioribus, neque voltuosis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis specie, tenera pubes afficiatur. Hac enim injuria ingenii alacritas aut extingui, aut magna ex parte obtundi solet.

SEXTÆ CLASSIS.

Porro, sextus ordo historiam aliquam, vel Sallustii, aut Commentarorum Cæsaris, postulare

ies pleasure should be so intimately blended that a boy may think it rather a *game at learning* than a task. And caution must be used, lest by immoderate exertion the faculties of learners be overwhelmed, or be fatigued by reading very far prolonged: for either way alike there is a fault.

FOR THE EIGHTH CLASS.

Lastly, when by exercise of this kind the party has attained to some proficiency in conversation-style, they should be recalled to the higher precepts of grammar; as, for instance, to the figures prescribed by Donatus, to the elegance of Valla, and to any ancient authors whatever in the Latin tongue. In lessoning from these, we would remind you to endeavor to inform yourselves at least on the points it may be proper should be illustrated on each present occasion. For example, when intending to expound at length a comedy of Terence, you may first discuss in few words the author's rank in life, his peculiar talent, and elegance of style. You may then remark how great the pleasure and utility involved in reading comedies; of which word you should explain the signification and derivation. Next, you may briefly but perspicuously unravel the substance of the plot; and carefully point out the particular kind of verse. You may afterward arrange the words in more simple order: and wherever there may appear any remarkable elegance; any antiquated, new-modeled, or Grecian phrase; any obscurity of expression; any point of etymology, whether derivation or composition; any order of construction rather harsh and confused; any point of orthography; any figure of speech, uncommon beauty of style, rhetorical ornament, or proverbial expression; in short, any thing proper or improper for imitation; it should be scrupulously noticed to the young party.

Moreover, you will pay attention that in play-time the party speak with all possible correctness; sometimes commending the speaker when a phrase is rather apposite, or improving his expression when erroneous. Occasionally some pithy subject for a short epistle in their native tongue should be proposed. And, to conclude, you may exhibit, if you please, some formulæ, which, serving as a guide, a given theme may conveniently be treated.

Furnished with these rudiments in our school, boys will easily display the paramount importance of beginning from the best. Do you but now proceed, and enlighten with most honorable studies your well-deserving country.

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videtur. Quibus syntaxim Lilii non incongruè addiderimus, verba defectiva, anomala, et quæcunque heteroclyta, obiter legentes, admonebitis.

SEPTIMÆ CLASSIS.

Septimi ordinis grex, aut Horatii Epistolas, aut Ovidii Metamorphosin, aut Fastorum libros assiduè volvat; interim vel carmen, vel epistolam aliquam componens. Illud quoque permagni referet, si aliquoties aut carmen solverint, aut solutam orationem pedibus alligatam reddiderint. Audita nè effluant, aut apud vos, aut cum aliis puer retractet. Sub somnum exquisiti quippiam, aut dignum memoria meditetur, quod proxima aurora præceptori reddat.

Interdum laxandus est animus, intermiscendus lusus, at liberalis tamen, et literis dignus. In ipsis studiis sic voluptas est intermiscenda, ut puer ludum potius discendi, quam laborem existimet. Cavendum erit, ne immodica contentione ingenia discentium obruantur, aut lectione prælonga defatigentur. Utraque enim juxta offenditur.

OCTAVÆ CLASSIS.

Denique hoc exercitio ad aliquam sermonis peritiam provectus grex, ad majora grammatices præcepta revocetur: velut ad figuras a Donato præscriptas, ad Vallæ elegantiam, et ad linguæ Latinæ quoslibet veteres authores. In quibus prælegendis vos admonitos velimus, ut ea duntaxat quæ explicanda præsenti loco sint idonea, conemini discere. Veluti Comœdiam Terentianam enarraturi, imprimis authoris fortunam, ingenium, sermonis elegantiam, paucis disseratis. Deinde, quantum habeat et voluptatis et utilitatis comœdiarum lectio. Deinde, quid significet ea vox, et unde ducta. Deinde, dilucidè et brevitur summam argumenti explicetis, carminis genus diligenter indicetis. Postea, ordinetis simplicius: deinde, siqua insignis elegantia, siquid priscè dictum, siquid novatum, siquid Græcanicum, siquid obscurius, siqua etymologia, siqua derivatio et compositio, siquis ordo durior, et perturbatior, siqua orthographia, siqua figura, siquid egregium orationis decus, siqua exornatio rhetorica, siquid proverbium, siquid imitandum, siquid non imitandum, diligenter gregem admoneatis.

Præterea, in ludo dabitis operam, ut grex quàm emendatissimè loquatur, loquentem aliquoties collaudetis, siquid dictum erit aptius, aut emendetis, cum errabit. Interdum epistolæ brevis argumentum, sed argutum, lingua vulgari proponi debet. Postremò, si libet, ostendatis formulas aliquot, quibus traditum thema commodè tractari poterit.

His rudimentis pueri in schola nostra imbuti, facile declarabunt quantopere referat, ab optimas auspicatum fuisse. Vos modo pergite, ac patriam benè merentem honestissimis studiis illustrate.

To be continued.

VIII. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES.

(FOURTH ARTICLE.)

BY REV. THOMAS HILL,

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OUR third great division of human science includes all that is historical, the record of man's doings and sayings; and we have indicated, in our tabular view, a rough subdivision of this group of sciences into four smaller groups. The first of these smaller groups treats of man's use of nature as commodity; that is, for purposes of agriculture, manufacture, or commerce. The second embraces the fine arts; the third, language,—the use of speech or writing to express thought. The fourth treats of social life, custom, and law. The reasons for this subdivision, and for the order in which the groups are arranged, will be evident on a moment's thought. The use of the world for our bodily needs is first in the order of time and of simplicity; and the earliest knowledge that a child has of the works of man, as distinguished from the works of nature, consists in knowing that man puts nature to use. It is true, however, that this precedence in knowledge is more logical than chronological, since only a few months pass over a child's head before it uses dolls and pictures as naturally as food and clothing; showing how early the artistic use of nature is begun.

The invention and use of language must certainly be subsequent to the use of material things; and the ability to communicate ideas by language must precede any attempt at social law or order.

Without historical knowledge, a child would grow up a barbarian. The chief distinction of an educated man, or of a civilized nation, consists in a knowledge of the wisdom gained through the experience of previous generations. A child is, however, usually suffered to learn the history of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, without distinct instruction. Books of trade and books of commerce for children's use have never enjoyed a wide popularity, although recommended by many of the best writers on education. The great obstacle to the teaching of any historical branch consists in the multiplicity of details which it involves. General principles are with difficulty applied to bring the numerous facts connected with agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, into a form adapted for the instruction of

children. Much must be done incidentally, and education in this respect will therefore depend upon the family as much as upon the school. A very young child will be interested and benefited by being taught the simplest processes of planting and sowing, and of tending the growing plants. If in the city, it may be necessary to do this by description; if in the country, it should of course be done experimentally. Every one of the articles in household use should furnish lessons concerning the mode in which the raw material is rendered subservient to man's needs. The whole processes of grinding and bolting wheat; of fermenting and baking bread; of planting, tending, gathering, cleaning, carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing or printing cotton; of tending sheep; of shearing and cleansing wool; of spinning, dyeing, and weaving yarn into the various kinds of carpeting; of tanning leather, and making boots and shoes; of the manufacture of glass; of digging and smelting ores, and working metals, — in short, of producing from the raw materials any of those articles of manufacture which the child daily sees and handles,— will furnish subjects for valuable and interesting lessons. If the parent or the school-teacher is ignorant concerning them, the requisite information may readily be obtained from books like the Penny Encyclopedia, or smaller volumes prepared expressly for the young. Undoubtedly the best mode of instructing a child, concerning any of the operations in the useful arts, is to allow him to see the process going on; and, whenever it is practicable, this course should be adopted. It is not, however, always agreeable to a manufacturer to be interrupted by visitors, and in some places it would be dangerous to allow children to pass among machinery arranged with a view to work, and not to show. But advantage should be taken of those places where work can be seen without interruption to the workmen, and especially of industrial exhibitions and mechanics' fairs.

Beside the enlargement of mind, the extension of the circle of ideas, the increase of his power of conception, which a child may gain from the examination of agricultural tools and labor-saving machinery, he will be likely to choose his occupation in life more intelligently, and with a more just reference to his own powers. The attraction which plays so large a part in the theory of the socialists cannot have fair play, and bring a child into his appropriate sphere of labor, if this opportunity is not furnished of determining towards what sphere he is most strongly drawn. A history of inventions, books containing the first rudiments of agriculture, books somewhat like Babbage's Economy of Manufactures, but treating also of carpentry and ship-building, and one on commerce, ought to make part

of the child's reading. No reading-books with which we are acquainted give a complete view of these subjects, in a form adapted for school use; but we have found Miss Edgeworth's "Harry and Lucy" answer tolerably well.

The moment that man's bodily needs are satisfied he expresses his feelings in art. Music and dancing, sculpture and painting, are as natural as eating and drinking. The child of a year old makes anything into a doll, and recognizes in the rudest picture the designed resemblance. At three years old it is frequently able to sing; occasionally much earlier than that. Nature thus bids us begin early the instruction of the child in these departments. A slate and pencil should be among the first playthings put into the child's hands. Holbrook's Outlines, or similar simple copies for imitation, may be among the earliest lessons; but it is of the greatest importance that the child should at once begin also to draw from natural objects. A fresh green leaf, or a simple flower, may be drawn by a very young child, as easily from the living specimen as from a printed wood-cut, and will stimulate his powers of observation and conception to vastly higher activity; giving him thereby not only more pleasure, but a much greater increase of power. The inventive drawing taught by Professor Whittaker will be of much greater advantage to the pupil if it be preceded by an accurate copying from nature. Drawing from nature leads to accuracy and closeness of observation, and to correctness of conception, which are of the greatest use in drawing from imagination. But inventive drawing, when not preceded by the practice of copying natural objects, would conduce very feebly towards the attaining of either the habit of accurate observation, or of graceful and beautiful creations. The two modes of drawing are complementary to each other; and the inventive drawing, or creation of ideal forms, is certainly the highest. But, on that very account, because it is the highest, it should come latest; and the practice of many school-teachers of introducing it first is subversive of natural order.

The real order of procedure in art is more universally observed in music, in which airs are learned by imitation, and the child is never required to extemporize melodies. Singing has been introduced very extensively into public schools, and the instruction almost invariably is begun by simply teaching the children to sing melodies by ear. In schools of a higher grade they are taught to read the ordinary musical notation, and are initiated into the mysteries of transposition, which involves a slight knowledge of thorough bass. We think that in high schools and colleges the knowledge of music might be ex-

tended further into the rules of composition, both as regards harmony and musical form, and that the pupil should be required to compose melodies, and harmonize them. They would be worthless to others but the attempt to write them would greatly increase the scholar's enjoyment of music.

The most extensive and important group of the historical sciences is included under the name of languages. Logically this follows the study of labor and of art; we must know things before we can talk about them; and, logically, language precedes law; we must communicate our ideas before we can enforce them. But, practically, the study of language begins at the hour of birth; and when the child enters school he already talks fluently. The first point of instruction in school will naturally be to teach him to read and write the language which he has learned to speak. And, since we are talking of those who use alphabetic writing, the first step in this process naturally should be to teach the child to analyze his spoken words into their phonetic elements. This ought indeed to have been done at home; nothing will so surely and so rapidly teach a child the correct enunciation of words, as teaching it, in its earliest efforts at speech, to enunciate, as an infantile amusement, the separate elements of spoken language. But, as this is not usually done at home, it devolves upon the teacher, as the first labor when the child enters school. As the pupil learns to distinguish the elements of speech, and to form them distinctly, separate from words, he should be taught the alphabetic signs which represent them; not giving them the names by which they are commonly designated, but, at first, teaching them as the symbols of the sounds. For instance, the word *aitch* should not be taught to the child until he is perfectly familiar with the fact that the character *h* signifies a roughness of breathing, while the mouth is in the position for sounding any vowel. Unfortunately, our English alphabet contains but twenty-six letters, three of which, *c*, *q*, and *x*, are superfluous; leaving only twenty-three symbols by which to represent forty or more sounds. Moreover, in our ordinary spelling, we are not content with being thus obliged to represent at least seventeen sounds by symbols already appropriated to some other sound; we also represent a single sound by many different symbols, and our language, instead of being alphabetic, is, in the ordinary orthography, logographic. A child cannot, therefore, be taught to read ordinary English printing in any natural and easy way. A tough constitution resists a great deal of hardship and abuse; and a vigorous intellect frequently survives the labor of learning to spell in the ordinary mode. A man who has lived through a course of bad

diet, and inattention to the laws of health, is apt to regard attention to such matters as a mark of effeminacy; and, in like manner, those whose love of literature has not been absolutely quenched, and whose power to see truth has not been wholly blinded, by the ordinary mode of learning to read, suppose that there is no urgent need for improvements; but whoever will reflect upon the absurdities of English orthography, and upon the gravity with which those absurdities are usually introduced to the child as reasonable things, must perceive that such instruction has an injurious effect upon the child's mental powers, and upon his love of truth. The child may survive it, as he survived the compression of swathing-bands, drenching with herb teas, and drugging with cordials; nay, the injurious effect may, in the case of a very vigorous mind, be infinitesimal; but it is always pernicious, and, in the case of persons of small intellectual ability, disastrous.

The attempt to change the printed forms of the English language, for the ordinary purposes of books and newspapers, may be impracticable; and it may not even be desirable that such attempts should succeed; but the use of phonetic books for the purpose of teaching children to read, is both practicable and in the highest degree useful. So soon as the child has learned to read fluently in phonotype, it may take up common print, and read it easily from the general resemblance of the words on one page to those on the other; as has been proved experimentally in thousands of cases. The child thus taught to read common print, has its orthography more firmly fixed in his memory, because he perceives more clearly its oddities and anomalies. Bad spelling usually arises from an attempt to spell phonetically with the common alphabet; but this would be less likely to be done by one who had been accustomed to associate the idea of phonetic value only with a different alphabet. The use of a phonotype, for teaching a child to read, has also the advantage of giving unceasing instruction in accuracy of enunciation, and no other method has been so successful in removing from a school provincialisms and vulgarities of pronunciation. For fixing the orthography of words in the memory, no practice is more useful than that of writing from dictation; but this means, of course, cannot be applied at a very early age. If we had phonotype in common use, it would be well to have the child taught to write at the same time that he is taught to read; but, with our present "heterotypy" (as it has been facetiously called), we must be content to begin writing at the time of transition from phonotypy, when the progress in reading will of course be much more rapid than in writing.

The approach to ordinary orthography, through phonetic type, leads very naturally to etymological considerations, which will be of interest and value to a child several years before he is ready for questions of syntax. Words themselves must be understood before they can be intelligently classified. When a word is introduced to the child, in its orthographic dress, and he laughs, as well he may, at the oddity of its costume, we may tell him of its gradual growth into its present form, and show him how the silent, or the mispronounced, letters in it are the record of its ancient pronunciation, or of its derivation, or of an early error in its supposed derivation. This will lead us to explain to the pupil the conventional element in language; that usage is the right and rule of speaking; and then we may go further back, and show how much is really natural in the origin of language, and how the meaning of words sometimes sprang from an imitation of sounds, from the musical expression of speech, and from instinctive attempts at expression through the position of the organs of speech. A child of six years old will recognize the nasal element in the *meaning* of such words as snail, snake, snap, snare, snarl, sneak, sneer, sneeze, snicker, sniff, snipe, snivel, snooze, snore, snort, snout, snub, snuff, snuffle, and see how easily the word nose can be introduced into the definition of each. Then it will be interested to know that the Latins also called the nose *nasus*.

The forms, even, of the individual letters may be made the occasion of pleasant lessons in the origin of written language,— the probable development of Shemitic alphabets from phonetic hieroglyphics, and of the European alphabets from those of Phœnicia. If such instructions do not awaken a scholarly turn of mind, and lead to literary taste, they will at least relieve the dryness of the spelling-book, and give the child some glimpse of the numerous and subtle ties which bind us with all the generations which have preceded us.

The use of language is to be acquired at first by imitation. The study of books on grammar and composition does not belong to the early years of life, and it is a complete inversion of the natural method to give a child abstract themes for composition before he is old enough to think on such themes of his own accord. In the like manner, it is not in the true course of nature to teach a child to declaim before he can comprehend the pieces selected for declamation. The most instructive reading for a person of any age is that whose tone of thought is above his average thought, and yet not beyond his grasp; and the best exercise for a child, in learning to think and to express his thought, is to commit to memory such poetry

or prose as is worth being treasured up forever in remembrance, but which is not entirely above his comprehension. Let him also, with the book before him, extemporaneously, turn good verse into good prose, and repeat the process so frequently as to be able to do it without hesitation. Before the child can write well he can dictate a narrative of some real event in his own experience; and, as soon as he can write, he should be accustomed to writing, at first narrative, afterward gradually coming to more abstract forms of composition, but always upon subjects with which he is familiar.

When foreign tongues are taught,—and every liberally educated person should at least have a sufficient acquaintance with them to develop his philological tastes, if he have any,—the method of nature, it seems to us, requires a blending of several modes of study. The pronunciation should be a matter of first importance; the student deciding, in the case of a dead language, on some fixed principles, and, in the case of a living language, getting as nearly as possible to actual present usage of the best speakers. Next comes the translating, and finally the grammar. The interval of time between these is not of importance; but it is of importance, in the study of any language, to read more than the small portion which you may daily analyze critically with grammar and dictionary. Let neither mode of study be neglected; a portion in one book being thoroughly studied each day; while, in some other book, several pages are rapidly and imperfectly read. The words and constructions of most frequent occurrence will thus become familiar by repetition, and to the discipline of the exact critical study of sentences will be added that appreciation of the general spirit of a language which can be attained only from a more rapid and extensive reading of its best writers. Thus, in music, also, the best culture is gained when the pupil is daily drilled to extreme accuracy in the practice of select pieces, and also daily exercised in reading at sight several pages of new music. In the order of nature the child hears language and music long before it has the power to analyze and study them; and, in the order of study, it is better to have reading precede, in some degree at least, a critical and thorough study.

When translating from a foreign tongue into our own, there are two extremes in method, both of which are admirable, while the mean between them is worthless. In the study of a language you have two objects in view,—one to learn that language, and the other to gain from the study a strength and facility in the use of your own. Now, in learning the foreign tongue, one cannot translate too literally, keeping to the order and construction of the original; while,

for the purpose of culture in the use of the vernacular, and indeed for understanding, in the earlier stages of study, the real thoughts of the author, one cannot be too careful to translate into the most appropriate and idiomatic English. We would, therefore, habitually accustom the student to a double rendering, first literally, then idiomatically; and in the literal rendering allow even etymological fidelity to the prefixes and parts of a compound word. Thus the proverb, *Unkraut vergeht nicht*, may have the double rendering, *An un-plant thoroughly-goes not;* that is, Weeds never die out. The habit of literal rendering may be dropped as soon as the student has acquired the power of reading and understanding the foreign language without a mental transposition into the vernacular idiom; but the habit of correct rendering into easy and idiomatic English must be cultivated carefully as long as the study of the language is pursued; — the first is for a temporary use; the second for a permanent possession. Next to the ability to act well must be placed the ability to speak well,— and indeed, so interwoven are the functions of the human being, that the ability to express thought increases the ability to think, and the power to think increases the power to act. The common opinion, that the development of one power is at the expense of another, arises from the fact that the developed power is usually one that was by natural gift predominant; and the power that has dwindled, at first naturally feeble, has not had sufficient exercise to keep it of its original strength.

The brief limits to which we are compelled to compress these papers force us to give them a fragmentary character, and to leave each branch of the subject but partially developed; hoping that the connection and unity of the parts will be apparent to the reader who carries in his mind the general principles announced in our first article; and that such readers may find here hints that shall lead them, in the course of their own thoughts, to new confirmations of the general truth and utility of these views, and to new applications of them to special points in education.

The fourth general group of studies, included in our great division of history, we have designated in our tabular view by the word law. Man is not content with thinking and expressing his thoughts, with subduing outward nature to his needs, and making it subservient to his purposes; he also seeks to govern his fellow-men. The child is born subject to his parents, and the family government has always been a type, perhaps suggesting and leading to the government of tribes and nations. At all events, there are no men to be found without some traces of government, and, in all civilized countries,

there has been developed the idea of impersonal law, in the organization of a community whose associated wisdom shall decide upon what is right, and what is for the best interests of the whole; whose associated power shall enforce the right and develop the good, as far as the limits of its ability extend. The historical study of these relations of men to each other is necessary, not only to a full development of the student's mental powers, but as a preparation by which he is fitted for an intelligent participation in the rights and duties of those relations.

The method of nature is here evident, that the child is born into the family, and learns, by subjection to his parents, the duty of subjection to all just authority, before he can understand the ground on which the authority rests. He is brought under the order and discipline of the family, before he can rise to the comprehension of that vast scheme of universal order, planned by Infinite Wisdom, in obedience to the impulses of Unfathomable Love, and carried into execution by Almighty Power,—that Universal Order after which all wise legislation strives, according to which all just judicial decisions are framed, and which all righteous executive power seeks to embody.

So, in the school, the first and most important ideas of law come not from histories and constitutions, nor from political orations, read or studied by the child, but from the wise and just discipline of the school-room, from the rules of play observed in the games among his school-fellows, and from the perception that the parents and the teachers are also subject, even in school matters, to the laws of the commonwealth and to the votes of the town. The judicious teacher, by occasional words, rightly directing the child's attention for a moment to such themes, gives what we have called incidental instruction in politics and law. The next step, in this branch of study, is history in the ordinary sense of the word. Afterwards, in the higher school or college, the pupil should take a brief course of study in constitutional law, commentaries on the constitution of his own state, of the United States, and of Great Britain, comparing them with those of Greece and Rome, and of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

It was our original purpose, in commencing these papers, to have continued them so as to embrace remarks on psychological and theological studies; but, as circumstances have compelled us to defer the remaining papers to an indefinite period, we will append here some general cautions to the reader, which we had proposed to leave to the end. A recent very friendly criticism on our views shows a misapprehension of them, by saying that we have placed the studies of the

encyclopedia in a right line, instead of in a circle, and that we have provided only for the education of the knowing faculties, without providing for the education of the powers of expression and action, and of the feelings and sentiments.

Let the teacher, who is really desirous of knowing the true plan of education, remember that the body and its organs need training and care for their preservation and full development; that the sentiments and passions need to be judiciously called into play, and guided in their direction; that, above all, promptness and efficiency of action, and perseverance of purpose, are to be cultivated with great care, under a consecration to the love of God, and charity to men. In our scheme of studies we are showing what we consider the natural order of intellectual growth, and the following of this order will simply give the best opportunities for the other kinds of education. Thus intellectually we place the cultivation of the powers of observation first in the scale, preceding that of the inventive and of the reasoning powers. This intellectual order of nature gives the opportunity, in physical education, of keeping the young child out of doors, rambling, under the guidance of its teacher, by the roadside, or over the pastures, to the benefit of its body as much as of its mind. The same intellectual order gives, in moral education, the opportunity for developing pure tastes, the love of natural beauty, and affording social pleasures of a higher character than in the ordinary plays of the school-yard. It gives also the best opportunity for impressing the young heart with the infinite wisdom and love manifested in the creation; and the freedom of the walk allows the opportunity for the child to manifest its own choice and will in showing kindness to its playmates according to the command of the Heavenly Father. In like manner, the whole arrangement of the intellectual problems placed before the human spirit would be found, if we understood it in its natural order, to be adapted for the appropriate furtherance, at the proper age, of each part of physical, moral, and religious education.

The complaint which has been made, that an intellectual education is of no moral benefit, but rather a moral injury, so far as it is well grounded, is grounded as much upon the fact that our intellectual drilling has been inverted in its order, crippling rather than cultivating the powers of observation, as upon the fact that the attention given to intellectual education has withdrawn the attention from moral training. This idea appears to have been one of the moving springs in the heart of the late lamented Josiah Holbrook. In like manner, the injury done to the bodily health of children, by overstudy, comes as much from the unnatural inversion of studies, the

giving of that which is abstract before that which is concrete, as from the absolute amount of time spent by the children in close attention to the subjects set before them. Whatever be the amount of knowledge acquired in a given time, the ease of its acquisition will, evidently, be partly proportional to the lucidness and naturalness of the order in which it was acquired. The purely intellectual question of the true order of studies is, therefore, intimately connected, in more than one mode, with the question of moral and physical training, with the whole question of the highest welfare of the individual and of the family, the state, and the church.

Nor, in either physical, intellectual, moral or religious education, should we forget the artistic side; — that is to say, we must remember that skill in expression or action is as desirable as simple power. A man not only needs power, but needs it under control, else it loses its worth. Of how little avail would physical strength and health be to a man who could neither walk well nor swim well, who was at ease neither on the rower's seat nor in the saddle, who could neither drive nor skate, who could neither mow nor dig, but who, in all manly sports and in all useful labors, found himself strong indeed, but clumsy, and inefficient for lack of skill. In like manner, he would feel humbled and awkward indeed, who was conscious of great thoughts, and of deep emotions, and of a strong purpose to do right, and was nevertheless unable to express himself either by spoken or written words, by chisel or pencil, or by musical tones, or by well-planned and well-timed deeds.

While all studies must be used as means of developing and guiding some power of action and expression, as well as of understanding, it is perhaps the especial function of the historic studies, of trade, art, language and law, to cultivate the powers of expression; and the teacher must remember to apply them in such manner as to produce this end. As the bread of the mind is truth, so the bread of the moral nature is action, or expression, and the pupil must be drawn out into expression, not made the mere recipient of instruction.

To pass to the other point in which we would caution the reader against a misapprehension of our views, it does not follow, because we have arranged the five branches of the hierarchy in a certain logical order, with Mathematics at one end and Theology at the other, that this order is to be followed in arranging successive years of school life. It would better apply to the minutes. The order is that of logical development, that in which the subjects are to be successively unfolded to their fullest extent; but it would be absurd to postpone physical teaching entirely until a full knowledge of mathematics

had been obtained, and so of any other branches. We may perhaps compare the course of education to the phyllotactic spiral on a two-fifths arrangement. The mathematics are the row of leaves on which the zero leaf is to be taken, and you cannot rise to a higher point in your mathematics, except by running round through the other four rows. For the full, harmonious development of the child's mind we need a perpetual recurrence to the five essential branches of inquiry suggested by every sight of nature. The youngest child in the school brings in, perhaps, a dandelion. What is its form, and the number of its rays? These questions belong to mathematics. What is its color, taste and smell, its medicinal effects, its relations to the sunflower and other composite plants? — these are questions of physics. The derivation of its name, dandelion, — dents de lion, dens leonis, — from the form of the leaf, and of the generic name, taraxacum, from its medical effect; the fact of its introduction from Europe; the quotation of the lines, —

> "Dear common flower, that grow'st beside the way,
> Fringing the dusty road with harmless gold;" —

these would be historical instructions from the same simple flower. Then ask the child to tell you why he likes this flower so much; whether it is because it is prettier than morning-glories, or because it comes so early, or because it is so common, — and you stimulate him, perhaps, to one of his earliest efforts at a psychological self-examination. Finally, speak to him, reverently and warmly, of the goodness of the Heavenly Father, who has spread beauty with so unsparing a hand before us, and tell him of the Saviour's appeal to our conscience, drawn from the beauty of the lily, using simple language that he can understand, — and you will have given him theological lessons also.

Now, every lesson in the school of life will lead, as simply as this dandelion has done, to the five great branches of intellectual studies; and no lesson has been fully taught until it has thus been linked into relation with all the main lines of dependent truth. The simplest geometry has its application to physics, its history of discovery and application, its psychological questions of the foundations of belief and the nature of proof, and its theological aspect, in such queries as whether the relations of space are or are not dependent on the constitution of our minds, and thus on the will of the Creator. The cycle of these five branches must be daily recurring, and our aim has been, in these articles, to show in what order the five branches are to be placed, which must always precede the others, which must first receive full development, and which, the crown and glory of the whole, must be always least within the reach of finite faculties.

IX. PESTALOZZI'S HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY.

LET a graduate of any good public school imagine a system of schools permitting indeed, though after a most laborious and imperfect fashion, for the wealthy and noble, large acquirements; but, for all those likely to attend what answer to our common or public schools, teaching only reading, and that alone, or at most with church singing, and memorizing of texts and hymns; reading all day, by one pupil at a time, from the droning A, B, C, up to whatever rhetoric was highest in grade; in that even shrill yell which was the elocutionary rule fifty years ago, without any possible regard to the meaning of what was read, or indeed of what was committed to memory; no arithmetic, no geography, no grammar, no writing, even. Let him imagine this single study taught in dens almost like prisons; by men absolutely ferocious in manners and feelings: who whipped a single scholar—as Martin Luther's master did him—fifteen times in one forenoon; who feruled, caned, boxed, slapped, rapped, and punched, right and left; made children kneel on peas and sharp edges of wood; in short, ransacked their own dull brains for ingenious tortures, and a language twice as copious as English, besides Latin and Greek, for nicknames and reproaches, to inflict upon the youth of their charge; schools to which parents threatened to send contumacious children, as if to the "Black Man," or any other hideous, unknown torment; schools almost precisely as destitute of any kindly feeling, of any humanizing tendency, of any moral or religious influence, as any old-fashioned Newgate or Bridewell. Let our graduate imagine, if he can, all this. Then let him further imagine a state of society stiffened, by ages of social fixity, into immovable grades, and where "the lower classes" were to be permitted this, reckoned their appropriate education, but no more. Let him still further imagine great and far-reaching political, social, and intellectual disturbances, working in powerful conjunction, upsetting all manner of laws, systems, distinctions, and doctrines, preparing all minds to hope for, and to admit, better beliefs, and better opportunities, for themselves and for others. And, lastly, let him imagine a man possessed of the vastest capacity for labor, a mind fruitful of expedients and experiments to the very highest degree, and no less clear and firm in finding and adhering to fundamental generalizations, an absolutely unbounded and tireless benevolence, a love for humanity and a faith in his principles little less perfect and self-sustaining than that of an apostle; who steps forth just in that period of intense receptive mental activity, and in the place of that diabolical ancient school system, proceeds not only to propose, but to demonstrate, and in spite of sufferings, obstacles, and failures enough to

have discouraged an army of martyrs, effectually to establish a system, which not only, in the words of its official investigators in 1802, was "that true elementary method which has long been desired, but hitherto vainly sought; which prepares the child for every situation, for all arts and sciences; which is appropriate to all classes and conditions, and is the first indispensable foundation for human cultivation; which not only was thus intellectually the absolute ideal of education, but whose very atmosphere was one of kindness and encouragement, whose perfection was to depend upon its identity with the affectionate discipline of a mother; which expressly included, and even preferred, the poor, the orphan, and the helpless; and which, last and best of all, was fundamentally inwrought with such hygienic, ethical, and religious principles that its legitimate result would be to make a strong, and wise, and just man, upright among his fellows, mutually respecting and respected, and a trusting worshiper of God."

Let our graduate imagine this, and he may comprehend what the Germans think of Pestalozzi. The reverence and gratitude which they, in common indeed with all Europe, though in somewhat higher degree, entertain toward him, were well exemplified in the festival observed in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, on the 12th of January, 1846, the hundredth anniversary of his birthday, and in the consequent proceedings; of which a brief account follows.

The conception of this celebration originated with that veteran and most useful educator, Dr. Adolph Diesterweg, then director of a seminary at Berlin. A mistake of a year, founded on dates given by good authorities, occasioned a partial celebration on the 12th of January, 1845. This, however, was made a means of wider notification and effort for the following year, and we translate the most characteristic portion of the call, which was signed by forty-eight eminent teachers and educators, including Diesterweg himself.

"His (Pestalozzi's) life and labors testify that no object lay nearer his heart than to secure for neglected children an education simple, natural, pure in morals, re-enforced by the influence of home and school, and adequate to the needs of their future life. A concurrence of untoward circumstances prevented the permanent success of such an orphan asylum, or poor school, though proposed and often attempted by him. For this reason the idea has occurred to various of his admirers and friends, in various places, of establishing such institutions, and one first to be called 'Pestalozzi Foundation.' The undersigned, having the permission of the authorities, have associated for the establishment of such an institution, to be a monument of the gratitude of the whole German fatherland toward that noble man. This call is intended to inform the public of this design, and to request active co-operation, and contributions in money.

"The Pestalozzi Foundation is intended to afford to poor children and orphans an education suitable to their circumstances, and in accordance with Pestalozzi's views for this purpose.

"1. The institutions founded will be situated in the country, where only, as the undersigned believe, can the education of orphans succeed.

"2. The pupils will, from the beginning, besides intellectual, moral, and religious education, be trained to domestic, agricultural, or industrial knowledge and capacities.

"3. The managers and matrons to whom the family education of the pupils will be confided, are to labor in the spirit of '*Leonard and Gertrude*,' and '*How Gertrude Teaches her Children*,' and the supervisors and officers of instruction will endeavor not only to put in practice the principles of the '*Idea of Elementary Training*,' but to develop and propagate them.

"* * * We thus appeal with confidence to all who feel themselves bound to gratitude toward Heinrich Pestalozzi; to all who feel for the children of the poor and for orphans; to all who expect beneficial consequences to home and school education from the revival and development of the spirit of Pestalozzi, which the undersigned believe to be the true spirit of education; we appeal, in short, to all friends of the people and of the fatherland, for efficient aid to this undertaking—at once a monument of gratitude to a great man, and an attempt to supply an urgent want of the present age.

"BERLIN, *January* 12, 1845."

A second appeal was put forth, July 3d of the same year, by Diesterweg, "to the teachers of Germany," eloquently setting forth their professional obligations to Pestalozzi, calling upon them for corresponding efforts in aid of the enterprise, and proceeded to refer again, in very pointed terms, to the characteristically charitable and thoroughly practical aspirations of Pestalozzi for the education of neglected children, and to the similar character of the proposed institution.

"It was his chiefest wish to dry the tears from the cheeks of orphans, and to educate them; he longed to be the father, the friend, the teacher of the unfortunate and the neglected.

"Do you, therefore, teacher of the common school, friend of the people, prove your gratitude to Heinrich Pestalozzi, by doing your part for the Pestalozzi Foundation—no monument of bronze or of stone; for none but a living monument is worthy of him—which shall stand, within the territory of Germany, a proof of the thankfulness of posterity, an everlasting blessing to children, to the cause of education, and human development."

The institution spoken of in these documents was intended to be a single central one, to be endowed by the contributions of all donors, and to be a model and parent for others throughout Germany; the sum requisite being computed at 30,000 thalers, about $22,500.

But although sympathy with the general purpose thus brought into notice was universal and lively, difficulties, apparently chiefly sectarian, soon arose, in regard to the special feature of a first central institution; and these resulted in the holding of many local festivals instead of one great one, and the organization of many local Pestalozzi Foundations

or Pestalozzi Societies, instead of one general one. Such festivals were observed, and institutions or societies established, at Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfort, Erfurt, Basle, and many other places. We proceed to give some account of some of them, with extracts from the more significant portions of the numerous addresses, and other documents connected with them.

Dr. Diesterweg delivered, at Berlin, a characteristic and interesting discourse. In describing the revolution caused by Pestalozzi in the estimation of different studies, he said:—

"After the Reformation, that is, after the establishment of German common schools, studies were divided into two classes: one including the Bible, catechism, and hymn-book, the other including the so-called trivial studies. The former were for heaven—that is, to prepare for eternal happiness; the latter for earth, and its ordinary employments. The consequence of this universally-received distinction was, that the religious teachers asserted a dignity far higher than that of the "trivial" teachers. This notion is theoretically denied by Pestalozzi—at least by immediate logical conclusion, though I do not think he discussed the subject specially—and by his school. We have learned to comprehend the moral influence of instruction in itself, aside from any peculiar character in the subject taught; and, still further, the direct influence of all true instruction upon the development of the pupil's character. This influence does not depend upon the thing taught, but in the manner of teaching. As in Hegel's system of philosophy, so it is in elementary instruction—and should be in all instruction—its strength is in its method. This principle will naturally not be understood by eloquent word-teachers and lecturers from chairs of instruction; and last of all by those dictating machines and note-readers, who, to the disgrace of pedagogy and the shame of the whole age, exist even at the present day. But we, Pestalozzi's scholars and followers, comprehend it, have mastered it, and can demonstrate its results in our schools. What would Adam Ries, that pattern of all blind guides, say, if he could come to life again after three hundred years, and taking up an arithmetic*—which has become capable of use, as an intelligently arranged elementary study, only since Pestalozzi's time—should find in it a chapter "On the *moral influence* of instruction in arithmetic?"

He sums up the changes brought about by Pestalozzi, thus:—

"Instead of brutal, staring stupidity, close and tense attention; for dull and blockish eyes, cheerful and pleased looks; for crooked backs, the natural erectness of the figure; for dumbness or silence, joyous pleasure in speaking, and promptitude that even takes the word out of another's mouth; for excessive verbosity in the teacher, and consequent stupidity in the scholar, a dialogic or, at least, a dialogic-conversational method; for government by the stick, a reasonable and therefore a serious and strict discipline; for mere external doctrines and external discipline, a mental training, in which every doctrine is a discipline also;

* Grube's Arithmetic.

instead of a government by force, and a consequent fear of the school and its pedant, love of school and respect for the teacher."

He proceeds to suggest how far-reaching was the influence of Pestalozzi's labors in mere school-rooms:—

"But is the spirit of Pestalozzi not entitled to some part of the credit of the elevation of the German people? Did this remarkable change spring up in a night, and from nothing? It is, rather, to be wondered at, that the Pestalozzian method should have brought about such vast results without foreseeing them. It would be unreasonable to claim that this alone accomplished the wonder; but it was certainly not one of the least of its causes. Lord Brougham said that the twenty-six letters of the present schoolmaster—those 'black hussars'—were mightier than the bayonet of the soldier. Consider what a child must become, who is taught as we have described, for six or eight years or more. Consider what a nation must become, all the youth of which have enjoyed the influence of such an education. What a project does this idea open in the future! The Jesuits of Freiburg had a glimpse of it, though no more, when they said that they wanted no schools which should educate 'Apostles of Radicalism;' an expression shameful, not to Pestalozzi, but to the utterer of it."

Further on, he forcibly portrays the need and the requisites of such an institution as the intended Pestalozzi Foundation.

"The help we would afford is radical, is the only help. We consider all institutions worthy of praise and of assistance, which contribute to the amelioration of human suffering, the advancement of morals and good training. Therefore we speak well of other institutions having the same general design with ours: institutions for the care of children; orphan houses; rescue institutions for neglected children; associations for changing prisons into institutions of reform, and for the care of dismissed criminals and prisoners. But none of these go to the root of the matter; they do not correspond with the precise want; they do not go deep enough. Many of them almost seem to be organized to make sport of the laws of human nature and reason. What, for instance, according to those laws, can a child be expected to become, who has grown up with ignorant parents, from whom it can learn nothing but vices; who has learned from them to lie and to steal, to wander about and be a vagabond? In general, we answer, only a man who will misuse his physical and mental powers; that is, a criminal, a wild beast, dangerous to the welfare of society. That society, for self-preservation, shuts up such men, like wild beasts, in a cage; or punishes, or kills him; although, nine times out of ten, he became such because he must; as probably any one of us would have done! Is this proceeding reasonable? Do we succeed when we try to reform an old rogue? Or do you suppose that children, if they only attend the infant school, are under school discipline, and are confirmed, can be otherwise left in charge of abandoned parents, and not be contaminated by the pestilent atmosphere around them? Experience teaches, and it can not be otherwise, that the influence of

father and mother, whether good or bad, is infinitely greater than that of infant schools, or any schools. Those who have managed reform institutions understand this best. The reason of the ill-success of such is, that they first begin too late; for they take the children after they have shown ineradicable marks of debasement. It is easy to protect an uncontaminated child from vice; but to restore to a contaminated one its pristine health and purity, is infinitely difficult, if not impossible.

"Our intention therefore is, to receive into the Pestalozzi Foundation children who can not be expected to be educated in their own homes; and those will naturally be preferred, who are destitute of a father or mother, and are without means. The existing orphan houses do not fulfill their purposes; and their organization does not usually answer the requirements of the Pestalozzian principles. We would establish model institutions for the education of neglected children, which shall observe natural laws, in which the child shall receive a family education. An education together with hundreds is—it must be said—barrack instruction. A child who is to become an adult, with human feelings, must have enjoyed the thorough and kindly care of the feminine nature and of an affectionate father. All true education is individual. Where the letter of the law prevails, where each child is managed by general rules, where it is only a number or a figure, which it must be in a school of hundreds, there is no human education, in any higher sense. A girl even, brought up among hundreds, is, so to speak, even when a child, a public girl."

Adverting afterward to the financial economy of such institutions, he observes that Adam Smith remarks, that "The support of the poor and of criminals costs £8,000,000 a year in England and Wales. If £2,000,000 of this were invested in education and good bringing up, at least one-half of the whole amount would be saved."

He then adverts, with some feeling, but conciliatingly, to the unexpected breaking up of the original plan of one central society and institution, by means of denominational jealousies; and gives a brief summary of the finances, &c., of the undertaking, as follows:—

"Twelve thousand copies of our call were sent throughout all parts of Germany. The sympathy exhibited is altogether encouraging and delightful. Some hundreds over 2,000 thalers ($1,500) are already collected;* the beginning of the harvest. The ministries of the interior and of religion have recognized and approved the labors of the society; his excellency Postmaster-General Von Nagler has granted the franking privilege for sending copies of the call, and for remittances; the school councilors of the various governments, and those authorities themselves, have assisted earnestly in sending the call; and the school inspectors have assisted in collecting. Many of them also, as, for instance, at Potsdam and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, have sent us orders for the pamphlets published by us on account of the Foundation. Princes have kindly aided the purposes of the society by contributions, and

* January 12. In March, the sum reached about 7,000 thalers.

many private persons also have given, some in one amount, and some in subscriptions during five years. But what has encouraged us most, is the universal sympathy of the body of teachers; both of common schools, and upward, even to the universities. What has a poor common school teacher, or a seminary pupil, to give? But they *do* give. I have received with warm thankfulness their gifts, from one *silbergroschen* upward. They give with poor hands, but warm hearts.

"From five or six different places we have received offers of land for a location, sometimes for nothing; from the Mark of Brandenburg, Silesia, Saxony, &c.; we hear favorable accounts from Dessau and Saxe-Meiningen; in short, we have good hopes that the plan of the Pestalozzi Foundation will succeed. The festivals, held almost every where today, will assist us; and we count with certainty on the aid of our own fellow-citizens. The undertaking is spoken well of by every one. Even noble ladies are enthusiastic for the good cause. Three sisters, whom the Genius of Poetry overshadows, (I am proud of being their fellow countryman,) propose to publish their compositions together for for the benefit of the Foundation. Some gentlemen have already done the like. From almost every locality in Germany, from Tilsit to Basle, from Pesth to Bremen, I have received encouraging and sympathizing letters. In Pesth, a society of teachers is collecting for the German Pestalozzi Foundation; contributions have come in from the Saxons in Transylvania; in Amsterdam and Gröningen, committees have been formed for the same purpose; we are expecting money from across the ocean. In Königsberg, delegates of the magistracy and city authorities have joined with the committee of teachers, the more worthily to celebrate the day."

Several pastors, teachers, and officials in the Canton of Aargau put forth a call for a Pestalozzi festival at Brugg, in that canton. To this there soon afterward appeared a reply, signed by a number of Reformed clergymen of the same canton, which may illustrate the character of the difficulties to which Diesterweg alludes. This reply states, in substance, that the signers of it had, several years before, set on foot a subscription for a similar purpose, (it may be remarked that the call itself recited that the government of Aargau resolved, as early as 1833, to erect an institution for the education of neglected poor children, as a memorial of Pestalozzi; which, however, financial considerations rendered it necessary to postpone;) that the proposed plan of operations was unfortunate, inasmuch as

1. The estate of Neuhof, formerly Pestalozzi's, intended to be bought as a site for the Foundation, was unsuitable and ill-placed for such a purpose, too large, and too expensive.

2. Ostentatious commemorations of donors were promised, by votive tablets, &c.

3. The intended scheme of training the pupils of the Foundation into teachers for similar institutions is not practicable, because it can not be determined whether they are capable or inclined to that employment,

which requires rare and lofty qualifications; and because experience shows that such teachers are to be trained, not in such schools for them, but in a course of actual employment under proper conditions.

4. Experience shows that such institutions should not be commenced on a large and expensive scale, but by means of single individuals, properly trained, to supply the place, to the pupils, of fathers, and to begin quietly, with a small number.

5. The proposed institution is to receive both Reformed and Catholic children; a plan which experience shows to be unlikely to succeed. And, if the principal be decidedly either Catholic or Reformed, children of the other communion will not be intrusted to him; and if he is not decidedly of either, then those of neither will.

These reasons are clearly and strongly stated, and seem to have much force.

At the festival at Basle, Rector Heussler gave some odd details of Pestalozzi's early life; among others, "He was so careless and absent-minded at school, that his teacher once remarked, shrugging his shoulders, 'Heinrich will never come to any thing;' and it is well-known that, afterward, when he was at the summit of his fame, his assistant, Krüsi, confessed that he (Pestalozzi,) could not either write or compute decently; and that a moderately difficult problem in multiplication, or division, was an impossibility to him at the age of fifty, and when the most eminent Swiss teacher! As little promising, at the first view, was his exterior; and on this account he declared, very naïvely, to his bride, that he, her bridegroom, was outwardly a most dirty man, as all the world knew; and that he presumed that this was not the first time she had heard so."

Longer or shorter accounts are given in the *Allgemeine Schul-Zeitung*, and other periodicals, of many other celebrations. They usually consisted of a meeting, at which addresses were delivered, poems recited, hymns or songs sung; sometimes followed by a dinner, with toasts, short speeches, and convivial enjoyment. There was also a practical part of the ceremony, viz., either a collection for the central society, or the organization of a local one.

We subjoin, (from the *Allg. Sch.-Zeitung*,) parts of a quaint article, entitled "*Considerations on the character most suitable for a memorial to Pestalozzi*," and signed "Frankf. O.—P.—A.—Z.," which contains much humor and good sense.

"But by what means is it proposed to fulfill this obligation (to Pestalozzi?) Many persons are preparing a banquet of the usual character, at so many *silbergroschen* a head, including half a quart of wine. Provision is made, also, for toasts, solemn and not solemn, long and short; and, if the landlords do their duty, the consequent sickness will have been slept off by next morning. These good folks do not obstruct the progress of enlightenment, but they are not *par excellence* strict disciples of Pestalozzi. In other places, the teachers, especially, are to be assembled, inasmuch as they claim Pestalozzi as exclusively one of

themselves, though he was also a theologian and jurist. These gentlemen take no particular measures for overloading their stomachs—for reasons best known to themselves. On the other hand, they are laboring upon poems and orations, and will, perhaps, produce some which will possess much unction. But in order that their lights may not put each other out, and that the *imperium in imperio* may not perish, they assemble parish-wise, renewing the idea of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy, Roman, nor an empire, and in which there were so many principalities that the State was invisible. Naturally, where there is a festival to every ten schoolmasters, the 12th of January will be long enough for a speech and toast from every one. On this occasion the speakers will rather look away from the present, and consider the future. Very right: this was with Pestalozzi's custom. But Pestalozzi kicked down with his feet what he built with his hands; beware that you do not do so. Pestalozzi often used his heart instead of his head, and reckoned without his host; see that you do not imitate him in this. Pestalozzi understood children's hearts, but not men's; and did not avoid the appearance of evil, if only it did not appear so to him; beware of following in his footsteps in this. A great Foundation is to be erected, worthy of the German nation; all German heads are to be brought together under one German hat, for the sake of founding, somewhere—perhaps on the Blocksberg—a rescue institution for morally endangered children. These certainly need to be protected, and Pestalozzi drew attention to the fact fifty years ago, and sacrificed his health and his means in the cause. But will one such institution serve, however large—or ten, or twenty, or a hundred—for the forty millions of German population? There are already thirty such institutions in Wirtemberg; and there are still many children there in urgent need of education and aid. But what will this rescue institution do? Even if it does not remain without a roof, like the Teutoburger Hermann without a sword; even if the builders finish up windows, cellars, and stairs properly; the chief requisite of a model institution is wanting—the father of the family. Shall he be found in Diesterweg's seminary at Berlin, or among Harnisch's pupils at Weissenfels? Is pietism, or illuminism, to be taught in it? The question is important to Germany, and Pestalozzis and Oberlins are scarce. One Louise Schepler would be worth abundantly more than a council of ten seminary directors. This seems not to have been considered; the building, and always the building, of the institution, is urged. There is no lack of model institutions. Not to cite Wirtemberg, there is the Rauhe Haus, at Hamburg—is a better one wanted?

"Again; are neglected children to be sent fifty miles, or more, by mail-route, with a policeman, to the model institution? Or, are distant donors to have nothing but a distant view of it? Must they make a long journey merely to get a sight of it? 'But,' it is said, 'all this will do no harm, if the occasion shall succeed in causing a union of the German teachers.' A union—a significant word! Where did as many as three

Germans ever unite, unless it were over a bottle? And still more, three German schoolmasters, each quite right in his own school! Unite? With whom? Against whom? Does not 'unite' mean 'exclude?' For if the teachers are to unite, they will separate from the clergy. Are all the teachers in Germany to dissolve their present relations, and array themselves under a pedagogical general, as if to make an attack on the ministers?"

The writer then attacks the plan of selecting teachers' orphans, in particular, and concludes with a forcible suggestion of the necessity of individual sacrifice and effort, as the only true mode of reforming or protecting unfortunate children.

"Spend no more time in building and in choosing heating apparatus, but take vigorous hold of the work itself. Let each one take a child, and say, 'He shall be mine. I will win him to myself with love, so that he shall prefer to follow me rather than his thievish father and godless mother. He shall stop cursing, because he loves me; and stealing, because I will teach him better. He shall enjoy learning, because he shall find in the school a retreat from his parents. I will not be deterred by dirt or ignorance, if I can only save a soul, and spare the world one criminal. I would rather make my house a rescue house for him, than to send him to a Rauhe Haus, among the morally neglected.'

"If the admirers of Pestalozzi—and I do not mean teachers alone—would adopt this method on the 12th of January, 1846, and form an association, then the day would be and remain a blessing to Germany. God grant it!"

X. PUBLICATIONS BY AND RELATING TO PESTALOZZI.

I. Works by Pestalozzi.*

1. Pestalozzi's Works, (*Werke,*) Tübingen, 1819–26. Cotta. 15 vols. These include:—

a. *Leonard and Gertrude,* (*Lienhard und Gertrud,*) vols. 1—4.

b. *How Gertrude teaches her children,* (*Wie Gertrud ihr Kinder lehrt,*) vol. 5.

c. *To the innocence, earnestness, and nobility of my fatherland,* (*An die Unschuld, den Ernst und den Edelmuth meines Vaterlandes,*) vol. 6.

d. *My researches upon the course of nature in the development of the human race,* (*Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts,*) vol. 7.

e. *On legislation and child-murder,* (*Ueber Gesetzgebung und Kindermord,*) vols. 7 and 8.

f. *On the idea of elementary education. An address delivered at Lenzburg,* 1809, (*Ueber die Idee der Elementarbildung. Eine Rede, gehalten in Lenzburg,*) vol. 8.

("In great part the work of Niederer."—*Biber.* It first appeared in the "*Weekly for Human Development,*" [*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung.*])

g. *Pestalozzi's letter to a friend upon his residence at Stanz,* (*Pestalozzi's Brief an einen Freund über seinen Aufenthalt in Stanz,*) vol. 9.

(This first appeared in the "*Weekly.*")

h. *Views on industry, education, and politics,* (*Ansichten über Industrie, Erziehung und Politik,*) vol. 9.

i. *Address to my household, delivered Jan.* 12, 1818, (*Rede an mein Haus, gehalten den* 12 *Jänner,* 1818,) vol. 9.

k. *Figures to my A B C-Book,* (*Figuren zu meinem A B C-Buch,*) vol. 10.

l. *Views and experiences relative to the idea of elementary education,* (*Ansichten und Erfahrungen, die Idee der Elementarbildung betreffend,*) vol. 11.

(This had before appeared under the name of "H. Pestalozzi's views, experiences, and means to secure a mode of education adapted to human nature." Leipzig, 1807.)

m. *On the principles and plan of a periodical, announced in the year* 1807, (*Ueber die Grundsätze und den Plan einer im Jahre* 1807 *angekündigten Zeitschrift,*) vol. 11.

n. *Report to parents and the public* on the condition and organization of Pestalozzi's institution in the year 1807, (*Bericht an die Eltern und an das Publicum über den Zustand und die Einrichtungen der Pestalozzischen Anstalt im Jahre* 1807,) vol. 11.

(This had already appeared in the "*Weekly for Human Development,*" but in the collective edition it was materially enlarged.)

o. *A word on the condition of my pedagogical enterprises,* and on the organization of my institution during the year 1820, (*Ein Wort über den Zustand meiner pädagogischen Bestrebungen und über die Organisation meiner Anstalt im Jahr* 1820,) vol. 11.

p. *A few discourses in my house in the years* 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812, (*Einige Reden an mein Haus in den Jahren* 1808, &c.,) vol. 11.

q. *Christoph and Else,* vol. 12.

r. *Swan-song,* (*Pestalozzi's Schwanengesang,*) vol. 13.

s. *Theory of Number and Form,* (*Zahl und Formlehre,*) vol. 14.

* This list is taken from Raumer's "*History of Pedagogy,*" vol. ii, p. 480.

t. *Theory of Form and Dimension*, (*Form und Grossenlehre*,) vol. 15.

u. *Address at Langenthal*, Apr., 16, 1826, (*Rede, den 26sten April* 1826, *in Langenthal gehalten*,) vol. 15.

Some important objections have been made to this edition; primarily, that it is imperfect.

2. WORKS OF PESTALOZZI not included in the collected edition of 1819–26.

a. *Agis, or Spartan legislation*, (*Agis, über die Spartanische Gesetzgebung*.) (Pestalozzi's first work.)

b. *Evening hour of a Hermit*, (*Die Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers*.)

(This first appeared in Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" for 1780, and was reprinted in the "*Weekly for Human Development*," in 1807.)

c. *A Swiss Gazette*, (*Ein Schweizer-Blatt*,) in two volumes, 1782 and 1783.

(Not being acquainted with this, I do not know whether Pestalozzi was sole editor or not. About 1798 he published another "*Swiss Popular Gazette*," under authorization from government.)

d. *Pestalozzi's elementary works*, (*Pestalozzi's Elementarbucher*,) especially the "*Book for Mothers*," (*Buch der Mutter*,) Tübingen, 1803. The "*Intuitional Theory of the Relations of Size*," (*Anschauungslehre der Masseverhältnisse*,) and the "*Intuitional Theory of the Relations of Numbers*," (*Anschauungslehre der Zahlenverhältnisse*,) by Krüsi, are quite as important for Pestalozzi's works as the theories of Number, Form, and Size, by Schmid, in vols. 14 and 15.

e. *Views on Subjects to which the Helvetian Legislature ought specially to direct its attention*, (*Ansichten über die Gegenstände auf welche die Gesetzgebung Helvetiens ihr Augenmerk vorzuglich zu richten hat*,) Bern, 1802.

f. *The Fate of my Life*, as Principal of my Educational Institutions at Burgdorf and Yverdun, by Pestalozzi, (*Meine Lebensschicksale als Vorsteher meiner Erziehungs-institute in Burgdorf und Iferten*,) Leipzig, 1826.

g. *The Instruction of the Sitting-Room*, (*Die Kinderlehre der Wohnstube*.)

(Published in "*Rossel's Monthly*.")

h. *Weekly for Human Development*, (*Wochenschrift für Menschenbildung*,) 4 vols., 1807—1811.

(In this, as was stated, are found Pestalozzi's Letter on his residence at Stanz, the Report on the Institution at Yverdun, and the Lenzburg address.)

i. *Pestalozzi's Educational Enterprise*, as related to the culture of the age, (*Pestalozzi's Erziehungs-Unternehmung im Verhältniss zur Zeit-cultur*,) (by Niederer,) 1812.

(In this is a letter from Pestalozzi to Niederer.)

k. *Declaration against Canon Bremi's three dozen Newspaper Questions*, (*Erklärung gegen Herrn Chorherr Bremi's drey Dutzend Bürklische Zeitungsfragen*,) Yverdun, 1812.

3. WORKS OF PESTALOZZI—in part not included in the above list, or in a new arrangement.

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(The MS. of this work was presented by Pestalozzi to Krüsi, who edited it with addition and alteration.)

2. *Letters on Early Education*. Addressed to J. P. Greaves, Esq., with a memoir of Pestalozzi. London, 1829.

3. *Pestalozzi's Life and Views*, in verbatim extracts from the complete works of Pestalozzi. (*Pestalozzi's Leben und Ansichten, in wortgetreuen Auszuge seiner gesammten Schriften*.) Published with reference to the festival of his hundredth birthday. By Roget Christoffel. Zurich, 1847.

(An excellent selection, affording probably the best general view accessible of the whole subject, and made on a principle which renders it reliable for reference. We give the Table of Contents.)

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PART I.

PESTALOZZI'S BIOGRAPHY, IN EXTRACTS FROM HIS OWN WRITINGS.

PAGE.
1. Character as a child,..... 1
2. Home,..... 2
3. Grandfather,..... 5
4. City school,..... 5
5. Similar character of an ancestor,..... 6
6. School years,..... 8
7. Choice of vocation,..... 11
8. Neuhof,..... 12
9. Becomes an author,..... 16
10. Poverty and friendship,..... 21
11. Evening hour of a hermit,..... 23
12. Stanz,..... 32
13. Schoolmaster at Burgdorf,..... 48
14. Joins with Krüsi,..... 55
15. Burgdorf institution,..... 60
16. Moves to München-Buchsee,..... 62
17. Yverdun,..... 63
18. The institution in prosperity,..... 64
19. New Years, 1808,..... 81
20. " " 1810,..... 90
21. Christmas, 1810,.....100
22. New Years, 1811,.....108
23. " " 1812,.....117
24. 72d birthday,.....124
25. At Neuhof, in his old age,.....141

APPENDIX TO PART I.

a. To Jacob Fröhlich, V. D. M.,.....144
b. To Secretary Iselin,.....147

PART II.

VIEWS OF NATURE AND MEN.

I. Spring,.....153
II. Summer,.....154
III. Fables, 88 in number,.....159
IV. Tales:—
1. Poor Kunigunde,.....213
2. The braggart of freedom,.....234
3. The cotton-spinner,.....238
4. The village shoemaker,.....239
V. Essays:—
1. Industry and its perils,.....244
2. The farming population,.....266
3. On child-murder,.....274
4. Tithes,.....281
5. Wake up, people! (Revolutionary speech,).....293
6. Something about religion,.....299

PART III.

VIEWS ON EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION.

I. EDUCATION.

1. Sketch of natural education,.....305
2. System and aim of true education,.....313
3. From maternal love, the child proceeds to love of men and of God,.....316
4. Character of father and mother influence result of education,.....319
5. Development of child to true manhood, with relation to fellow-men,.....323
6. Development of child in relation to nature, 325
7. Result of want of parental character in earliest instruction,.....327
8. Faith in God will supply to parents the proper feelings,.....330
9. Sketch of an institution for education of the poor,.....333

II. INSTRUCTION.

1. Elementary means of instruction are number, form, speech,.....337
2. First means, sound,.....339
A. Tones,.....339
B. Words or names,.....342
C. Language,.....343
Second means, form,.....351
PAGE.
a. Measuring,.....352
b. Drawing,.....356
c. Writing,.....356
4. Third means, number,.....360
a. Arithmetic,.....361

III. THE SCHOOL IN BONNAL.

1. How a good school is established,.....364
2. Basis of a good school,.....365
3. A recruiting officer's doings,.....367
4. A proud schoolmaster,.....368
5. School organization,.....369
6. Same, continued,.....370
7. God's word is truth,.....372
8. To be as good as a man can be, it is necessary to appear bad,.....373
9. He who disjoins the principles of arithmetic and the sense of truth, puts asunder what God has joined,.....374
10. A proved antidote to mean and false backbiting,.....376
11. A fool's words, and school punishment,..377

IV. RESULTS OF REFLECTION AND EXPERIENCE ON ELEMENTARY TRAINING, 378—446

PART IV.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, AND WORDS TO THE FATHER-LAND.

I. THE MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION OF BONNAL.

1. Arner's ordinances,.....449
2. Arner applies his principles to counteract the besetting sin of our time—indolence,.....455
3. Arner's forms of process, &c.,.....458
4. His laws against theft,.....462
5. His laws for protection of charity,.....465
6. Influence of his laws on love of pleasure, ease, and honor,.....468
7. Religion,.....470
8. Superstition and irreligion,.....472
9. How Arner protected his people from superstition,.....473
10. A word on the necessity of divine service for perfecting true popular enlightenment,.....475
11. Arner's mode of celebrating festivals both is adapted to the character and condition of farmers and serves the purposes both of a wise lawgiver and a pious religious teacher, as well as is adapted to the personal circumstances of those who celebrate it,.....477
12. Hitherto have I tended from the beginning; and if you say No, reader, you must go back and say No to much that goes before,.....483
13. Arner takes down the gallows, erects a hospital, and provides for the hangman,.....487

II. MANAGEMENT OF PRISONERS AND THEIR CHILDREN,.....488—500

III. APHORISMS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

1. Consequences of public punishment,.....500
2. How can the legislator prevent crimes?..501
3. How can the State do its duty to illegitimate children?.....502
4. The lawgiver diminishes vice and crime by promoting domestic discipline,.....505
5. Special introduction by circumstances to the condition of servitude,.....506
6. The legislator founds upon the inward endowments and tendencies of nature,...507

VI. TO MY FATHER-LAND,.....510

Remarks,.....515
Chronology of Pestalozzi's life,.....531
Concluding remark,.....532

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XI. SELECTIONS FROM THE PUBLICATIONS OF PESTALOZZI.

[Translated or Revised for the American Journal of Education.]

The choice of selections from the works of Pestalozzi is rendered difficult by the character of the mind that produced them. Taken as a whole, they display remarkable powers of observation, considerable insight into the operations of the mind and feelings, great appreciation of character, and a graphic and forcible style. But to select from their whole extent portions which shall give a connected view of his principles, is almost impossible, from the fact that his mind was strongly intuitional in tendency and habit, and rapid and impulsive in action, and that his powers of reflection, combination, and logical expression were not correspondingly great. Thus he often said too much or too little; was contradictory or inconsistent; and has nowhere, even where expressly undertaking to do it, as in "*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*," given an adequate presentation of his principles or practice.

"*Leonard and Gertrude*" is presented as the book which, more than any other one work, was the foundation of Pestalozzi's fame, and as in itself to the present generation a new and interesting picture of life in the German Swiss villages of the last half of the last century. It has also additional value as containing many of the author's views on educational and social questions, although diffused throughout the work.

A brief extract from "*Christopher and Alice*" is given, sufficient to exhibit the mode of treatment of the subject. The work was comparatively a failure, and has moreover little interest to readers in this country and this age, being closely and exclusively local in aim.

"*The Evening Hour of a Hermit*" is termed by Karl von Raumer "the key of Pestalozzi's educational views." And Pestalozzi himself observed, in his old age, that even at the early date of its composition, he had already arrived at the fundamental principles which controlled the labors and expositions of all his subsequent life.

The various addresses from which extracts are next given are interesting as affording a view of one mode of communication between Pestalozzi and his associates. They are doubtless freer and more spontaneous expressions of his peculiar modes of thought and feeling than his more formal expositions.

"*How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*" was intended by Pestalozzi to give a logical and connected view of his methods of instruction, in

LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

READER—In the following pages I have attempted, through the medium of a tale, to communicate some important truths to the people, in the way most likely to make an impression upon their understandings and their feelings.

It has also been my endeavor, to ground both the tale and the instructions derived from it, upon the most careful imitation of nature, and upon the simple description of what is every where to be found.

In what is here related, (the greatest part of which I have, in the course of an active life, myself observed,) I have been careful never to set down my own opinions, instead of what I have seen and heard the people themselves feel, judge, say, and attempt.

If my observations be just, and if I have been successful in my endeavor to give them with the simplicity of truth, they will be well received by all those, before whose eyes the things which I relate are continually passing. If they be false, if they be the creatures of my imagination, the trifles of my own brain, they will, like other Sunday discourses, be forgotten on the Monday.

I will say no more, except to add two passages which appear calculated to illustrate my opinions as to the means to be adopted for a wise instruction of the people.

The first is from a work of our immortal Luther; every line of whose pen breathes humanity, insight into the character of the people, and a desire to instruct them. He says:—

"The holy scriptures are so graciously adapted to our wants, that they do not tell us merely of the great deeds of holy men, but also relate their common discourse, and disclose to us the inmost motives and principles of their hearts."

The second is from the writings of a Jewish Rabbi, and, according to a Latin translation, is as follows:—

"There were amongst the heathen nations, who dwelt round about the inheritance of Abraham, men full of wisdom, whose equals were not to be found far or near. These said: 'Let us go to the kings and to their great men, and teach them how to make the people happy upon the earth.'

"And the wise men went out, and learned the language of the houses of the kings and of their great men, and spoke to the kings and to their great men, in their own language.

"And the kings and the great men praised the wise men, and gave them gold, and silk, and frankincense; *but treated the people as before.* And the wise men were blinded by the gold, and the silk, and the frankincense, and no longer saw that the kings and the great men behaved ill and foolishly to all the people who lived upon the earth.

"But a man of our nation reproved the wise men of the heathens, and was kind to the beggar upon the highway; and took the children of the thief, of the

sinner, and of the exile, into his house; and saluted the tax-gatherers, and the soldiers, and the Samaritans, as if they had been brethren of his own tribe.

"And his deeds, and his poverty, and the long-suffering of his love toward all men won him the hearts of the people, so that they trusted him as a father. And when the man of Israel saw that all the people trusted him as a father, he taught the people wherein their true happiness lay; and the people heard his voice, and the princes heard the voice of the people."

Such is the story of the Rabbi, to which I will not add a single observation.

And now must these pages go forth, from my peaceful home, into a world where the winds arise and the tempests blow, and where no peace is. May they be preserved from the storms of evil.

I take no part in the disputes of men about opinions, but I think all will agree, that whatever makes us pious, good, true, and brotherly, whatever cherishes the love of God and of our neighbor, and whatever brings happiness and peace into our houses, should be implanted in the hearts of all, for our common good.

THE AUTHOR.

FEBRUARY 25th, 1781.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

This book, which was written more than twenty years ago, I now again present to my readers, without alteration, as it first came from my pen. It was an attempt to describe the condition of the people, according to what I had learned from my own immediate observation; and, by giving this description, to point out the means of really benefiting them. It has interested many, procured me many friends, and excited in many mothers the wish to be to their children what Gertrude was to hers. But to the age in general, my observations were not, and could not, be palatable. The ruling maxims of the latter half of the past century, were almost altogether deficient in the simplicity of strength, and in the strength of simplicity. They aimed at a high stretch of knowledge; but man, as a whole, remained ignorant, arrogant, and enslaved. Trusting in the extent of his knowledge, he, as it were, lost himself. It was a misfortune to the race of men, during this century, that, by this extension of their knowledge, they were prevented from seeing that they lived without real strength or stability; and, by this self-deception, they lost all feeling for the truth and greatness of the simple relations of nature and society. In these circumstances, it was natural that my book should fail in its chief object; which was, *by pointing out the real situation of the people, and their natural and durable connections with each other, to lay a foundation for their progressive improvement.* As a representation of the nature of domestic education, my book produced no effect; but made an impression chiefly as a tale. True to the object of my life, I persevered in endeavoring to lead the attention of my country to the aim of the book, whilst I, at the same time, labored to place myself in a situation which might enable me to offer to mothers and teachers, the means by which they might bring up their children according to its spirit.

All I have hitherto effected, is but, as it were, a continuation of the book itself, which I now again present to my readers. May it be received as kindly as before! It was my first address to the poor and desolate of the land. It was my first address to those who stand in the place of God to them. It was my first address to mothers, and to the hearts which God has given them, to induce them to be to their children what no one else can be to them. May it be to the poor a greater blessing than it has yet been! May it make upon those who stand in the place of God to them, the impression which it must make, before it can become a blessing to the poor and desolate! May many mothers, through its influence, become to their children what none can be in their stead! Let people say what they will, nature, and God its eternal Creator, have left nothing wanting. It is blasphemy to maintain that mothers have no desire to devote themselves to their children. Let people say what they will, I am full of trust in this desire, and full of hope for the consequences which the excitement of it will produce. The greatest corruption which can arise from the errors of man, does not entirely destroy human nature. Its strength is inextinguishable! Go into the poorest hut, and see there

what a mother's heart, almost without means or help, can do for her children. It is equally false to say that mothers have no time to attend to the first formation of the minds and feelings of their children. Most of them, particularly those who live at home, have their children with them a great part of the day; and why can not they, whilst they are at work, as well behave to them, and talk to them, in a way which will instruct and improve them, as in one which will do neither? A mother's instruction requires no art. It is nothing but to excite the child to an active observation of the things which surround it. It is nothing but a regular exercise of the senses, of the warm feelings of the heart, of the powers of speech, and of the natural activity of the body. All that is necessary is to second the feelings of mothers, and their already prepared, and, as I may say, instinctively simple and upright understandings, and to place in their power the necessary means, so prepared as they may best use them.

Good mothers! let it not be unjustly said, any longer, that you have not understanding and strength for what, in your circumstances, is your highest and holiest duty. If you once go so far as to weep in the stillness of your chambers, because the good Gertrude did more for her children than you have hitherto done for yours, I am sure you will then try whether it be not possible to do what she did; and it is when you are arrived at this point, that I wish to offer you my elementary books.

My heart here bids me be silent; but one word more! Whoever wishes to do his duty to God, to posterity, to public right, and public order, and to the security of family happiness, must, in one way or other, accord with the spirit of my book, and seek the same object. This is my comfort. When these truths are ripened, as ripen they must, they will bear fruit; when they are become fitted for the poor and desolate, they will be enjoyed by them. Many good men and women, who have hitherto been unable, notwithstanding the best inclinations, to give a good piece of advice to a neighbor, will become the fathers and mothers of the poor and desolate. It is to this strength and greatness that I seek to elevate the minds and hearts of the nobles, and of the people, of my native country. After my death, may men of matured powers proceed in this great object of my life; and, before I close my eyes, may I enjoy the happiness of seeing both my object and the means which I employ to attain it, no longer misunderstood.

Alas! this misunderstanding prevents the happiness of thousands, who, but for it, would every where find wise and powerful assistance.

PESTALOZZI.

BURGDORF, *November*, 1808.

REESE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

CHAPTER I.—A KIND-HEARTED MAN, WHO YET MAKES HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN VERY UNHAPPY.

THERE lived in Bonnal, a mason. He was called Leonard, and his wife, Gertrude. He had seven children and some property, but he had this fault; that he often let himself be tempted to the tavern. When he was once seated there, he behaved like a madman;—and there are in our village, cunning, good-for-nothing rogues, whose sole employment and business it is, to take in honest and simple people, and seize every opportunity of getting hold of their money. These were acquainted with poor Leonard, and often led him on from drinking to gaming, and thus cheated him of the produce of his labor. Whenever this had happened over-night, Leonard repented in the morning, and it went to his heart when he saw Gertrude and his children wanting bread, so that he trembled, wept, and cast down his eyes to conceal his tears.

Gertrude was the best wife in the village; but she and her blooming children were in danger of being robbed of their father, and driven from their home, and of sinking into the greatest misery, because Leonard could not let wine alone.

Gertrude saw the approaching danger, and felt it most keenly. When she fetched grass from the meadow, when she took hay from the loft, when she set away the milk in her clean pans, whatever she was doing, she was tormented by the thought that her meadow, her haystack, and her little hut, might soon be taken away from her; and when her children were standing around her, or sitting in her lap, her anguish was still greater, and the tears streamed down her cheeks.

Hitherto, however, she had been able to conceal this silent weeping from her children; but on Wednesday, before last Easter, when she had waited long and her husband did not come home, her grief overcame her, and the children observed her tears. "Oh mother," exclaimed they all with one voice, "you are weeping," and pressed themselves closer to her. Sorrow and anxiety were on every countenance—anxious sobs, heavy, downcast looks, and silent tears, surrounded the mother, and even the baby in her arms, betrayed a feeling of pain hitherto unknown—his first expression of care and sorrow, his staring eyes which, for the first time, were fixed upon her without a smile—all this quite broke her heart. Her anguish burst out in a loud cry, and all the children and the baby wept with their mother, and there was a dreadful sound of lamentation just as Leonard opened the door.

Gertrude lay with her face on the bed; heard not the opening of the door, and saw not the entrance of the father; neither did the children perceive him. They saw only their weeping mother, and hung on her arm and round her neck, and by her clothes. Thus did Leonard find them.

God in heaven sees the tears of the wretched, and puts a limit to their grief. Gertrude found in her tears the mercy of God. The mercy of God brought

Leonard to witness this scene, which pierced through his soul, so that his limbs trembled. The paleness of death was upon his countenance, and he could scarcely articulate, with a hasty and broken voice: "Lord Jesus! what is this?" Then the mother saw him for the first time, the children looked up, and their loud exclamations of grief were hushed. "O mother! here is our father," said the children all at once, and even the baby sobbed no longer.

As a torrent, or a raging flame, did their wild anguish subside into quiet, thoughtful anxiety. Gertrude loved Leonard, and in her deepest distress his presence was always a comfort. Leonard's horror also was now less overwhelming than at first.

"Tell me, Gertrude," said he, "what is this dreadful trouble in which I find thee?"

"O my dear," answered Gertrude, "heavy cares press upon my heart, and when thou art away sorrow preys more keenly upon me."

"Gertrude," said Leonard, "I know why thou weepest, wretch that I am!"

Then Gertrude sent away the children, and Leonard hid his face on her neck, and could not speak.

Gertrude too was silent for a few moments, and leaned sorrowfully against her husband, who wept and sobbed on her neck.

At last she collected all her strength, and took courage to urge him not to bring any further trouble and misery upon his children.

Gertrude was pious, and trusted in God; and before she spoke, she prayed silently for her husband and for her children; and her heart was evidently comforted as she said, "Leonard! trust in the mercy of God, and take courage to do nothing but what is right."

"O Gertrude, Gertrude!" exclaimed Leonard, and wept, and his tears fell in torrents.

"O my love! take courage and trust in thy Father in heaven, and all will be better with thee. It goes to my heart to make thee weep. My love, I would gladly keep every trouble from thee. Thou knowest that, by thy side, I could be content with bread and water, and the still midnight is often to me an hour of cheerful labor, for thee and my children. But, if I concealed my anxiety from thee, lest I be separated from thee and these dear little ones, I should be no mother to my children, nor true to thee. Our children are yet full of gratitude and love toward us,—but, my Leonard, if we do not continue to act as parents, their love and tenderness, to which I trust so much, must needs decrease, and think too what thou wilt feel, when thy Nicholas has no longer a home of his own, and must go out to service. He who now talks with so much delight of freedom and his own little flock. Leonard! if he, and all these dear children, should become poor through our fault, should cease to thank us in their hearts, and begin to weep for us their parents—Leonard! couldst thou bear to see thy Nicholas, thy Jonas, thy Liseli, and thy little Anneli, driven out of doors to seek their bread at another's table? Oh! it would kill me to see it." So spoke Gertrude, and the tears fell down her cheeks.

And Leonard was not less affected. "What shall I do, miserable creature that I am? What can I do? I am yet more wretched than thou knowest of—O Gertrude! Gertrude!" Then he was again silent, wrung his hands and wept in extreme misery.

"Oh, my dear husband, do not mistrust God's mercy! Whatever it be, speak! that we may consult together, and comfort each other."

CHAPTER II.—A WOMAN WHO FORMS A RESOLUTION, ACTS UP TO IT, AND FINDS A LORD OF THE MANOR, WHO HAS THE HEART OF A FATHER TOWARD HIS DEPENDENTS.

"OH Gertrude, Gertrude! it breaks my heart to tell thee my distress and add to thy anxieties; and yet I must do it. I owe Hummel, the bailiff, thirty florins; and he is a hound to those who are in debt to him, and not a man. I wish I had never seen his face! If I do not go to his house, he threatens me with law; and if I do go, the wages of my labor are in his claws. This, Gertrude, this is the source of our misfortunes."

"My dear husband," replied Gertrude, "canst thou not go to Arner, the father of the country? Thou knowest how all the widows and orphans praise him. I think he would give thee counsel and protection against this man."

"O Gertrude," said Leonard, "I can not, I dare not. What could I say against the bailiff? He would bring up a thousand different things against me! He is bold and cunning, and has a hundred ways and means of crying down a poor man before a magistrate, so that he may not be heard."

Gertrude. Dear husband, I never yet spoke to a magistrate, but if necessity and want carried me to him, I am sure I could speak the truth to any man. O do not be afraid; think of me, and of thy children, and go.

"Gertrude," said Leonard, "I can not, I dare not. I am not free from fault. The bailiff will coolly take the whole village to witness that I am a drunkard. O Gertrude, I am not blameless. What can I say? Nobody will stand up against him and say that he enticed me to it all. O Gertrude, if I could, if I durst, how gladly would I go; but if ventured, and did not succeed, think how he would revenge himself."

Gertrude. But even if thou art silent he will nevertheless bring thee to ruin, without a chance of escape. Leonard, think of thy children, and go. This anxiety of heart must have an end. Go,—or I will go myself.

Leonard. Gertrude, I dare not. If thou darest, for God's sake, go directly to Arner, and tell him all.

"I will go," said Gertrude; and she did not sleep one hour that night; but she prayed during that sleepless night, and was more and more resolved to go to Arner, the lord of the manor.

Early in the morning she took her baby, which bloomed like a rose, and went six miles, to the hall.

Arner was sitting under his lime-trees, before the door of his house, as Gertrude approached; he saw her, he saw the baby in her arms, and upon her countenance sorrow and suffering, and the traces of tears. "What do you want my good woman? Who are you?" said he, so kindly that she took courage to speak.

"I am Gertrude," said she, "the wife of Leonard, the mason of Bonnal."

"You are an excellent woman," said Arner. "I have observed your children more than all the rest in the village; they are more modest and better behaved than any of the others; and they appear better fed. And yet I hear you are very poor. Tell me what you wish for."

"O gracious sir, my husband has, for some time past, owed Urias Hummel, the bailiff, thirty florins; and he is a hard man. He entices him to gaming, and all kinds of waste; and because he is afraid of him, he dare not keep away from his tavern, though it costs him, almost every day, his wages and his children's

bread. Honored sir! he has seven young children, and without help and counsel against the bailiff it is impossible that we should escape beggary. I know that you have compassion upon the widow and the orphan, and therefore I have made bold to come to you, and tell you our misfortunes. I have brought with me all my children's savings, to leave them with you, if I might venture to beg you to make some agreement for us, so that the bailiff, till he is paid, may not oppress and injure us any more."

Arner had long had suspicions of the bailiff. He perceived, therefore, immediately, the truth of this complaint, and the wisdom of what she asked. He took a cup of tea which stood before him, and said—"You are tired, Gertrude; drink this tea, and give your pretty child some of this milk."

Gertrude stood blushing; and this paternal kindness went to her heart, so that she could not restrain her tears. And Arner encouraged her to tell him what the bailiff and his companions had done, and the wants and cares of many years. He listened attentively, and than asked her, "How have you been able, Gertrude, through all this distress to keep your children's money?"

Then Gertrude answered:—"It was difficult indeed, gracious sir, to do so; but I always looked upon the money as not my own, as if some dying man had given it me on his death-bed to keep for his children. I considered it almost in this light; and if ever, in the time of our greatest need, I was obliged to buy the children bread with it, I never rested till I had made it up again for them by night labor."

"Was that always possible, Gertrude?" said Arner.

"O gracious sir, if we have once set our hearts upon any thing, we can do more than we could imagine possible, and God always helps us in our greatest need, if we are really doing our best to get what is absolutely necessary. O gracious sir, he helps us more than you in your magnificence can know or imagine."

Arner was deeply affected by the innocence and goodness of this poor woman; he made still further inquiries; and said, "Gertrude, where is this money?"

Then Gertrude laid down seven neat parcels upon Arner's table; and to every parcel was fastened a ticket, saying whose it was, and when Gertrude had taken any thing away from it, and how she had replaced it.

Arner read the tickets over attentively. Gertrude saw it, and blushed: "I ought to have taken away these tickets, gracious sir."

Arner smiled, and read on; but Gertrude stood there abashed, and her heart throbbed on account of these tickets; for she was modest, and troubled at the least appearance of vanity.

Arner saw her uneasiness because she had not taken off the tickets, and felt the simple dignity of innocence, as she stood ashamed that her goodness and prudence were noticed; and he resolved to befriend her more than she asked or hoped for; for he felt her worth, and that no woman was like her among a thousand. He added something to each of the parcels, and said "Take back your children's money, Gertrude, and I will lay down thirty florins for the bailiff, till he is paid. Go home, now, Gertrude; to-morrow I shall be in the village, and I will settle matters between you and Hummel."

Gertrude could not speak for joy; scarcely could she stammer out a broken, sobbing—"Heaven reward you, gracious sir!" and then she went with her baby, and with the comfort she had obtained, to her husband. As she went, she

prayed and thanked God all the way, and wept tears of gratitude and hope, till she came to her cottage.

Leonard saw her coming, and saw the joy of her heart in her countenance.

"Art thou here again so soon?" said he, going to meet her. "Thou hast been successful with Arner."

"How dost thou know that already?" said Gertrude.

"I see it in thy face, thou excellent creature, thou canst not conceal it."

"That can I not," said Gertrude, "and I would not, if I could, keep the good news a moment from thee, Leonard." Then she related to him Arner's kindness; how he had believed her words, and how he had promised to help them. And she gave the children Arner's present, and kissed them all, more fondly and cheerfully than she had done for a long time past; and said to them: "Pray every day for Arner, my children, as you pray for your father and me. Arner cares for the welfare of all the country; he cares for your welfare; and if you are good and well-behaved, and industrious, you will be dear to him, as you are dear to me and to your father."

From that time forward the mason's children, every morning and evening, when they prayed for their father and mother, prayed also for Arner, the father of the country.

Gertrude and Leonard made fresh resolutions to look after the management of the house, and to bring up their children in every good way; and this day was a festival to them. Leonard's courage was renewed, and in the evening Gertrude prepared for him a supper that he was fond of; and they rejoiced together over the coming morning, the assistance of Arner, and the mercy of their God.

Arner, too, longed for the next morning, that he might do a deed, such as he did by thousands, to make his existence useful.

CHAPTER III.—A BRUTE APPEARS.

AND when his bailiff came to him, that evening, to receive his orders, he said to him, "I am coming myself to Bonnal, to-morrow. I am determined to have the building of the church begun at last." The bailiff replied: "Gracious sir, is your grace's master-builder at liberty now? "No," answered Arner, "but there is a mason in the village, of the name of Leonard, whom I shall be glad to employ in this affair. Why have you never recommended him to me before as a workman?"

The bailiff made a low bow, and said: "I durst not have employed the poor mason in any of your magnificence's buildings."

Arner. "Is he a trusty man, bailiff, upon whom I can depend?"

Bailiff. "Yes—your grace may depend upon him; he is a very honest fellow."

"They say he has an excellent wife; is she not a talker?" said Arner emphatically.

"No, indeed," replied the bailiff, "she is a hard-working, quiet woman."

"Very well," said Arner, "be at the church-yard to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock. I will meet you there myself."

The bailiff went away, well pleased with this conversation; for he thought within himself, this is a fresh cow for my stall; and he already turned over in his mind the tricks by which he should get from the mason, the money he might gain by this building of the church. He went straight home, and then to the mason's cottage.

It was already dark, as he knocked impatiently at the door.

Leonard and Gertrude were sitting by the table. The remains of the supper were still before them. Leonard knew the voice of the envious bailiff, started, and pushed the food into a corner.

Gertrude encouraged him not to be afraid, and to trust in Arner; but he turned pale as he opened the door for the bailiff.

The latter smelt out the concealed supper as quick as a hungry hound, but he behaved civilly, and said, though with a smile; "You are well off, good people; it is easy to do without the tavern at this rate. Is it not, Leonard?"

The poor man cast down his eyes and was silent; but Gertrude was bolder, and said: "What are the bailiff's commands? It is seldom that he comes further than to the window of such a poor house as this."

Hummel concealed his anger, laughed, and said: "It is very true that I should not have expected to find such good cooking here; or perhaps I might have invited myself."

This vexed Gertrude. "Bailiff," said she, "you smell our supper, and grudge it us. When a poor man is enjoying a supper he likes, and which perhaps he does not get three times in a year, you should be ashamed to come in and spoil it."

"I had no such wicked intention," said the bailiff, still laughing. But soon afterward, he added more seriously, "You are too insolent, Gertrude; it does not become poor people. You should remember that we may have something to do with each other yet. But I will not begin upon this at present. I am always kindly disposed toward your husband; and whenever I can, I serve him. Of this I can give proof."

Gertrude. "Bailiff, my husband is enticed away, every day, to drink and game in your tavern, and then must I and my children, at home, suffer every possible misery. This is the service we have to thank you for."

Hummel. "You do me wrong, Gertrude. It is true that your husband is somewhat inclined to drinking. I have often told him so. But in my tavern, I can not refuse any man what he asks for, to eat and drink. Every body does the same."

Ger. "Yes; but every body does not threaten a poor unfortunate man with law, if he does not double his reckoning every year."

Here the bailiff could restrain himself no longer; he turned in a rage to Leonard: "Are you such a pitiful fellow, Leonard, as to tell these tales of me? Must I have it thrown into my very beard, what you ragamuffins are going to bring upon the credit and good name of an old man like me? Did I not reckon with you a short time ago, before the overseer? It is well that all the tickets are in my hands. Will you deny my claims, Leonard?"

"That is not the question," said Leonard. "Gertrude only wants me to make no fresh debts."

The bailiff considered a little, lowered his tone, and said: "There is nothing so much amiss in that. But you are the master—she does not wish to tie you up in leading-strings?"

Ger. "Far from it, bailiff. I only wish to get him out of the leading-strings in which he is now fast—and that is your book, bailiff, and those beautiful tickets."

Hum. "He has only to pay me, and then he will be out of the leading-strings, as you call them, in a twinkling."

Ger. "He will well be able to do that, if he makes no fresh debts."

Hum. "You are proud, Gertrude—we shall see. Confess the truth, Gertrude! you would rather sit junketing with him alone at home, than let him enjoy a glass of wine with me."

Ger. "You are a mean fellow, bailiff; but your speeches do me no harm."

Hummel could not continue this conversation any longer. He felt that something must have happened to make this woman so bold. Therefore he durst not indulge his anger, and took his leave.

"Have you any further commands?" said Gertrude.

"None if this is to be the way;" answered Hummel.

"What way?" replied Gertrude, smiling, and looking steadily in his face.

This put the bailiff still more out of countenance, so that he knew not how to behave.

He went out, muttering to himself down the steps; what can be the meaning of all this?

Leonard was not easy about the business, and the bailiff was still less so.

CHAPTER IV.—HE IS WITH HIS OWN SET, AND IT IS THERE THAT ROGUES SHOW THEMSELVES.

IT was now near midnight, and as soon as he got home, he sent for two of Leonard's neighbours, to come to him directly.

They were in bed when he sent, but got up again, without delay, and went to him through the dark night.

And he inquired about every thing which Leonard and Gertrude had done for some days past. But as they could tell him nothing which threw any light upon the subject, he turned his rage against them.

"You hounds, if one wants any thing from you, you are never ready with it. I don't know why I should always be your fool. Whenever you trespass in the woods, or steal fodder,—I am to take no notice of it.—When you turn cattle into the squire's pastures and destroy the hedges—I must not say a word"—

"You, Buller! more than a third part of thy reckoning was false, and I was silent about it. Dost thou think that bit of mouldy hay was enough to content me? but the year is not yet passed over. And you, Kruel! Thy half meadow belongs to thy brother's children. You old thief! what good hast thou done to me, that I should not give thee up to the hangman, whose property thou art?"

These speeches frightened the neighbors.

"What can we do? What must we do, Mr. Bailiff? By night or by day, we are always ready to do what you ask us."

"You dogs! You can do nothing—you know nothing—I am half mad with rage. I must know what the mason's people have been about this week—what is hidden in that poke." Thus he went on.

In the mean time Kruel recollected himself.

"Hold, bailiff, I have just thought of something. Gertrude went over the fields this morning; and this evening, her Liseli was praising the squire at the well. She must surely have been to the hall. The evening before, there was a great lamentation in the cottage; nobody knew why. To-day they are all cheerful again."

The bailiff was now convinced that Gertrude had been to the hall. Anger and alarm raged still more fiercely in his soul.

He uttered horrible curses, abused Arner violently for listening to every beg-

garly wretch; and swore to have revenge upon Leonard and Gertrude. "But you must say nothing about it, neighbors. I will treat these people civilly, till all is ripe. Look carefully after what they do, and bring me word—I will be your man when you want help."

Then he took Buller aside, and said, "Dost thou know any thing of the stolen flower-pots? Thou wert seen, yesterday, going over the borders with a laden ass. What wert thou carrying off?

Buller started. "I—I—had—" "Come, come," said the bailiff "be faithful to me, and I will help thee at a pinch."

Then the neighbors went away, but it was already near dawn.

And Hummel threw himself on his bed for about an hour—started, thought of vengeance, gnashed his teeth in uneasy slumber, and kicked with his feet—till the clear day called him from his bed.

He resolved to see Leonard once more, to master himself, and to tell him that Arner had appointed him to build the church. He summoned all his powers of deceiving, and went to him.

Gertrude and Leonard had slept more peacefully this night than they had done for a long time past; and at the dawn of morning they prayed for a blessing upon the day. They hoped also for prompt help from Father Arner. This hope spread tranquillity of soul, and unwonted delightful serenity around them.

Thus did Hummel find them. He saw how it was, and Satan entered into his heart, so that he was more than ever inflated with rage; but he commanded himself, wished them civilly good morning, and said:

"Leonard, we parted in anger with each other last night; but this must not last. I have some good news for thee. I am come from our gracious master; he has been speaking of building the church, and inquired about thee. I said thou wert equal to the work, and I think he will give it thee. This is the way neighbors can serve one another—we must not be so easily vexed."

Leonard. "He has agreed with his master-builder to build the church. You told the whole village so, long ago."

Hummel. "I thought it was so; but it proves a mistake. The master-builder has only made an estimate of it, and thou mayest easily believe he has not forgotten his own profit. If thou undertakest it according to this reckoning, thou mayst gather up gold like leaves. Leonard, see now how well I mean by thee."

The mason was overcome by the hope of having the work, and thanked him cordially. But Gertrude saw that the bailiff was white with smothered rage, and that bitter wrath was concealed under his smiles; and she could not yet rejoice. The bailiff retired, and as he went, he added, "Within an hour Arner will be here." And Leonard's daughter Lise, who was standing by her father, said to the bailiff,

"We have known that ever since yesterday."

Hummel started at these words, but pretended not to hear them.

And Gertrude, who saw that the bailiff was lying in wait for the money, which might be gained by the building of the church, was very uneasy about it.

CHAPTER V.—HE FINDS HIS MASTER.

IN the mean time Arner came to the churchyard, and many people collected together from the village to see the good squire.

"Are you so idle, or is this a holiday, that you have so much time to be gossiping here? said the bailiff to some who stood too near him; for he always took care

that nobody should hear the orders he received. But Arner observed it and said aloud: "Bailiff, I like my children to remain in the churchyard, and to hear, themselves, how I will arrange about the building. Why do you drive them away?"

Hummel bowed down to the ground, and called aloud to the neighbors: "Come back again! his grace will allow it."

Arner. "Have you seen the estimate for the building of the church?"

Bailiff. "Yes, gracious sir."

Arner. "Do you think Leonard can make the building good and durable, at this price?"

"Yes, gracious sir," answered the bailiff; and he added in a lower tone, "I think, as he lives on the spot, he might perhaps undertake it for something less."

But Arner said aloud, "As much as I would have given to my master-builder, so much will I give him. Call him here, and take care that he has as much from the wood and from the magazine as the master-builder would have had."

A few moments before Arner sent to call him, Leonard had gone to the upper village, and Gertrude resolved to go back herself to the churchyard with the messenger, and tell Arner her anxieties.

When the bailiff saw Gertrude coming back with the messenger instead of Leonard, he turned pale.

Arner observed it, and said, "What is the matter, bailiff?"

Bailiff. "Nothing, gracious sir! nothing at all; only I did not sleep well last night."

"One may tell that by your looks," said Arner, looking steadily into his inflamed eyes. Then he turned to Gertrude, spoke to her kindly, and said, "Is your husband not with you? You must tell him to come to me. I will intrust the building of this church to him."

Gertrude stood for a few moments silent, and durst not say a word before so many people.

Arner. "Why do you not speak, Gertrude? I will give your husband the work, upon the same terms on which my master-builder would have had it. This ought to please you, Gertrude."

Gertrude had now recovered herself, and said, "Gracious sir, the church is so near the tavern."

All the people began to smile; and as most of them wished to conceal this from the bailiff, they turned away from him toward Arner.

The bailiff, who clearly saw that Arner had perceived it all, got up in a passion, went toward Gertrude, and said, "What have you to say against my tavern?"

Arner quickly interrupted him and said, "Is this your affair, bailiff, that you interfere about it?" Then he turned again to Gertrude, and said, "What do you mean? Why is the church too near the tavern?"

Ger. "Gracious sir, my husband is easily enticed away by wine; and if he works every day so near the tavern, I am afraid he will not be able to resist."

Arner. "But can not he avoid the tavern, if it is so dangerous to him?"

Ger. "Gracious sir, when people are working hard, and get heated, it makes them very thirsty; and if he has always before his eyes people drinking together, and trying to entice him by every kind of joviality, and jesting, and buying wine, and laying wagers, oh! how will he be able to resist? and if he once gets ever so little into debt again, he is fast. Gracious sir, if you only knew how

one single evening, in such houses, can bring poor people into slavery and snares, out of which it is scarcely possible to escape again!"

Arner. "I do know it, Gertrude! and I am angry about what you told me yesterday; and therefore, before your eyes, and before the eyes of all these people, I will show that I will not have the poor oppressed and ill-used. Then he turned to the bailiff, and said, with a solemn voice, and a look which thrilled through his bones and marrow: "Bailiff! is it true, that poor people are oppressed, and misled, and cheated in your house?"

Confused, and pale as death, the bailiff answered: "Gracious sir, such a thing never happened to me before in my life,—and so long as I live, and am bailiff"——; he wiped the perspiration from his face—coughed—cleared his throat, and began again. "It is dreadful"——.

Arner. "You are disturbed, bailiff! The question is a simple one. Is it true, that you oppress the poor, and lay snares for them in your tavern, so as to make their homes unhappy?"

Bailiff. "No, certainly not, gracious sir! This is the reward one gets for serving such beggarly folks. I might have foreseen it. One always gets such thanks instead of payment."

Arner. "Trouble not yourself about payment now. The question is, whether this woman lies."

Bailiff. "Yes, certainly, gracious sir! I will prove it a thousand fold."

Arner. "Once is enough, bailiff! but take care. You said yesterday, that Gertrude was a good, quiet, hard-working woman, and no talker."

"I don't know—I—I—thought—you have—I thought—her so——," said the gasping bailiff.

Arner. "You are so troubled, bailiff, that there is no speaking to you now. It will be better for me to find it out from these neighbors here; and immediately he turned to two old men who stood by quietly, and with interest, observing what passed, and said to them, 'Is it true, good neighbors? are the people led away to evil, and oppressed in the tavern?' The two men looked at each other, and durst not speak."

But Arner encouraged them kindly. "Do not be afraid! Tell me the plain truth!"

"It is but too true, gracious sir; but how can we poor people venture to complain against the bailiff?" said the elder of the two at last, but in so low a voice, that only Arner could hear it.

"It is enough, old man," said Arner; and then turned to the bailiff.

"I can not, at present, inquire fully into this complaint; but certainly I will have my poor people secure against all oppression; and I have long thought that no bailiff should keep tavern. But I will defer this till Monday. Gertrude, tell your husband to come to me; and be easy, on his account, about the tavern."

Then Arner transacted some other business; and when he had done, he went into the forest hard by; and it was late when he arrived at home. The bailiff, too, who was obliged to follow him into the forest, did not get back to the village till it was night.

When he came to his house, and saw no light in the room, and heard no voices, he foreboded some misfortune; for usually the house was full every evening, and all the windows were lighted up by the candles which stood upon the tables; and the shouts of those who were drinking, always sounded through

the still night, so that you might have heard them at the bottom of the street, though it is a long one, and the bailiff's house stands at the top.

The bailiff was very much startled by this unusual silence. He opened his door impatiently, and said, "What is this? what is this? Why is nobody here?"

His wife was sobbing in a corner. "Oh husband! Art thou come back? Oh what a misfortune has befallen us! There is a jubilee of thy enemies in the village, and no man dares come and drink a single glass of wine with us. They all say thou hast been taken through the forest to Arnburg."

As an imprisoned wild boar foams in the trap, opens his jaws, rolls about his eyes, and roars with anger; so did Hummel rage. He stamped, and was full of fury, plotted revenge against Arner, and cursed him for his goodness. Then he spoke to himself:

"Is this the way to have justice done in the country? He will take away my license from me, and be the only person to hang up a sign in the manor. In the memory of man, the bailiffs have all been landlords. All affairs have gone through our hands. But this man thrusts himself into every thing, like a village schoolmaster. Therefore every knave is become insolent to the constables, and says he can speak to Arner himself. Thus the law loses all its credit, and we sit still under it and are silent, pitiful creatures as we are, whilst he thus wrongs and alters the rights of the land."

Thus did the old rogue misrepresent to himself the good and wise actions of his excellent master, raged and plotted revenge, till he fell asleep.

CHAPTER VI.—CONVERSATION AMONGST COUNTRY PEOPLE.

IN the morning he rose early, and sang and whistled at his window, that people might think he was perfectly easy about what had happened yesterday. But Fritz, his neighbor, called to him across the street: "Hast thou customers so early, that thou art so merry?" and he smiled to himself as he said it.

"They will be coming soon, Fritz! Hopsasa and Heisasa! Plums are not figs," said the bailiff; and he held a glass of brandy out of the window, and said: "Wilt thou pledge me, Fritz?"

"It is too soon for me," answered Fritz, "I will wait till there is more company."

"Thou wert always a wag," said the bailiff, "but, depend upon it, yesterday's business will not turn out so ill. No bird flies so high that it never comes down again."

"I know not," answered Fritz. "The bird I am thinking of, has had a long flight of it; but perhaps we are not speaking of the same bird, Mr. Bailiff? They are calling me to breakfast!" and with this, Fritz shut down his window.

"Short leave-taking," murmured the bailiff to himself, and shook his head until his hair and his cheeks shook. "I shall have the devil to pay, to get this cursed business of yesterday out of these people's heads." Having said this to himself, he poured out some brandy, drank it off, and said again: "Courage! time brings counsel! This is Saturday. These simpletons will be going to be shaved. I will away to the barber's, and give them each a glass of wine. The fellows always believe me ten times before they would half believe the pastor once." So said the bailiff to himself; and then added to his wife: "Fill my box with tobacco: not with my own, but with that strong sort—it suits such fel-

lows. And if the barber's boy comes for wine, give him that brimstoned three times over, and put into each can a glass of brandy."

He went out; but whilst he was in the street, and not far from home, he recollected himself, turned back, and said to his wife, "There may be knaves drinking with me. I must be upon my guard. Get me some yellow-colored water; and when I send for the La Côte, bring it thyself." He then went out again.

But before he arrived at the barber's, and under the lime-trees near the school he met Nickel Spitz and Jogli Rubel.

"Whither away, in thy Sunday clothes, Mr. Bailiff?" asked Nickel Spitz.

Bailiff. "I am going to get shaved."

Nickel. "It's odd thou hast time for it, on a Saturday morning."

Bailiff. "That's true. It is not so the year through."

Nick. "No! It is not long since thou camest always on a Sunday, between morning-prayers, to the barber."

Bailiff. "Yes, a time or two."

Nick. "A time or two! The two last, I think. Since the pastor had thy dog driven out of the church, thou hast never been within his premises."

Bailiff. "Thou art a fool, Nickel, to talk so. We must forgive and forget; the driving the dog away, has long been out of my head."

Nick. "I would not trust to that, if I were the pastor."

Bailiff. "Thou art a simpleton, Nickel: why should he not? But come into the room, there will be some drinking ere long."

Nick. "Thou wouldst look sharp after the barber, if he had any drinking going on in his house."

Bailiff. "I am not half so jealous as that comes to. They are for taking away my license; but Nickel, we are not come to that yet. At all events, we shall have six weeks and three days, before that time arrives."

Nick. "So I suppose. But it is no good thing for thee, that the young squire does not follow his grandfather's creed."

Bailiff. "Truly, he does not believe quite as his grandfather did."

Nick. "I suspect they differ about every article of the twelve."

Bailiff. "It may be so. But the old man's belief was the best, to my fancy."

Nick. "No doubt! The first article of his creed was: I believe in thee, my bailiff."

Bailiff. "Thou art facetious, Nickel! but what was the next?"

Nick. "I don't know exactly. I think it was: I believe in no man but thee, my bailiff, not a single word."

Bailiff. "Thou shouldst have been a pastor, Nickel: thou couldst not only have explained the catechism, but put a new one in its place."

Nick. "They would not let me do that. If they did, I should make it so clear and plain, that the children would understand it without the pastor, and then he would naturally be of no use."

Bailiff. "We will keep to the old, Nickel. It is the same about the catechism as about every thing else to my mind. We shall not better ourselves by changing."

Nick. "That is a maxim which is sometimes true, and sometimes not. It seems to suit thee now with the new squire."

Bailiff. "It will suit others too, if we wait patiently, and for my own part, I am not so much afraid of the new squire. Every man finds his master."

Nick. "Very true: but there was an end of the old times for thee, last summer."

Bailiff. "At all events, Nickel, I have had my share of them. Let others try now."

Nick. "True, thou hast had thy share, and a very good one it was; but, how could it miss? The secretary, the attorney, and the late pastor's assistant, all owed thee money."

Bailiff. "People said so, but it was not true."

Nick. "Thou mayst say so now; but thou hadst an action brought against two of them, because the money did not come back."

Bailiff. "Thou fool, thou knowest every thing."

Nick. "I know a great deal more than that. I know thy tricks with Rudi's father, and how I caught thee by the dog-kennel, under the heap of straw, lying on thy face, close to Rudi's window; his attorney was with him. Till two o'clock in the morning, didst thou listen to what they were saying in the room. I was watchman that night, and had wine gratis at thy house, for a week after, for my silence."

Bailiff. "Thou heretic: there is not a word of truth in what thou sayest. It would be pretty work for thee, if thou wert made to prove it."

Nick. "I was not talking about proving it, but thou knowest whether it be true or not."

Bailiff. "Thou hadst better take back thy words."

Nick. "The devil put it into thy head to listen under the straw, in the night. Thou couldst hear every word, and then easily twist thy evidence with the attorney."

Bailiff. "How thou talkest!"

Nick. "How I talk? If the attorney had not wrested thy evidence before the court, Rudi would have had his meadow now, and Wast and Kaibacker needed not have taken their fine oaths."

Bailiff. "Truly, thou understandest the business, as well as the schoolmaster does Hebrew."

Nick. "Whether I understand it or not, I learned it from thee. More than twenty times thou hast laughed with me, at thy obedient servant, Mr. attorney."

Bailiff. "Yes, so I have; but he did not do what thou sayest. It is true, he was a cunning devil. God forgive him. It will be ten years, next Michaelmas, since he was laid in his grave."

Nick. "Since he was sent to hell, thou shouldst say."

Bailiff. "That is not right. We should not speak ill of the dead."

Nick. "Very true; or else I could tell how he cheated Roppi's children."

Bailiff. "He might have confessed himself to thee, on his death-bed, thou knowest it all so well."

Nick. "I know it, at any rate."

Bailiff. "The best part of it is, that I gained the action: if thou hadst known that I had lost it, it would have troubled me."

Nick. "Nay, I know that thou didst gain it, but I also know how."

Bailiff. "Perhaps; perhaps not."

Nick. "God keep all poor folks from law."

Bailiff. "Thou art right there. Only gentle-folks and people well off in the world, should go to law. That would certainly be a good thing; but so would many other things, Nickel. Well, well, we must be content with things as they are."

Nick. "Bailiff, that wise saying of thine puts me in mind of a fable I heard

from a pilgrim. He came out of Alsace, and told it before a whole room full of people. A hermit had described the world in a book of fables, and he could repeat it almost from beginning to end. We asked him to tell us some of these fables, and he related that which thou remindest me of."

Bailiff. "Well, what was it, prater?"

Nick. "By good luck, I think I remember it. 'A sheep was complaining and lamenting that the wolf, the dog, the fox, and the butcher, tormented her terribly. A fox, that was standing near the fold, heard the complaint, and said to the sheep: we must always be content with the wise regulations of the world. If there were any change it would be for the worse.

That may be true, when the fold is shut, answered the sheep; but if it were open, I, for one, should not agree with you.

It is right enough that there should be wolves, foxes, and wild beasts; but it is also right, that the fold should be carefully looked after, and that poor weak animals should have watchful shepherds and dogs, to protect them from wild beasts.'

'Heaven preserve us,' added the pilgrim; 'there are everywhere plenty of wild beasts, and but few good shepherds.'

'Great God, thou knowest wherefore it is so, and we must submit silently.' His comrades added: 'yes, we must submit silently; and holy virgin, pray for us now, and in the hour of our death.'

We were all affected when the pilgrim spoke so feelingly, and we could not go on chattering our nonsense as usual."

Bailiff. "It's fine talking about such silly fancies of the sheep; according to which, wolves, foxes, and other wild beasts must die of hunger."

Nick. "It would be no great harm if they did."

Bailiff. "Art thou sure of that?"

Nick. "Nay, I spoke foolishly; they need not die of hunger: they might always find carrion and wild creatures, and these belong to them, and not tame animals, which must be brought up, and kept with labor and cost."

Bailiff. "Thou wouldst not then have them altogether die of hunger. That is a great deal for such a friend of tame animals to allow; but I am starved, come into the room."

Nick. "I can not, I must go on."

Bailiff. "Good-bye then, neighbors;" and he went away. Rubel and Nickel looked at each other for a moment, and Rubel said, "Thou hast salted his meat for him."

Nick. "I wish it had been peppered too, and so that it might have burnt his tongue till to-morrow."

Rubel. "A week ago, thou durst not thus have spoken to him."

Nick. "And a week ago he would not have answered as he did."

Rubel. "That is true. He is grown as tame as my dog, the first day it had its muzzle on."

Nick. "When the cup is full it will run over. That has been true of many a man, and it will be true of the bailiff."

Rubel. "Heaven keep us from officers! I would not be a bailiff, with his two courts."

Nick. "But if anybody offered thee half of one, and the office of bailiff, what wouldst thou do?"

Rubel. "Thou fool!"

Nick. "Thou wise man! what wouldst thou do? come, confess; thou wouldst quickly consent, wrap the cloak of two colors around thee, and be bailiff."

Rubel. "Dost thou think so?"

Nick. "Yes, I do think so."

Rubel. "We are losing time chattering here. Good-bye, Nickel."

Nick. "Good-bye, Rubel."

CHAPTER VII.—THE BAILIFF BEGINS SOME BAILIFF'S BUSINESS.

As soon as the bailiff entered the barber's room, he saluted him, and his wife, and the company, before he seated himself, or made any bustle. Formerly, he used to make a great spitting and coughing first, and took no notice of anybody, till he had seated himself.

The country people answered, smilingly, and put their hats on again, much sooner than they usually did, when the bailiff spoke to them. He began the conversation by saying, "Always good pay, Mr. Barber, and so much custom; I wonder how you manage to get through it, with one pair of hands."

The barber was a quiet man, and not in the habit of replying to such speeches; but the bailiff had been teasing him with these jests for several months past, and every Sunday morning in sermon-time; and as it happened, he took it into his head to answer him for once, and said:

"Mr. Bailiff, you need not wonder how people manage to work hard, with one pair of hands, and get little; but it is, indeed, a wonder how some people manage to sit with their hands before them, doing nothing at all, and yet get a great deal."

Bailiff. "True enough, barber; but thou shouldst try. The thing is, to keep the hands still, in the right way: then, money showers down like rain."

The barber made another attempt, and said: "Nay, bailiff, the way is, to wrap one's self up in a two-colored cloak, and say these three words: *It is so*, on my oath, *It is so*. If the time be well chosen, one may then put two fingers up, three down—*abracadabra!* and behold a bag full of gold."

This put the bailiff into a passion, and he answered, "Thou art a conjuror, barber! but there is no wonder in that. People of thy trade always understand witchcraft and conjuring."

This was too sharp for the good barber, and he repented having meddled with the bailiff; so he held his peace, and let the others talk, and began quietly lathering a man who was sitting before him. The bailiff continued, maliciously: "The barber is quite a fine gentleman, he will not answer one again. He wears smart stockings, town-made shoes, and ruffles on a Sunday. He has hands as smooth as a squire's, and his legs are like a town-clerk's."

The country people liked the barber, had heard this before, and did not laugh at the bailiff's wit.

Only young Galli, who was being shaved, could not help smiling at the idea of the town-clerk's legs; for he was just come from the office, where the jest had begun; but when his face moved, the barber's razor cut his upper lip.

This vexed the people; they shook their heads, and old Uli took his pipe out of his mouth, and said:

"Bailiff, it is not right to disturb the barber in this way."

And when the others saw that old Uli was not afraid, and said this boldly, they murmured still more loudly, and said: "Galli is bleeding, nobody can be shaved at this rate."

"I am sorry for what has happened," said the bailiff, "but I will set all to rights again."

"Boy! fetch three flasks of good wine, which heals wounds without needing to be warmed."

The moment the bailiff spoke of wine, the first murmur subsided.

Some did not believe that he was in earnest; but Lenk, who was sitting in a corner, solved the riddle, saying: "The bailiff's wine was tapped yesterday, in the church-yard."

The bailiff, taking his tobacco-box out of his pocket, laid it on the table, and Christian, the ballad-singer, asked him for a pipe-full. He gave it him; then more followed his example, and the room was soon full of the smoke of this strong tobacco, but the bailiff smoked a better kind himself.

Meantime the barber and the other neighbors kept quiet, and made light of it.

This disturbed Master Urias. He went up and down the room, with his finger on his nose, as he always did, when he could not get rid of his vexation.

"It is devilish cold in this room; I can never smoke when it is so cold," said he. So he went out of the room, gave the maid a kreuzer to make a larger fire, and it was soon warm enough.

CHAPTER VIII.—WHEN THE WHEELS ARE GREASED THE WAGON GOES.

Now came the brimstoned wine. "Glasses, glasses here, Mr. Barber," said the bailiff. And the wife and the boy soon brought plenty.

All the neighbors drew near the wine flasks, and the bailiff poured out for them.

Now were old Uli, and all the rest, content again; and young Galli's wound was not worth mentioning. "If the simpleton had only sat still, the barber would not have cut him."

By degrees they all grew talkative, and loud sounds of merriment arose.

All praised the bailiff; and the mason, Leonard, was at one table abused for a lout, and at the other for a beggar.

One told how he got drunk every day, and now played the saint; another said, "He knew well why pretty Gertrude went, instead of the mason, to the squire at the hall:" and another, "That he dreamed, last night, that the bailiff would soon serve the mason according to his deserts."

As an unclean bird buries its beak in the ditch, and feeds upon rotten garbage, so did Hummel satiate his wicked heart on the conversation of the neighbors. Yet it was with great caution and watchfulness that he mingled in the wild uproar of the chattering drunkards.

"Neighbor Richter," said he, giving him a glass, "you were yourself at the last reckoning, and are a qualified man. You know that the mason owed me thirty florins. It is now half a year since, and he has not paid me any part of it. I have never once asked him for the money, nor given him a hard word, and yet it is likely enough that I shall lose every farthing of it."

"That is clear enough," swore the farmers, "thou wilt never see another farthing of thy money;" and they poured out more wine.

But the bailiff took out of his pocket book the mason's promissory note, laid it on the table, and said, "There you may see whether it be true, or not."

The countrymen looked over the writing, as if they could read it, and said, "He is a rogue, that mason."

And Christian, the ballad-singer, who, till now, had been quietly swallowing down the wine, wiped his mouth with his coat sleeve, got up, raised his glass, and shouted out,

Long life to the bailiff, and away with all firebrands;" so saying, he drank off the glass, held it to be filled, drank again, and sang:

"He who digs another's grave,
Into it, himself may slip;
Who ne'er lifts a hand to save,
Should be careful not to trip.

"Be he lifted e'er so high,
And cunning as the deuce withal,
He who will still in ambush lie,
Is sure, at last, himself to fall—
Himself to fall.
Jube, mason! jube!"

CHAPTER IX.—ON THE RIGHTS OF THE COUNTRY.

"NOT so riotous, Christian," said the bailiff; "that is of no use. I should be very sorry if any ill luck happened to the mason. I forgive him freely. He did it from poverty. Still it is hard that the country must lose its rights."

The neighbors opened their ears when he spoke of the country's rights.

Some put down their glasses, when they heard of the country's rights, and listened.

"I am an old man, neighbors, and it can not signify much to me. I have no children, and it is almost over with me. But you have sons, neighbors; to you, your rights are of great consequence."

"Ay! our rights!" called out the men. "You are our bailiff. Do not let us lose a hair of our rights."

Bailiff. "Yes, neighbors. The landlord's license is a parish concern, and a valuable one. We must defend ourselves."

Some few of the men shook their heads, and whispered to each other, "He never looked after the parish before—he wants to draw us into the mud where he is sticking,"

But the majority shouted louder and louder, stormed, and cursed, and swore that to-morrow there must be a parish meeting.

The wiser amongst them were silent, and only said, quietly, to each other, "We shall see what they do when the wine is out of their heads."

Meantime the bailiff kept prudently drinking of the colored water, and began again to rouse up the people about their rights.

"You all know," said he, "how our forefather, Ruppli, two hundred years ago, had to fight with the cruel ancestors of this squire. This old Ruppli, (my grandfather has told me of it a thousand times,) had a favorite saying, 'When the squires welcome beggars at the hall, God help the country people.' They do it only to make mischief amongst them, and then to be masters themselves. Neighbors, we are thus always to be the fools in the game."

Countrymen. "Nothing is clearer. We are thus always to be the fools in the game."

Bailiff. "When your lawyers can be of no more use, you are as ill off as soldiers, who have their retreat cut off. The new squire is as sharp and cunning as the devil. No man can see through him; and certainly he gives no one a good word for nothing. If you knew but half as much as I do, there would be no need for me to say another word to you. But you are not quite blockheads; you will take heed, and be on your guard."

Abi, to whom the bailiff was speaking, and to whom he made a sign, answered,

"Do you think, bailiff, that we do not perceive his drift? He wants to take the landlord's license into his own hands."

Bailiff. "You see through it, do you?"

Countrymen. "Ay, by G——! but we will not allow it. Our children shall have a free tavern, as we have had."

Abi. "He may choose to make us pay a ducat for a measure of wine; and we should be false to our own children."

Bailiff. "That is going too far, Abi. He can never make you pay a ducat for a measure of wine."

Abi. "I don't know. The smith and the cartwright are raising their prices shamefully; and even wood is dearer than it has been these fifty years. What say you, bailiff? As the twig is bent, so grows the tree. How can you tell how high a measure of wine may get, when nobody can sell it but the squire? It is devilish dear already, on account of the duty."

Bailiff. "So it is. There is always some new plague and difficulty, and that makes every thing dearer."

"Yes, yes, if we will submit to it!" said the men, shouting and roaring, and threatening. Their conversation became, at last, the wild uproar of a set of drunkards, which I can describe no further.

CHAPTER X.—THE BARBER'S DOG DRINKS UP WATER AT AN UNLUCKY MOMENT, AND PLAYS THE BAILIFF A SAD TRICK.

MOST of them were, by this time, pretty well intoxicated, particularly Christian the ballad-singer, who sat next the bailiff; and, in one of his drunken huzzas, knocked over the jug of water.

The bailiff, alarmed, wiped the colored water off the table as quickly as he could, that nobody might detect the cheat. But the barber's dog, under the table, was thirsty, and lapped the water from the ground; and, unluckily, one of the neighbors, who was looking sorrowfully after the good wine under the table, observed that Hector licked it up.

"Wonder and marks, bailiff" said he, "how long have dogs drank wine?"

"You fool, long enough!" answered the bailiff, and made signs to him with his hands and head, and pushed him, with his foot, under the table, to be silent. He kicked the dog, at the same time, to drive him away. But Hector did not understand him, for he belonged to the barber. He barked, snarled, and lapped up the colored water a little further off. The bailiff turned pale at this; for many of the others now began to look under the table, and lay their heads together, and point to the dog. The barber's wife took up the fragments of the broken pitcher, and smelt at them, and perceiving that it was only water, shook her head, and said, aloud, "This is not right."

The men murmured all round; "There's something hidden under this;" and the barber told the bailiff, to his face, "Bailiff, your fine wine is nothing but colored water."

"Is it not, indeed?" exclaimed the men.

"What the devil is the meaning of this, bailiff? Why do you drink water?"

The bailiff, confused, answered, "I am not very well; I am obliged to spare myself."

But the men did not believe the answer; and right and left they murmured more and more; "There is something wrong in this."

And now some began to complain that the wine had got into their heads, which such a small quantity should not have done.

The two wisest amongst them got up, paid the barber, and said, "good-bye, neighbors," and went toward the door.

"So soon, gentlemen! Why do you leave the company so soon?" said the bailiff.

"We have something else to do," answered the men, and went out.

The barber accompanied them out of the room, and said, "I wish the bailiff had gone instead of you. He has had no good intention, either with the wine or the water."

"So we think, or we would have staid," answered the men.

Barber. "And I can not endure this drunken rioting."

Men. There is no reason why thou shouldst; and it may bring thee into difficulties. "If I were in thy place, I would put an end to it," said the elder of the two.

"I dare not do that," replied the barber.

"Things are not as they were, and thou art master in thy own house," said the men.

"I will follow your advice," said the barber, and went back into the room.

"What is the matter with these gentlemen, that they are gone off so suddenly?" said the bailiff.

And the barber answered, "I am of their mind. Such rioting is unseemly, and does not suit my house."

Bailiff. "So, so! and is this your answer?"

Barber. "Yes, indeed, it is, Mr. Bailiff. I like a quiet house."

This dispute did not please the honorable company.

"We will be quieter," said one of them.

"We will behave well," said another.

"Come, come, let us all be friends," said a third.

"Bailiff, another flask!" said Christian.

"Ha, neighbors! I have a room of my own. We will leave the barber in peace," said the bailiff.

"I shall be very glad of it," answered the barber.

"But the parish business is forgotten, and the landlord's rights, neighbors!" said old Abi, who was thirsty yet.

"Follow me, all who are true men," said the bailiff, threateningly,—muttering "donner and wetter," and looking fiercely round the room. He said good-bye to nobody, and clapped the door after him so furiously, that the room shook.

"This is shameful!" said the barber.

"Yes; it is shameful," said many of the men.

"It is not right," said young Meyer. "I, for one, will not enter the bailiff's house."

"Nor I," added Laupi.

"The devil, nor I!" said Reynold. "I remember yesterday morning. I stood next to him and Arner, and saw how it was."

The neighbors looked at each other, to see what they should do; but most of them sat down again, and staid where they were.

Only Abi and Christian, and a couple of blockheads more, took up the bailiff's empty cans, and went after him.

The bailiff was looking out of his window, down the street, which led to the barber's house, and as nobody followed at first, he was vexed at himself.

"What a lame ox I am! It is almost noon, and I have done nothing yet.

The wine is drunk and now they laugh at me. I have blabbed to them like a child, and let myself down, as if I had been one of them. Now, if I had really meant well by these fellows; if I had really desired to serve the parish; or, if I had only kept up the appearance of it a little better, I should have succeeded. Such a parish as this will dance after any cunning piper, who can only persuade them he means well by them. But times have been only too good for me. In the old squire's time, I led the parish about like a he-goat. Ever since I have been bailiff, it has been my pastime and delight to abuse them, tease them, and master them; and even now I mean to do so more than ever. But then, I must and will keep them at a distance. Shaking hands and lowering one's self; asking advice, and acting like everybody's brother-in-law, does not do, where people are so well known. Such a man as I am, must quietly act for himself; only employ such people as he knows, and let the parish alone. A herdsman does not ask advice of his oxen, and yet I have been fool enough to do so to-day."

Now came the men with the empty cans.

"Are you alone? Would not the dogs come with you?"

"No, not a man," answered Abi.

Bailiff. "That is going a good way."

Christian. "I think so too."

Bailiff. "I should like to know what they are talking and consulting together. Christian, go and seek the other cans."

Christian. "There are none left there."

Bailiff. "Blockhead! It's all one for that. If thou findest none, get thyself shaved or bled, and wait to listen to what they say. If thou bringest me any news, I will drink with thee till morning. And thou, Loli, go to the mason's old comrade, Joseph, but take care that no one observes thee, tell him to come to me at noon."

"Give me another glass first, I am thirsty," said Loli, "and then I'll run like a greyhound, and be back again in a twinkling."

"Very well," said the balliff, and gave him one.

These two went off, and the bailiff's wife set some wine before the others.

CHAPTER XI.—WELL-LAID PLOTS OF A ROGUE.

THE bailiff himself went, in some perplexity, into the next room, and considered how he should manage matters when Joseph came.

"He is faithless, that I may depend upon, and cunning as the devil. He has drunk away several crowns of his master's money; but my demand is a great one. He will be afraid, and not trust me. It is almost noon. I will offer him as much as ten crowns. If he will do as I bid him, within three weeks all the plaster will fall off the building. I shall not grudge ten crowns," said the bailiff; and as he was speaking thus to himself, Loli arrived, with Joseph behind him. They did not come together, that they might excite less suspicion.

"Good day, Joseph! I suppose thy master does not know that thou art here."

Joseph answered, "He is still at the hall, but he will come back at noon. If I am at work again by one o'clock, he will never miss me."

"Very well. I have something to say to thee, Joseph. We must be alone," said the bailiff; and, taking him into the inner room, he shut the door and bolted it. There were bacon, vegetables, wine, and bread, upon the table. The bailiff placed two chairs by the table, and said to Joseph, "Thou wilt miss thy dinner; sit down and eat it with me."

"With all my heart," answered Joseph—sat down, and said, "Mr. Bailiff, what is it you want? I am at your service."

The bailiff answered, "To thy good health, Joseph!" drank, and then continued the conversation. "Try these vegetables: they are good. Why dost thou not help thyself? Thou hast hard times enough with thy master."

Joseph. "True; but it will be better when he has work at the hall."

Bailiff. "Thou art a fool, Joseph! Thou mayest easily imagine how long that will last. I wish him joy of it; but he is not the man for such a thing. He has never had the management of any thing of the sort; but he will trust all to thee, Joseph."

Joseph. "May be so."

Bailiff. "I foresaw that, and therefore wished to speak to thee. Thou canst do me a great favor."

Joseph. "I am all attention, Mr. Bailiff. Here's luck to my master," (*drinking.*)

"It shall not be for nothing, mason," said the bailiff, and helped him again to the vegetables. "I should be very glad if the foundation of the church, which is to be of hewn stone, were got from the quarry at Schwendi."

Joseph. "Potz blitz, Mr. Bailiff! It can never be! The stone is bad, and good for nothing, as a foundation—"

Bailiff. "O the stone is not so bad: I have often seen it used. It is good, I say, Joseph; and it would be a great pleasure to me if this quarry were to be opened again."

Joseph. "It can not be done, Mr. Bailiff."

Bailiff. "I will be grateful for the service, Joseph."

Joseph. "The wall will be down in six years if it be built of this stone."

Bailiff. "I can't hear that. That is a foolish story."

Joseph. "By G——, it is true! There are two dung-heaps next the wall, and the stables drain past it. The stone would rot away like a fir plank."

Bailiff. "After all, what is it to thee, whether the wall be good or not, in ten years? Dost thou fear that the squire can not make a new one? Do what I say, and thou mayst expect a good handsome present."

Joseph. "That is all very well. But what if the squire should find out that the stone is not good."

Bailiff. "How should he find it out? There is no fear of that."

Joseph. "He knows more about things than any body would believe. But you know him better than I."

Bailiff. "He will understand nothing about this."

Joseph. "I almost think so myself; for the stone looks very well on the outside, and is very good for some purposes."

Bailiff. "Give me thy hand upon it, that thy master shall use the stone out of this quarry. If thou wilt, thou shalt have five crowns for thyself."

Joseph. "It's a good sum, if I had only hold of it."

Bailiff. "I am in earnest, by G——! I will give thee five crowns, if thou wilt do it!"

Joseph. "Well, there you have my word, Mr. Bailiff; and he stretched out his hand and pledged it him. It shall be done, Mr. Bailiff. Why should I trouble myself about the squire?"

Bailiff. "One word more, Joseph. I have a bag full of stuff, from an apothecary's shop, which a gentleman gave me. They say, that when it is mixed with

the lime, the mortar sticks to a wall like iron. But these gentlemen are such queer folks, that one can not trust them about any thing. I would rather not try it first on a building of my own."

Joseph. "I can manage that for you. I will try it on a corner of a neighbor's house."

Bailiff. "It is of no use to try it in such a small way. Whether it succeeds or fails, one is at no certainty. There is no knowing how it might do on a larger scale. I should like it to be tried on the church, Joseph! can not it be done?"

Joseph. "Is it necessary to put much of it into the lime?"

Bailiff. "I think about two pounds to a barrel."

Joseph. "Then it will be easy enough."

Bailiff. "Wilt thou do it for me?"

Joseph. "Yes, that I will."

Bailiff. "And if it should fail, say nothing about it?"

Joseph. "It can not fail, so as to signify; and, of course, one should say nothing about it!"

Bailiff. "Thou wilt find the stuff at my house, whenever thou art ready for it; and a glass of wine with it."

Joseph. "I will not fail, Mr. Bailiff. But I must go now. It has struck one. Here's my thanks to you," said he, taking up his glass.

Bailiff. "Thou hast nothing to thank me for yet. Keep thy word, and thou shalt have the five crowns."

"I will do my part, Mr. Bailiff," said Joseph, getting up and putting by his chair. "My best thanks to you"—and he drank off his parting glass.

Bailiff. "Well, if thou must go, good-bye, Joseph; and remember our agreement."

Joseph went away, and, as he was going, said to himself, "This is a strange fancy of his about the stone; and still stranger about the stuff in the lime. It's a fine way to try a thing, to begin upon a church. But, at all events, I'll get hold of the money; and I can do as I like afterward."

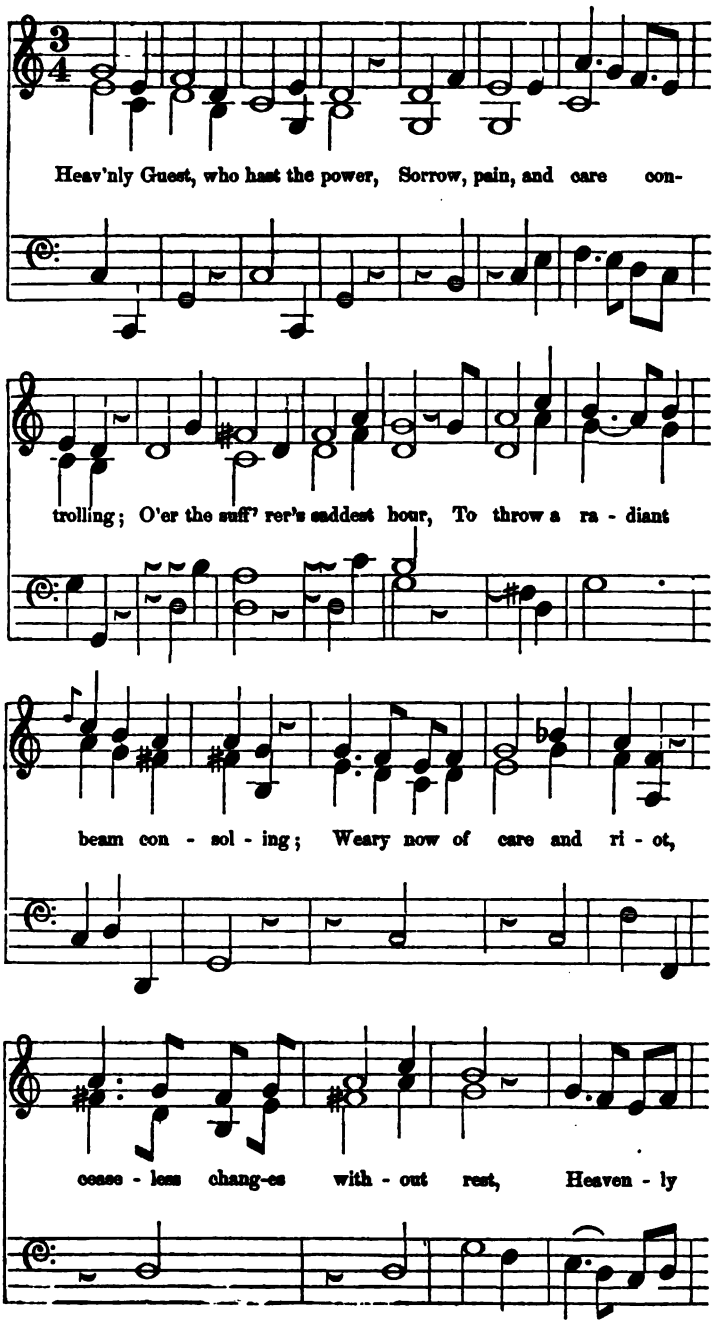
"This has turned out very well," said the bailiff to himself. "Better than I expected, and for half the money. I should have promised him ten crowns, as easily as five, if he had understood how to make his bargain. I am well pleased that the thing is set a going. No, no! one should never despair. O that the wall were but already above the ground! Well, patience! on Monday they will begin to prepare the stone. Poor mason! Thy wife has cooked up a pretty mess for thee."

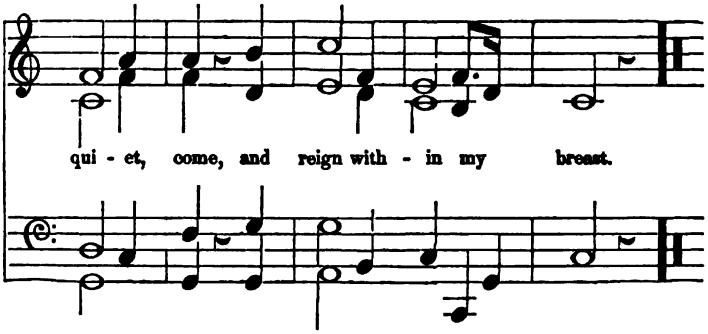
CHAPTER XII.—DOMESTIC HAPPINESS.

THE mason Leonard, who had gone up to the hall early in the morning, was now come back to his wife.

She had been very busy in getting her Saturday's work done, against her husband's return. She had combed the children, made them tidy, mended their clothes, cleaned up the little room, and, whilst she was at work, had taught them a song. "You must sing it for your dear father," said she; and the children gladly learned any thing which would please their father, when he came home. Whilst they were working, and without any trouble or loss of time, without book, they sang it after her till they knew it.

When their father came home, the mother welcomed him; and then she and the children sang:


Heav'nly Guest, who hast the power, Sorrow, pain, and care con-
trolling; O'er the suff' rer's saddest hour, To throw a ra - diant
beam con - sol - ing; Weary now of care and ri - ot,
cease - less chang-es with - out rest, Heaven - ly



Heavenly guest! who hast the pow'r—
Sorrow, pain, and care controlling,
O'er the suff'rer's saddest hour,
To throw a radiant beam consoling:

Weary now of care and riot,
Ceaseless changes, without rest;
Heavenly quiet!
Come and reign within my breast.

The tears came into Leonard's eyes, as the children and their mother sang so happily together, to welcome him. "God bless you, my darlings! God bless thee, my love!" said he to them, with great emotion.

"My dear husband," answered Gertrude, "it is heaven upon earth to seek for peace, do what is right, and wish for little."

Leon. "If I have ever enjoyed an hour of that happiness which peace of mind brings, I owe it to thee. Till my last moment I will thank thee for saving me; and these children will be grateful to thee for it, after thy death. O, my dear children! always do what is right, and follow your mother, and you will prosper."

Ger. "How cheery thou art to-day, Leonard!"

Leon. "I have gone on well with Arner."

Ger. "Ah! God be thanked for it, my dear husband."

Leon. "He is a man who has not his equal. How childish it was in me to be afraid of going to him."

Ger. "And how wise we have been at last, love. But come, tell me how it all was." And as she sat down by him, and took out the stocking she was knitting, he said to her:—

CHAPTER XIII.—A PROOF THAT GERTRUDE WAS DEAR TO HER HUSBAND.

Leonard. "If thou sittest down in such state, as thou dost to thy Bible on a Sunday evening, I must prepare to tell thee a great deal."

Gertrude. "Every thing! thou must tell me every thing, love!"

Leon. "Yes, if thou hadst time for it; but, Gertrude, dear, it is Saturday, when thou art always so busy."

Ger. (*Smiling.*) "Look about thee!"

Leon. "Ah! is every thing done already?"

Lise. "She has been very busy, father; and Enne and I have helped her to clean up. Is not that right?"

"It is, indeed, right," answered the father

"But now begin to tell me," said Gertrude.

Leon. "Arner asked me my father's name, and the street where I lived, and the number of my house."

Ger. "O, thou art not telling it right, Leonard; I know he did not begin so."

Leon. "And why not, darling? What wouldst thou have?"

Ger. "First, thou wouldst make thy bow to him, and he would take notice of thee. How did he do that?"

Leon. "Thou little conjuror; thou art right. I did not begin at the beginning."

Ger. "I told thee so, Leonard."

Leon. "Well, then, as soon as he saw me, he asked whether I was still afraid of him. I made a bow, as well as I could, and said 'Forgive me, gracious sir.' He smiled, and ordered a jug of wine to be set before me."

Ger. "Come now, this is quite a different beginning. Well, wert thou ready enough to drink the wine? no doubt!"

Leon. "No, wife, I was as shamefaced as a young bride, and would not touch it. But he did not let it pass so. 'I know you can tell what good wine is,' said he, 'help yourself.' I poured out a little, drank his health, and tasted it—but he looked at me so steadily, that the glass shook in my hand."

Ger. "What it is to have a tender conscience, Leonard! It had got into thy fingers. But thou wouldst recover thyself, I suppose."

Leon. "Yes, very soon. He was very kind, and said, 'It is very natural that a man who works hard should like a glass of wine. It does him good too. But it is a misfortune when, instead of taking one glass to refresh himself, he lets wine make a fool of him, and thinks no more of his wife and children, nor of his old age. This is a great misfortune, Leonard.'

Wife! I felt it strike through my heart as he said this; but I took courage, and answered, 'That by unlucky circumstances I had got so entangled, that I did not know how in the world to help myself; and that I had not, in all that time, drunk one glass with a merry heart.'"

Ger. "And didst thou really get through all that?"

Leon. "If he had not been so very kind, I could not have managed it."

Ger. "And what did he say next?"

Leon. "'That it was a misfortune that poor folks, when they were in trouble, generally got hold of people they should avoid as the plague.' I could not help sighing; and I think he observed it, for he went on, very kindly: 'If one could only teach good people this, before they learn it by sad experience!—a poor man is half saved, if he can only keep out of the claws of these blood-suckers.' Soon afterward he went on again: 'It goes to my heart, when I think how often the poor will go on suffering the greatest misery, and have not the sense and courage to tell their situation to those who would gladly help them, if they only knew how things were. It is really unpardonable to think how you have let yourself be ensnared, day after day, by the bailiff, and brought your wife and children into such trouble and danger, without once coming to me, to ask for help and counsel. Only consider, mason, what would have been the end of all this, if your wife had had no more sense and courage than you.'"

Ger. "And did he say all this before he asked after the number of thy house?"

Leon. "Thou hearest how it was."

Ger. "Thou didst not mean to tell me all this in a hurry, didst thou?"

Leon. "Why, indeed, I think it would have been more prudent not. Thou wilt grow too proud for me; because thou hast had so much courage."

Ger. "Thinkest thou so, my good master? Yes, indeed, I will plume myself upon this as long as I live; and as long as it does us any good. But what said Arner besides?"

Leon. "He began to examine me about the building. It was well I had not forgotten every thing. I had to reckon it all up by measurement, and set down every item for carrying lime, and sand, and stone."

Ger. "Didst thou make no mistake at all in the reckoning?"

Leon. "No; not this time, love."

Ger. "God be thanked for it."

Leon. "Yes, indeed, God be thanked."

Ger. "Is every thing ready now?"

Leon. "Yes; all will very soon be ready. Guess now much he has given me in hand, said he, (shaking the money in a bag.) It is long since I heard the sound of so much silver." Gertrude sighed.

Leon. "Do not sigh now, my dear wife, we will be prudent and saving; and we shall certainly never come into the same distress again."

Ger. "God in heaven has helped us."

Leon. "Yes; and many more in the village besides us. Only think; Arner has chosen out ten fathers of families, who were poor and in want, as day-laborers at this building; and he gives each of them twenty-five kreutzers a day. Thou shouldst have seen, Gertrude, how carefully he chose them all out."

Ger. "O, tell me how it all was?"

Leon. "Yes; if I could remember I would."

Ger. "Try what thou canst do, Leonard."

Leon. "Well then: he inquired after all the fathers of families who were poor; how many children they had; how old they were; and what property or help they had. Then he asked which were the worst off, and had the most young children; and said to me, twice over, 'If you know of any body else, who is in trouble, as you were, tell me.' I thought of Hubel Rudi, and he has now work for a year certain."

Ger. "Thou didst very right not to let him suffer for having taken thy potatoes."

Leon. "I can never bear malice against any poor man, Gertrude; and they are terribly ill off. I met Rudi, near the potato hole two days ago, and pretended not to see him. It went to my heart, he looked such a picture of want and misery; and, thank God, we have always yet had something to eat."

Ger. "Thou art quite right, my dear husband! but still it can not be a help to any body to steal; and the poor who do so, are only doubly wretched."

Leon. "True; but when people are very hungry, and see food before them, and know how much of it must go to waste in the hole, and that even the cattle have enough to eat;—O Gertrude! it is hard work to let it lie there and not touch it."

Ger. "It is very hard! but the poor man must learn to do it, or he will be wretched indeed."

Leon. "Oh, who could punish him for it? who could ask it of him again?"

Ger. "God!—He who requires this from the poor man, gives him strength to do it, and leads him on, through trouble, and want, and the many sufferings of his situation, to that self-denial which is required from him. Believe me,

Leonard, God helps the poor man in secret, and gives him strength and understanding to bear, and to suffer, and to endure, what appears almost incredible. And, when it is once gone through, with an approving conscience, Leonard, then it brings happiness, indeed; greater than any one can know, who has had no occasion to practice self-denial."

Leon. "I know it, Gertrude. I know it by what thou hast done. I am not blind. I have often seen how, in the greatest need, thou couldst still trust in God and be content. But few are like thee in trouble, and there are many who, like me, are very weak creatures, when want and distress are heavy upon them; and therefore I always think, that more should be done, to provide all the poor with work and food. I think too, that they would then all be better than they now are, in the distraction of their poverty, and of their many troubles."

Ger. "O my love! that is not the state of the case. If nothing were wanting but work and gain, to make the poor happy, they would be easily helped. But it is not so. Both rich and poor must have their hearts well regulated before they can be happy. And more arrive at this end, by means of trouble and care, than through rest and joy. If it were not so, God would willingly let us all have joys in abundance. But since men can only know how to bear prosperity, and rest, and joy, when their hearts have been trained to much self-denial, and are become steadfast, firm, patient, and wise, it is clearly necessary that there should be much sorrow and distress in the world; for without it, few men can bring their hearts into due regulation, and to inward peace; and, if these be wanting, a man may have work or no work, he may have abundance or not, it is all one. The rich old Meyer has all he wants, and spends every day in the tavern: but for all that, he is no happier than a poor man who has nothing, works hard all day, and can only now and then have a glass of wine in a corner." Leonard sighed. Gertrude was silent for a short time. Then she continued: "Hast thou seen whether the men are at work? I should tell thee, that Joseph has again slipped away to the tavern."

Leon. "That looks ill! I am sure the bailiff must have sent for him. He goes on very strangely. Before I came home, I went to them at their work, when he was just come back from the tavern; and what he said made me uneasy. It is not his own thought then."

Ger. "What was it?"

Leon. "He said the stone out of the quarry at Schwendi was excellent for the church wall; and when I told him the great flint stones, which lay near in heaps, were much better, he said, 'I should always be a fool, and not know my own business. The wall would be much better and handsomer of Schwendi stone.' I thought, at the time, he said it with a good intention. But he began so suddenly about the stone, that it seemed very strange; and if he has been with the bailiff,—there is certainly something more in it. The Schwendi stone is soft and sandy, and not fit for such work. If it should be a snare laid for me!"—

Ger. "Joseph is not a man to depend upon, be careful about him."

Leon. "They will not take me in, this time. The squire will have no sandstone in the wall."

Ger. "Why not?"

Leon. "He says that sandstone where there are dung heaps and stable drainage will decay, and be eaten up with saltpetre."

Ger. "Is that true?"

Leon. "Yes. When I was from home once, I worked at a building, where they were obliged to take away a very good foundation of this kind of stone."

Ger. "To think of his understanding it so well!"

Leon. "I was surprised myself; but he understands a great many things. He asked me where the best sand was. I said, near the lower mill. 'That is very far to fetch it, and up the hill too,' answered he: 'We must be careful of men and cattle. Do you not know of any nearer?' I said, there certainly was very good sand in a meadow near the church; but it was private property, and we should have to pay for the hole; and could go no way but through the meadow, where we must make a road. 'There is no harm in that,' said he. 'It is better than fetching sand from the mill.' I must tell thee one thing more: As he was speaking of the sand, a servant came from the squire of Oberhofen, and I thought then, that I ought to say I would not detain him, but come another time. He laughed, and said: 'No, mason, I like to finish what I am about; and when I have done, I see what any body else wants from me. But it is like you, to be taking leave. It is a part of your old ways, which you must give up—to be so ready at every opportunity to leave your business and work.'

"I looked like a fool, wife; and heartily wished I had kept my tongue quiet, and not said a word about coming another time.'"

"It was partly thy own fault, indeed!" said Gertrude; and at that moment somebody called out at the door: "Holla! is nobody at home?"

CHAPTER XIV.—MEAN SELFISHNESS.

THE mason opened the door, and Margaret, the sexton's daughter-in-law, and the bailiff's niece, came into the room. As soon as she had very slightly saluted the mason and his wife, she said to him: "You will not be for mending our old oven, now, I suppose, Leonard!"

Leonard. "Why not, neighbor? Does it want any thing done to it?"

Margaret. "Not just now. I only ask in time, that I may know what to trust to."

Leon. "You are very careful Margaret; but there was no great need to be afraid."

Marg. "Ay! but times change, and people with them."

Leon. "Very true. But one may always find plenty of people to mend an oven."

Marg. "That is some comfort, at all events."

Gertrude, who had been silent all this time, took up the cleaver to cut some hard rye-bread for supper.

"That is but black bread," said Margaret; "but you will soon have better, as your husband is become builder to the squire."

"You talk foolishly, Margaret. I shall be thankful if I have enough of bread like this, all my life;" said Gertrude.

Marg. "But white bread is better; and you will find it so. You will now be a bailiff's wife, and your husband, Mr. Bailiff; but it will be a bad thing for us."

Leon. "What do you mean by your sneers? I like people to speak out; if they have any thing on their minds, and dare say it."

Marg. "Ay, mason! and I dare say it, if it comes to that. My husband is the sexton's son, and since the church was first built, it was never heard of be-

fore, but that his people had the preference, when there was any thing to be done at it!"

Leon. "Well! what more?"

Marg. "Why, now, at this very moment, the bailiff has a list in his house, in which more than a dozen blockheads, out of the village, are marked out to work at the building of the church, and there is not a word said of the sexton's people."

Leon. "But, neighbor! what have I to do with it? Did I write out the list?"

Marg. "No, you did not write it out, but I suppose you dictated it."

Leon. "It would be a fine thing for me, indeed, to dictate his own list to the squire."

Marg. "O! we all know that you go every day to the hall; and you have certainly been there again to-day; and if you had only told him how it was before, things would have gone on in the old way.

Leon. "You are mistaken, Margaret, if you think so. Arner is not the man to let things go on in the old way, if he can mend them by a new one."

Marg. "We see how it is!"

Leon. "And he means to help the poor and needy, by giving them work."

Marg. "Yes! he means to help all the blockheads and beggarly rabble."

Leon. "All poor folks are not rabble, Margaret; and it is not right to talk so. No one knows what may happen to himself before he dies."

Marg. "No; and therefore every body should look after his own bread; and it is no wonder we are troubled to be so forgotton."

Leon. "Ah, Margaret! it is a very different thing. You have good property, and live with your father, who has the best situation in the village; and you have no need to work for your bread like us poor folks."

Marg. "You may say what you will: every one is vexed when he thinks a thing belongs to him, and another dog comes and snatches it out of his mouth."

Leon. "Don't talk of dogs, Margaret, when you are speaking of men, or you may find one that will bite you. But if you think the situation belongs to you, you are young and strong, and a rare talker; you can manage your own affair, and take it to the place where you may be helped to your right."

Marg. "Many thanks, Mr. Mason, for your fine piece of advice."

Leon. "I can give you none better."

Marg. "One may find an opportunity to remember the service. Farewell, Leonard."

Leon. "Farewell, Margaret. It is all I can do for you."

Margaret went away, and Leonard to his men."

CHAPTER XV.—THE WISE GOOSE LAYS AN EGG; OR, A BLUNDER WHICH COSTS A GLASS OF WINE.

LEONARD had no sooner left the hall, than Arner sent the list of day-laborers which he had written out, by Flink, his huntsman, to the bailiff, with orders to give them all notice.

The huntsman brought the list to the bailiff before noon; but formerly, all the writings which came from the hall, were directed "To the honorable and discreet, my trusty and well-beloved Bailiff Hummel in Bonnal," and on this, there was only, "To the Bailiff Hummel in Bonnal."

"What is that damned Spritzer, the secretary, about, that he does not give me my right title?" said the bailiff to Flink, as he took the letter.

But the huntsman answered: "Take care, bailiff, what you say. The squire directed the letter himself."

Bailiff. "That's not true. I know the writing of that powdered beggar the secretary!"

Flink shook his head, and said: "You are a bold man. I saw the squire write it, with my own eyes, and I stood by him in the room whilst he did it."

Bailiff. "Then I have made a damned blunder, Flink! The words escaped me. Forget them, and come into the house, and drink a glass of wine with me."

"Take care the next time, bailiff! I don't like to make mischief, and will pass it over for once," said Flink, going with the bailiff into the house. He set his short gun in a corner, drank one glass, and then went away.

The bailiff opened the paper, read it, and said: "These are all mere blockheads and beggars, from first to last. Donner! what a business this is! Not one of my own people, except Michael. I am not even to recommend a day-laborer to him! And here I am to give them all notice to-day. It will be hard work for me—but I will do it. It is not evening all day long. Truly, I will tell them of it, and advise them all to go on Monday to the hall, to return thanks to the squire. He does not know one of these fellows. It must be the mason who has recommended them to him. When they arrive at the hall, on Monday, all in tatters, some without shoes, others without hats, and stand before the squire, I shall wonder if he does not say something I can turn to use." Thus he laid his plans, dressed himself, and took up the list to see how they lay near each other, that he might not go roundabout.

Hubel Rudi was not the next to him; but ever since he had gained the meadow from his father by a lawsuit, he kept, as much as he could, away from his house, on account of certain uneasy thoughts which occurred to him, when he saw these poor people. "I will go first to these folks," said he, and went up to their window.

Chapter XVI.—The Death-Bed.

Hubel Rudi was sitting with his four children. It was only three months since his wife's death, and now his mother lay dying upon a bed of straw, and said to Rudi: "I wish thou wouldst collect some leaves this afternoon, to put into my coverlid; I am very cold."

Rudi. "Oh, mother! as soon as ever the fire in the oven is put out, I will go."

Mother. "Hast thou any wood left, Rudi? I think not, for thou canst not leave me and the children, to go into the forest—alas, Rudi, I am a burthen to thee!"

Rudi. "My dear mother, do not say that thou art a burthen to me! Oh, if I could only give thee what thou hast need of! Thou art hungry and thirsty, and makest no complaint. It goes to my heart, mother!"

Mother. "Do not make thyself unhappy, Rudi. Thanks be to God, my pain is not severe—he will soon relieve it, and my blessing will repay thee what thou hast done for me."

Rudi. "O mother, my poverty was never such a trouble to me as now, when I can give thee nothing, and do nothing for thee. Alas! thou suffercst from sickness and misery, and sharest my wants."

Mother. "When we draw near our end, we want little on earth, and what we do want, our heavenly Father supplies. I thank him, Rudi; for he strengthens me in my approaching hour."

Rudi. (Weeping.) "Dost thou think then, mother, that thou wilt not recover?"

Mother. "Never, Rudi! it is most certain."

Rudi. "Gracious heaven!"

Mother. "Take comfort, Rudi! I go into a better life."

Rudi. (Sobbing.) Alas, alas!"

Mother. "Do not grieve, Rudi! Thou hast been the joy of my youth, and the comfort of my old age. And now I thank God that thy hand will soon close my eyes! Then shall I go to God, and I will pray for thee, and all will be well with thee for ever. Think of me, Rudi. All the sufferings and all the troubles of this life, if they are well borne, end in good, All I have undergone comforts me, and is as great a blessing to me, as any of the pleasures and joys of life. I thank God for the gladsome days of my childhood; but when the fruit of life ripens for harvest, and when the tree drops its leaves before its winter sleep,—then are the sorrows of life hallowed, and its joys but as a dream. Think of me, Rudi!—all thy sufferings will end in good."

Rudi. "Oh, mother! dear mother!"

Mother. "Yet, one thing more, Rudi."

Rudi. "What, mother?"

Mother. "Ever since yesterday it has lain like a stone on my heart. I must tell thee of it, Rudi."

Rudi. "What is it, dear mother?"

Mother. "Yesterday I saw our little Rudeli creep behind my bed, and eat roasted potatoes out of his bag. He gave some to his sisters, and they also ate these potatoes, which must have been stolen. Rudi, they could not be ours!—or the boy would have thrown them upon the table, and called his sisters loudly; and he would have brought me some of them, as he had done a thousand times before. Oh, how it used to gladden my heart, when he flew towards me with something in his hand, and said, so fondly to me: "Eat, eat, grandmother?" Rudi, if this darling child should become a thief! O, this thought has been a sad weight upon me since yesterday. Where is he? bring him to me—I will speak to him."

Rudi ran quickly, sought the boy and brought him to his mother's bed-side.

The mother, with great difficulty, raised herself up, for the last time, turned toward the boy, took both his hands in hers, and bent forward her weak, dying head.

The little fellow wept aloud. "Grandmother! what is it you wish? you are not dying yet! O, do not die yet, grandmother."

She answered in broken words: "Yes, Rudeli, I must certainly die very soon."

"O my God! do not die, grandmother," said the boy.

The sick woman lost her breath, and was obliged to lie down again.

The boy and his father burst into tears—but she soon recovered herself, and said:

"I am better again, now that I lie down."

And Rudeli said: "And you will not then die now, grandmother?"

Mother. "Say not so, my darling! I die willingly; and shall then go to a kind father! If thou couldst know, Rudeli, how happy I am, that I shall soon go to Him, thou wouldst not be so sorrowful."

Rudeli. "I will die with you, grandmother, if you must die!"

Mother. "No, Rudeli, thou must not die with me. If it be the will of God, thou must live a long time yet, and grow up to be a good man; and when thy father is old and weak, thou must be his help and comfort. Tell me, Rudeli, wilt thou follow after him, and be a good man, and do what is right? Promise me thou wilt, my love!"

Rudeli. "Yes, grandmother, I will do what is right, and follow after him."

Mother. "Rudeli, our Father in heaven, to whom I am going, sees and hears all that we do, and what we promise. Tell me, Rudeli, dost thou know this, and dost thou believe it?"

Rudeli. "Yes, grandmother! I know it, and I believe it."

Mother. "But why didst thou then eat stolen potatoes, yesterday, behind my bed?"

Rudeli. "Forgive me this once, grandmother; I will never do so again. Forgive me! I will certainly never do so again, grandmother."

Mother. "Didst thou steal them?"

Rudeli. (Sobbing.) "Yes, grandmother, I did!"

Mother. "From whom didst thou steal them?"

Rudeli. "From the ma—ma—son."

Mother. "Thou must go to him Rudeli, and beg him to forgive thee."

Rudeli. "O, grandmother, for God's sake! I dare not."

Mother. "Thou must Rudeli! that thou mayst not do so another time. Thou must go, without another word! and for heaven's sake, my dear child, if thou art ever so hungry, never take any thing again. God will not forsake any of us. He provides for all. O, Rudeli, if thou art ever so hungry, if thou hast no food, and knowest of none, yet trust in God, and do not steal any more."

Rudeli. "Grandmother, I will never steal again. If I am hungry, I will never steal again."

Mother. "Then may the God, in whom I trust, bless thee, and keep thee, my darling!" She pressed him to her heart, wept, and said: "Thou must now go to the mason, and beg his pardon; and, Rudi, do thou also go with him, and tell the mason, that I too beg his pardon; and that I am very sorry I can not give him back the potatoes. Tell him I will pray for the blessing of God upon what he has left, I am so grieved! They have so much need of all they have—and if his wife did not work so hard, day and night, they could not possibly maintain their own large family. Rudi, thou wilt willingly work a couple of days for him, to make it up."

Rudi. "I will, indeed, dear mother, with all my heart."

As he spoke, the bailiff tapped at the window."

CHAPTER XVII.—THE SICK WOMAN'S BEHAVIOR.

AND the sick woman knew him by his cough, and said: "O Rudi! here is the bailiff!—I am afraid the bread and butter thou art preparing for me are not paid for."

Rudi. "For heaven's sake, do not distress thyself, mother. It is of no consequence. I will work for him; and, at harvest time, reap for him, as much as he likes."

"Alas! he will not wait," said the mother; and Rudi went out of the room to the bailiff.

The sick woman sighed to herself, and said: "Since this affair of ours, God forgive him, the poor blinded creature, I never see him without a pang. And to

think that, at my last hour, he must come and talk under my window. It is the will of God that I should forgive him, entirely and immediately, and overcome my last resentment, and pray for his soul—and I will do so."

"O God, thou hast overruled the whole affair. Forgive him, Father in heaven, forgive him." She heard the bailiff talking loudly, and started. "Alas! he is angry! O my poor Rudi! it is owing to me that thou art in his power!" Again she heard his voice, and fainted away.

Rudeli sprang out of the room to his father, and called him: "Father, come, come! I think my grandmother is dead."

And Rudi exclaimed: "Gracious heaven! Bailiff, I must go into the room."

"Much need of that," said the bailiff. "It will be a great loss, truly, if the old witch should be gone at last."

Rudi heard not what he said, but rushed into the room.

The sick woman soon recovered herself, and as she opened her eyes, she said: "Is he angry, Rudi? I am sure he will not wait."

Rudi. "No, indeed, mother! It is some very good news. But art thou quite recovered?"

"Yes!" said the mother, and looked at him very earnestly and mournfully,—"What good news can this man bring? what dost thou say? Dost thou wish to comfort me, and to suffer alone? He has threatened thee."

Rudi. "I do assure thee it is not so, mother. He has told me that I am to be a day-laborer, at the building of the church, and the squire pays every man twenty-five kreutzers a day, wages."

Mother. "Lord God! Can this be true?"

Rudi. "Yes, mother, it is indeed! And there is work for more than a whole year."

Mother. "Now I shall die more easy, Rudi. Great God, thou art merciful! O, be so to the end! And, Rudi, be thou sure, that the greater our want, the nearer is his help."

She was silent for a while, and then said again, "I believe it is all over with me! my breath grows shorter every moment—we must part, Rudi—I will take leave of thee."

Rudi trembled, shuddered, took off his cap, and knelt down by his mother's bed, folded his hands, raised his eyes to heaven, and tears and sobs choked his speech.

Then said his mother: "Take courage, Rudi! I trust in an eternal life, where we shall meet again. Death is a moment which passes away—I do not fear it—I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

Rudi had now recovered himself, and said: "Give me thy blessing, mother! If it be the will of God, may I soon follow thee to eternal life."

Then said his mother: "Hear me, heavenly Father, and grant thy blessing upon my child! Upon this, the only child whom thou hast given me, and who is so dear to me! Rudi, may my God and Saviour be with thee, and as he showed mercy unto Isaac and Jacob, for their father Abraham's sake, so may he show mercy unto thee, abundantly, for the sake of my blessing; that thy heart may rejoice and be glad, and praise his name."

"Hear me now, Rudi! and do as I say. Teach thy children regularity and

industry, that they may never come to want, nor grow disorderly and idle Teach them to hope and trust in Almighty God, and to be kind to each other in joy and in sorrow. So will it be well with them, even in poverty.

"Forgive the bailiff; and, when I am dead and buried, go to him, and tell him that I die in charity with him, and if God hears my prayer, he will yet do well and come to the knowledge of himself, before he must depart hence."

After a pause, the mother said again: "Rudi, give me my two bibles, my prayer-books, and a paper, which is lying under my handkerchief, in a little box."

And Rudi rose from his knees and brought them all to his mother.

Then she said: "Now bring all the children to me." He brought them from the table, where they were sitting weeping, and they all knelt down by her bedside.

Then she said to them: "Weep not so, my children! your heavenly Father will support and bless you—you are very dear to me, and I grieve to leave you so poor, and without a mother. But hope in God, and trust in him, whatever may befall you; so will you always find in him, more than a father's help, or a mother's kindness. Remember me, my darlings! I have nothing to leave you, but I have loved you tenderly, and I know that you love me also. My bibles and my prayer-books are almost all I have left, but do not think them trifles, my children!—They have comforted and cheered me, a thousand times, in my troubles. Let the word of God be also your comfort and your joy; and love one another; and help and advise one another, as long as you live; and be honest, true, kind, and obliging, to all men—so will you pass well through life.

"And thou, Rudi, keep the great bible for Betheli, and the smaller one for Rudeli; and the two prayer-books for the little ones, for a remembrance of me.

"I have nothing for thee, Rudi! but thou needest no remembrance of me—thou wilt not forget me."

Then she called Rudeli again to her: "Give me thy hand, my dear child! Be sure thou never stealest again."

"No indeed, grandmother, believe me! I will never take any thing from any body again," said Rudeli, with burning tears.

"And I do believe thee, and will pray to God for thee," said the mother. "See, my love, I give thy father a paper which the pastor, with whom I lived servant, gave me. When thou art older read it, and think of me, and be good and true."

It was a certificate from the late pastor of Eichstatten, that Catharine, the sick woman, had served him ten years, and helped him, indeed, to bring up his children, after the death of his wife; that all had been intrusted to Catharine; and that she had looked after every thing most carefully. The pastor thanked her in it, and said that she had been as a mother to his children, and he should never forget the assistance she had been to him in his difficulties. She had also earned a considerable sum of money in his service, which she gave to her deceased husband to buy the meadow, which the bailiff had afterward taken from him by a law suit.

After she had given Rudi this paper, she said: "There are two good shifts there. Do not put either of them on me when I am buried—the one I have on, is good enough. And when I am dead, let my gown and my two aprons be cut up for the children."

Soon afterward, she added: "Look carefully after Betheli, Rudi! She is such

a delicate child; and always let the children be kept clean, and well washed and combed; and every year let them have spring herbs to sweeten their blood; they do them so much good. And if thou canst manage it, keep a goat for them, during the summer—Betheli can take care of it now. It grieves me to think that thou wilt be so solitary, but keep up thy courage, and do what thou canst. This work at the church will be a great help to thee—I thank God for it."

The mother was now silent, and the children and their father remained for a time upon their knees, praying. Then they stood up, and Rudi said to his mother: "Mother, I will now go and get the leaves for thy coverlid."

She answered: "There is no hurry for that, Rudi! The room is warmer now, thank God! and thou must go to the mason's with the child."

And Rudi beckoned Betheli out of the room, and said: "Watch thy grandmother carefully, and if any thing happens to her, send Anneli after me. I shall be at the mason's."

CHAPTER XVIII.—A POOR BOY ASKS PARDON FOR HAVING STOLEN POTATOES, AND THE SICK WOMAN DIES.

AND he took the little one by the hand, and went with him.

Gertrude was alone in the house when they arrived, and soon saw that both the boy and his father had tears in their eyes. "What dost thou want, neighbor Rudi? Why art thou weeping? Why is the little fellow weeping?" said she, kindly taking his hand.

"Alas, Gertrude? I am in trouble," answered Rudi. "I am come to thee, because Rudeli has taken potatoes out of your heap. Yesterday his grandmother found it out, and he has confessed it—forgive us, Gertrude.

"His grandmother is on her death-bed—she has just taken leave of us. And I am so wretched, I scarcely know what I am saying—Gertrude! she begs thy forgiveness too—I am sorry I can not pay thee back now; but I will willingly work a couple of days for thee, to make it up. Forgive us!—The boy did it from hunger."

Gertrude. "Say not another word about it, Rudi: and thou, dear little fellow! come and promise me never to take any thing from any body again." She kissed him, and said: "Thou hast an excellent grandmother! only grow up as pious and as good as she is."

Rudeli. "Forgive me, Gertrude! I will never steal again."

Ger. "No, my child, never do so again. Thou dost not yet know how miserable and unhappy all thieves become. Do so no more: and if thou art hungry, come to me instead, and tell me. If I can, I will give thee something to eat."

Rudi. "I thank God, I have now got work at the building of the church, and I hope hunger will never lead him to do any thing of the kind again."

Ger. "My husband and I were very glad to hear that the squire had fixed upon thee as one."

Rudi. "And I am so glad that my mother has lived to have this comfort! Tell thy husband, I will work under him honestly and truly, and be there early and late; and I shall be very glad to allow any wages, to pay for the potatoes."

Ger. "Say nothing of that, Rudi. I am sure my husband will never take it. God be praised, we are now much better off, on account of this building. Rudi, I will go with thee to thy mother, as she is so very ill."

She filled Rudeli's pocket with apples, and said to him once more: "Remember, my dear child, never to take any thing from any body again;" and she then went with Rudi to his mother.

And as he was collecting some leaves under a nut-tree, to fill his mother's coverlid, Gertrude helped him—and then went with him to her.

Gertrude spoke kindly to the sick woman, took her hand, and wept.

"Dost thou weep, Gertrude?" said the grandmother. "It is we who should weep. Hast thou forgiven us?"

Ger. "O, do not talk of forgiveness, Catharine! Your distress goes to my heart, and still more thy goodness and carefulness. Thy carefulness and honesty will certainly bring down the blessing of God upon thy children, Catharine."

Catharine. "Hast thou forgiven us, Gertrude?"

Ger. "Say no more about that, Catharine. I only wish I could do any thing to give thee ease, in thy sickness."

Cath. "Thou art very good, Gertrude, and I thank thee; but God will soon help me. Rudeli, hast thou asked her pardon? Has she forgiven thee?"

Rudeli. "Yes, grandmother: see how good she is." He showed her his pocket full of apples.

"How very sleepy I am," said the grandmother. "Hast thou asked her forgiveness properly?"

Rud. "Yes, grandmother, with my whole heart."

Cath. "A slumber creeps over me, and my eyes grow dim. I am going, Gertrude!" said she softly, and in broken words. "There is one thing more, I wish to ask thee; but I don't know whether I dare. This unfortunate child has stolen from thee—may I ask thee, Gertrude, when—I am dead—these poor—desolate children—they—are so desolate"—she stretched out her hand—(her eyes were already closed,) "may I—hope—follow her—Rud"—she expired, unable to finish.

Rudi thought she had only dropped asleep, and said to the children: "Do not speak a word, she is asleep. O, if she should yet recover!"

But Gertrude thought it was death, and told Rudi so.

How he and all the little ones wrung their hands in anguish, I can not describe. Reader! let me be silent and weep—for it goes to my heart to think how man, in the dust of earth, ripens to immortality; and how, in the pomp and vanity of the world, he decays without coming to maturity. Weigh then, O man, weigh the value of life, on the bed of death; and thou who despisest the poor, pitiest and dost not know him—tell me whether he can have lived unhappy, who can thus die!—But I refrain. I wish not to teach you, O men! I only wish you to open your eyes, and see for yourselves, what really is happiness or misery, a blessing or a curse in this world.

Gertrude comforted poor Rudi, and told him the last wish of his excellent mother, which, in his trouble, he had not heard.

Rudi took her by the hand, confidingly—"What a sad affliction it is to lose my dear mother! How good she was! I am sure, Gertrude, thou will remember her wish."

Ger. "I must have a heart of stone if I could forget it. I will do what I can for thy children."

Rudi. "God will repay thee what thou dost for us."

Gertrude turned toward the window, wiped the tears from her face, raised her eyes to heaven, and sighed deeply. Then she took up Rudeli and his sis-

ters, one after the other, kissed them with warm tears, prepared the corpse for the grave, and did not go home till she had done every thing which was necessary.

CHAPTER XIX.—GOOD SPIRITS COMFORT, CHEER, AND SUPPORT A MAN, BUT ANXIETY IS A CONTINUAL TORMENT.

THE bailiff, after he had been to Rudi, proceeded to the other day-laborers. And first he went to Jogli Bar. He found him splitting wood, and singing and whistling over his chopping-log; but when he saw the bailiff, he looked up in astonishment: "If you are come for money, bailiff, I have none."

Bailiff. "Thou art singing and whistling like a bird in a granary. How canst thou be without money?"

Bar. "If crying would bring bread, I should not be whistling. But, in good earnest, what do you want!"

Bailiff. "Nothing; but to tell thee, that thou art to be a helper at the building of the church, and to have twenty-five kreutzers a day."

Bar. "Can that be true?"

Bailiff. "It is, indeed. Thou must go up to the hall on Monday."

Bar. "If it is really true, I am very thankful for it, Mr. Bailiff. You see now that I might well be singing and whistling to-day."

The bailiff went away, laughing; and said to himself: "I never know what it is to be as merry as this beggar."

Bar went into the house, to his wife. "Keep up a good heart, wife. I am to be day-laborer at the building of the church!"

Wife. "It will be long enough before thou hast such a piece of luck. Thou hast always a bag full of hope, but not of bread."

Bar. "There shall be no want of bread, when once I get my daily wages."

Wife. "But there may be want of wages."

Bar. "No, child, no! Arner pays his laborers well. No fear of that."

Wife. "Art thou joking, or can it be true about the building?"

Bar. "The bailiff has just been here to tell me to go on Monday to the hall, with the other laborers who are to work at the church; so it can not well miss."

Wife. "Heaven be praised, if it prove so: if I may hope to have one comfortable hour!"

Bar. "Thou shalt have many a one. I am as light-hearted as a child about it. Thou wilt no longer scold me, when I come home laughing and merry. I will bring thee every kreutzer, as fast as I get it. I should have no pleasure in life, if I did not hope that the time would yet come, when thou shouldst think, with joy, that thou hast a good husband. If thy little property was soon lost in my hands, forgive me. God willing, I will yet make it up to thee."

Wife. "I am glad to see thee merry; but I am always afraid it is from thoughtlessness."

Bar. "What have I neglected? or what have I done that was wrong?"

Wife. "Nay, I do not accuse thee of that; but thou art never troubled when we have no bread."

Bar. "Would my being troubled bring us bread?"

Wife. "Do what I will, I can not help it:—it always makes me low."

Bar. "Take courage, and cheer up, wife. It makes things easier."

Wife. "Thou hast never a coat to go up to the hall in on Monday."

Bar. "Oh, then I will go in half of one. Thou always findest something to fret about," said he; and went off to his log, and split wood until dark.

From him, the bailiff went to Laupi, who was not at home; so he left the message with Hugli, his neighbor, and went on to Hans Leemann.

Chapter XX.—Foolish Gossiping Leads to Idleness.

He was standing at his door, staring around him, saw the bailiff at a distance, and said to himself: "Now we shall have some news." "What brings you this way, Mr. Bailiff?"

Bailiff. "I am in search of thee, Leemann."

Leemann. "It is doing me a great honor, Mr. Bailiff—but tell me, how is the mason's wife going on? Is she as pert as she was yesterday in the church-yard? What a witch she was, bailiff!"

Bailiff. "Thou must not say so now. Thou art to be helper to her husband."

Leemann. "Is there no other news, that you come to me with such a tale?"

Bailiff. "Nay, it is true enough, and I am come, by the squire's orders, to tell thee of it."

Leemann. "How did I come to this honor, Mr. Bailiff?"

Bailiff. "I think it must have been in thy sleep."

Leemann. "I will awake, however, if this be true. What time must one go to the work?"

Bailiff. "I suppose in a morning."

Leemann. "And in an afternoon too, I fancy. How many of us are there, Mr. Bailiff?"

Bailiff. "Ten."

Leemann. "I wonder who they are! Tell me."

The bailiff told him all the names in order. Between every one Leemann guessed twenty others—not such a one? nor such a one?—"I am losing time," said the bailiff at last, and went on.

Chapter XXI.—Ingratitude and Envy.

From him, the bailiff went to Jogli Lenk. He was lying on the stove-bench, smoking his pipe. His wife was spinning, and five half naked children were sprawling around.

The bailiff told his message in few words.

Lenk took the pipe out of his mouth, and answered: "It's a wonder that any good thing comes to me! I have always been far enough out of the way of such luck, till now."

Bailiff. "And many others with thee, Lenk."

Lenk. "Is my brother amongst the day-laborers?"

Bailiff. "No."

Lenk. "Who are the others?"

The bailiff told him their names.

Lenk. "But my brother is a far better workman than Rudi, or Bar, or Marx. I say nothing of Kriecher. On my life, there is not another amongst the ten, except myself, who is half so good a workman. Bailiff, can not you manage to get him in?"

"I don't know" said the bailiff; and cutting short the discourse, he went away.

Lenk's wife, who was at her wheel, said nothing till the bailiff was out of hearing; but the conversation troubled her; and as soon as the bailiff was gone she said to her husband: "Thou art thankless both to God and man. When

God sends thee help in thy great distress, thou dost nothing but abuse thy neighbors, whom he has also helped."

Lenk. "I shall have to work for the money, and not get it for nothing."

Wife. "Till now, thou hadst no work to get any by."

Lenk. "But then I had no labor."

Wife. "And thy children no bread."

"What had I more than you?" said the lazy lubber. His wife was silent, and wept bitter tears.

CHAPTER XXII.—REMORSE FOR PERJURY CAN NOT BE ALLAYED BY CRAFTY ARTS.

FROM Lenk the bailiff went to Kriecher, and as he was going, came unexpectedly upon Hans Wust.

If he had seen him in time, he would have slipped out of the way; for, since Rudi's affair, the bailiff and Wust never met without feelings of self-reproach; but the bailiff met him unawares, at the corner of the side street, near the lower well.

"Art thou there, Wust?" said the bailiff.

"Yes, bailiff," answered Wust.

Bailiff. "Why dost thou never come near me? Hast thou forgotten the money I lent thee?"

Wust. "I have no money at present, and when I look back, I am afraid I have paid too dearly for your money already."

Bailiff. "Thou didst not talk in this way, Wust, when I gave it thee. It is serving a man ungraciously."

Wust. "Serving a man is one thing—but, serving a man so that one can never have another comfortable hour on God's earth, is another."

Bailiff. "Talk not so, Wust! Thou didst not swear any thing but what was true."

Wust. "So you always say. But I can not but feel in my heart that I swore falsely."

Bailiff. "That is not true, Wust! On my soul, it is not true. Thou didst but swear to what was read to thee, and it was very carefully worded. I read it to thee more than a hundred times, and it appeared to thee in the same light as it did to me, and thou saidst always 'Yes; I can swear to that!' Was it not so, Wust? And why art thou now fretting about it? But it is only on account of thy debt. Thou wouldst have me wait longer."

Wust. "No, bailiff; you are mistaken. If I had the money, I would pay it down this moment, that I might never see your face again; for my heart smites me whenever I look at you."

"Thou art a fool!" said the bailiff; but his own heart smote him also.

Wust. "I saw it as you do, for a long time; for it did not come to me at first, that the squire spoke as if he saw it in quite a different light."

Bailiff. "Thou hast nothing to do with what the squire said about it. Thou didst but swear to the paper that was read to thee."

Wust. "Yes; but he passed judgment according to what he had understood from it."

Bailiff. "If the squire was a fool, let him look after it. What is that to thee? He had the paper in his hand; and if it did not seem clear to him, he should have had it written differently."

Wust. "I know you can always out-talk me; but that does not comfort my

conscience. And at church, on a sacrament day, I am in such a horrible state, that I could sink into the earth! O bailiff, would that I had never owed you any thing! Would that I had never known you, or that I had died the day before I was forsworn!"

Bailiff. "For God's sake, Wust, do not fret in this way. It is folly. Think of all the circumstances. We went about it very carefully. In thy presence I asked the pastor's assistant, point-blank: Will Wust have sworn to any thing but what is in the paper, supposing he does not understand it right? Dost thou not remember his answer?"

Wust. "Yes; but still———"

Bailiff. "Nay, he said these very words;—Wust will not have sworn to a hair more than is in the paper. Were not these his words?"

Wust. "Yes; but then is it so, because he said it?"

Bailiff. "Is it so? What, art thou not satisfied?"

Wust. "No, bailiff? I will speak out for once. The late pastor's assistant owed you money, as well as myself; and you know what a fellow he was, and how disorderly. It is little comfort to me what such a reckless creature said."

Bailiff. "His way of life was nothing to thee. He understood the right doctrine, and that thou knowest."

Wust. "Nay, I know it not. But I know he was good for nothing."

Bailiff. "But what did that signify to thee?"

Wust. "Why, for my part, if I know a man has been very wicked and bad in one point, I dare not trust to his goodness in any other. Therefore I am afraid that this worthless man deceived me, and then what is to become of me?"

Bailiff. "Let these thoughts go, Wust! Thou hast sworn to nothing but what was true."

Wust. "I did so, for a long time; but it's over now. I can not cheat myself any longer. Poor Rudi! Wherever I go or stand, I see him before me. Poor Rudi! how his misery, and hunger, and want, must rise up to God against me! O, and his children, they are such sickly, starved, ricketty things; and as yellow as gipsies. They were fine, stout, healthy children; and my oath took the meadow from them,"

Bailiff. "I had a right to it. It was as I told thee. And now, Rudi has work at the building of the church, and may come round again."

Wust. "What good can that do me? If I had not sworn, it would be all the same to me, whether Rudi were rich or a beggar."

Bailiff. "Do not let it disturb thee so! I had a right to it."

Wust. "Not disturb me? If I had broken into his house and stolen all his goods, it would trouble me less. O bailiff, bailiff! that I should have acted thus! It is now near Easter again. I wish I were buried a thousand feet deep in the earth!"

Bailiff. "For heaven's sake, Wust, do not go on in this way in the open street, before all the people. If any body should hear thee! It is thine own stupidity that plagues thee. All that thou hast sworn to was true."

Wust. "Stupidity here, stupidity there! If I had not sworn, Rudi would still have had his meadow."

Bailiff. "But thou didst not say it was not his, or that it was mine. What in the devil's name is it to thee who has the meadow?"

Wust. "It is nothing to me who has the meadow, but it is that I have sworn falsely."

Bailiff. "I tell thee it is not true that thou hast sworn falsely. That which thou didst swear to, was true."

Wust. "But it was a deceit! I did not tell the squire how I understood the writing; and he understood it differently. Say what you will, I know, I feel it in myself, that I was a Judas, and a betrayer; and that my oath was a false one, words or no words."

Bailiff. "I am sorry for thee, Wust, that thou art so stupid; but thou art ill; thou lookest like one risen from the grave; and when a man is not well he sees things so differently. Compose thyself, Wust. Come home with me, and let us drink a glass of wine together."

Wust. "I can not, bailiff. Nothing upon earth can cheer me now."

Bailiff. "Comfort thyself, Wust. Drive it out of thy head, and forget it till thou art well again. Thou wilt then perceive that I was in the right, and I will tear thy note in pieces. Perhaps it will be a relief to thee."

Wust. "No bailiff! keep the note. If I must eat my own flesh for hunger, I will pay you that debt. I will not have the price of blood upon my soul. If you have betrayed me, if the pastor's assistant has deceived me, perhaps God will forgive me. I did not mean it to turn out so."

Bailiff. "Here is thy note, Wust. See, I destroy it before thy eyes; and I take it on my own responsibility that I was in the right; and now be comforted."

Wust. "Take what you will upon yourself, bailiff, I will pay you my debt. The day after to-morrow I will sell my Sunday coat, and pay you."

Bailiff. "Think better of it. Thou deceivest thyself, upon my life. But I must go away now."

Wust. "It is a mercy that you are going. If you were to stay much longer, I should go mad before your eyes."

Bailiff. "Quiet thyself, for heaven's sake, Wust." They then separated.

But the bailiff, when he was alone, could not help saying to himself, with a sigh: "I am sorry he met me just now. I have had enough before to-day, without this." He soon, however, hardened himself again, and said: "I am sorry for the poor wretch; he is so troubled! but he is in the wrong. It is nothing to him how the judge understood it. The devil might take the oaths, if the exact meaning of them were to be looked after so sharply. I know that other people, and those who should understand the thing best, take oaths after their own way of interpreting them, and are undisturbed, where a poor wretch, who thinks like Wust, would say he saw as clear as day that it was a deceit. But I wish these thoughts were out of my head, they make me uncomfortable! I will go back and drink a glass of wine." He did so, and then went to Felix Kriecher.

CHAPTER XXIII.—A HYPOCRITE, AND A SUFFERING WOMAN.

FELIX KRIECHER was a man who always had the air of enduring the greatest afflictions with the patience of a martyr. To the barber, the bailiff, and every stranger, he bowed as low as to the pastor; and he went to all the weekly prayers at church, and to all the Sunday evening singing. Sometimes he got, by this means, a glass of wine; and occasionally, when he was very late, and managed well, had an invitation to supper. He took great pains to be in favor with all the pietists of the village, but could not quite succeed; for he was very careful not to offend the other party on their account, and this does not suit fanatics. They will not let their disciples be well with both sides; and thus, notwithstanding his appearance of humility, and all the hypocritical arts he practiced

and even his spiritual pride, which generally suits fanatics, he was not admitted into their set.

With all these exterior and acknowledged qualities, he had some others; and though these were only for secret use in his domestic life, I must now speak of them.

To his wife and children he was a devil. In the most extreme poverty he still insisted upon having something dainty to eat; and if he did not get it, all went wrong—the children were not properly combed and washed; and if he could find nothing else to blame, and one of his little children of four years old stared at him, he would beat it, to teach it proper respect to him.

"Thou art a fool!" said his wife to him one day when this had occurred. But, though she was quite right, and had told him nothing but the simple truth, he kicked her for it; and as she was running away from him, she fell by the door, and made two deep wounds in her head. This frightened the man; for he thought, wisely enough, that a broken head might tell tales.

And as all hypocrites, when they are alarmed, crouch, and fawn, and humble themselves, so did Kriecher to his wife. He coaxed her; and begged and entreated, for God's sake, not that she would forgive him, but that she would promise to tell nobody of it. She did so, and patiently endured the pain of a very bad wound, and told the barber and the other neighbors that she had fallen; but many of them did not believe her. Poor woman! she might have known beforehand that no hypocrite was ever grateful, or kept his word, and should not have trusted him. But what do I say? Alas! she knew all this; but she thought of her children, and knew that God only could change his heart, and that it was of no use to be talking about it. She is an excellent woman, and it is grievous to think how unhappy he makes her, and what she suffers daily by his means. She was silent, but prayed to God; and thanked him for the afflictions with which he tried her.

O eternity!—when thou revealest the ways of God, and the blessedness of those to whom he teaches steadfastness, courage, and patience, by suffering, want, and sorrow—O eternity! how wilt thou exalt those tried ones who have been so lowly here.

Kriecher had forgotten the wounds, almost before they were healed, and went on as usual. He tormented and harassed his wife, without cause or excuse, every day, and embittered her life. A quarter of an hour before the bailiff came, the cat had overturned the lamp, and wasted a drop or two of oil. "Thou stupid creature, thou shouldst have taken better care," said he to his wife, with his accustomed fury; "thou mayst now sit in the dark, and light the fire with cow-dung, thou horned beast!" His wife said not a word, but the tears streamed down her cheeks, and the children cried in the corners with their mother.

At this moment the bailiff knocked. "Hush! for heaven's sake, be quiet! What is to be done? The bailiff is at the door," said Kriecher, and, hastily wiping off the children's tears with his handkerchief, he threatened to cut them in pieces, if he heard another whimper; then opened the door to the bailiff, bowed, and said: "What are your commands, Mr. Bailiff?" The bailiff told him his errrand, briefly.

But Kriecher, who was listening at the door, and heard no more crying, answered: "Come into the room, Mr. Bailiff, and I will tell my dear wife what a piece of good fortune has befallen us." The bailiff went into the room, and

Kriecher said to his wife: "The bailiff has just brought me the good news that I am to be one of the day-laborers at the building of the church; and a great favor it is, for which I can not be sufficiently thankful."

The wife answered, "Thank God!" and a sigh escaped from her.

Bailiff. "Is something the matter with thy wife?"

"She is not very well to-day, Mr. Bailiff," said Kriecher, throwing an angry, threatening look toward his wife.

Bailiff. "I must be going on. I wish her better."

Wife. "Good-bye, Mr. Bailiff."

Kriecher. "May I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to be so good as to thank the squire, in my name, for this favor."

Bailiff. "Thou canst thank him thyself."

Kriech. "You are right, Mr. Bailiff. It was a great liberty in me to ask you to do it. I will go to-morrow to the hall. It is my duty to do so."

Bailiff. "All the others are going on Monday morning, and I think thou hadst better go with them."

Kriech. "Of course, yes, certainly, Mr. Bailiff. I did not know they were going."

Bailiff. "Good-bye, Kriecher."

Kriech. "I am greatly indebted to you, Mr. Bailiff.

Bailiff. "Thou hast nothing to thank me for." And he went away, saying to himself, "I am much mistaken, if this fellow is not one of the devil's own. Perhaps he is the kind of man to suit me with the mason—but who dare trust a hypocrite? I would rather have Shaben Michel. He is a downright rogue."

CHAPTER XXIV.—AN HONEST, JOYFUL, THANKFUL HEART.

FROM Kriecher the bailiff went to young Abi, who jumped for joy when he heard the good news; and sprang up like a young heifer when it is turned out in spring. "I will go and tell my wife, that she may rejoice with me. No! I will wait till to-morrow. To-morrow it will be eight years since we were married. It was St. Joseph's day. I remember it, as if it were yesterday. We have had many a hard hour since; but many a happy one, too. God be thanked for all. To-morrow, as soon as she wakes, I will tell her. I wish the time were come! I can see just how she will laugh and cry over it; and how she will press her children and me to her heart for joy. O that to-morrow were come! I will kill the cock, and boil it in the broth, without her knowing any thing about it. She would enjoy it then, though she would be sorry to have it killed. No, no! it will be no sin to kill it for such a joyful occasion. I will venture it. I will stay at home all day and make merry with her and the children. No, I will go with her to church and to the sacrament. We will rejoice and be glad; and thank God for all his goodness."

Thus did young Abi talk to himself, in the joy of his heart, at the good news the bailiff had brought him. He could scarcely, in his eagerness, wait till the morrow came, when he did as he had said he would.

CHAPTER XXV.—HOW ROGUES TALK TO EACH OTHER.

FROM Abi the bailiff went to Shaben Michel, who saw him at a distance, beckoned him into a corner, behind the house, and said: "What the deuce art thou about now?"

Bailiff. "A merry-making."

Michel. "Truly, thou art a likely fellow to be sent out to invite guests to weddings, dances, and merry-makings."

Bailiff. "Well, it is nothing dismal, at all events."

Mich. "What then!"

Bailiff. "Thou art got into new company."

Mich. "Who are they, and what is it for?"

Bailiff. "Hubel Rudi, Jenk, Leemann, Kriecher, and Marx Reuti."

Mich. "Nonsense! What have I to do with these fellows?"

Bailiff. "To build up and adorn the house of the Lord in Bonnal, and the walls round about it."

Mich. "In sober earnest?"

Bailiff. "Yes, by G——!"

Mich. "But who has chosen out the blind and lame for this work?"

Bailiff. "The well and nobly born, my wise and potent master, the squire!"

Mich. "Is he mad?"

Bailiff. "How should I know?"

Mich. "This looks like it."

Bailiff. "Perhaps it would not be the worst thing that could happen. Light wood is easily turned. But I must away. Come to me to-night, I want to speak to thee."

Mich. "I will not fail. Who art thou for next?"

Bailiff. "Marx Reuti."

Mich. "He is a proper fellow for work! a man must be out of his mind to choose him. I do n't believe he takes a mattock or spade into his hand the year through; and he is half lame on one side."

Bailiff. "What does that signify? Only do thou come to me to-night."

The bailiff then went on to Marx Reuti.

CHAPTER XXVI.—PRIDE, IN POVERTY AND DISTRESS, LEADS TO THE MOST UNNATURAL AND HORRIBLE DEEDS.

THIS man had formerly been well off, and carried on business for himself; but he was now without occupation, and lived almost entirely upon the charity of the pastor and some of his relations, who were able to help him.

In all his distress, he always kept up his pride, and concealed, as much as he could, the want and hunger of his family, except from those who gave him assistance.

When he saw the bailiff, he started—I can not say he turned pale, for he was always as white as a ghost. He took up the rags which lay about, and thrust them under the coverlid of the bed, and ordered the half-naked children to hide themselves directly in the next room. "Lord Jesus!" said the children, "it snows and rains in. Only listen what a storm it is! There is no window in the room."

"Get along, you godless brats! how you distract me. Do you think there is no need for you to learn to mortify the flesh?"

"We can not bear it, father!" said the children.

"He will not stay long, you heretics!" said the father; and pushing them in, he fastened the door, and then invited the bailiff into the house.

When he had delivered his message, Marx thanked him, and said: "Am I to be an overlooker over these men?"

"What art thou thinking of, Marx?" answered the bailiff. "No! thou art to be a day-laborer with the rest."

Marx. "So, Mr. Bailiff!"

Bailiff. "It is at thy own choice, if thou dost not like the work."

Marx. "In truth, I am not accustomed to any thing of the kind; but, if the squire and the pastor wish it, I can not decline, and will undertake it."

Bailiff. "It will rejoice them greatly; and I think the squire will almost send me again to thank thee."

Marx. "Nay, I don't mean exactly that; but, in a common way, I can not serve every body as a day-laborer.

Bailiff. "Then thou hast enough to eat, I suppose."

Marx. "Thank God! I have as yet."

Bailiff. "But I know well enough where thy children are."

Marx. "They are dining with my wife's sister."

Bailiff. "I thought I heard children crying in the next room."

Marx. "There is not one of them in the house."

The bailiff heard the cry again, opened the door, without ceremony, saw the almost naked children shivering and sobbing with the wind, rain, and snow, which came in through the window, so that they could hardly speak, and said; "Is this the place where thy children dine, Marx? Thou art a hound, and a hypocrite, and thy damned pride often makes thee act in this way."

Marx. "For heaven's sake, do not tell any body; do not betray me, Bailiff! I should be the most miserable man in the world if it were known."

Bailiff. "Art thou out of thy senses? Even now thou dost not tell them to come out of such a dog-kennel. Dost thou not see that they are yellow and blue with cold? I would not use my poodle in such a way."

Marx. "Come out, then, children—but, bailiff, for mercy's sake, tell nobody."

Bailiff. "And all this time, forsooth, thou playest the saint before the pastor."

Marx. "I beseech you tell nobody."

Bailiff. "Thou art worse than a brute. Thou a saint! Thou art an infidel. Dost thou hear? thou art an infidel, for no true man would act in such a way. And why must thou go and tell tales to the priest about the battle which took place last week. It must have been thou who told him; for at twelve o'clock, when it happened, thou wert going home, past my house, from one of thy holy banquets."

Marx. "No, on my life! Do not believe it. I assure you it was not so."

Bailiff. "Darest thou say so?"

Marx. "God knows it was not so, bailiff! May I never stir from this spot if it was!"

Bailiff. "Marx! darest thou maintain what thou sayest before me to the pastor's face? I know more about it than thou thinkest."

Marx stammered: "I know—I could—I did not begin"—

"Such a brute, and such a liar as thou art, I never saw in my life! We understand each other now," said the bailiff; and he went that moment to the pastor's cook, who laughed till she was half dead at the pious Israelite, Marx Reuti, and faithfully promised to bring it to the pastor's ears.

And the bailiff rejoiced in his heart that, probably, the pastor would give the wicked heretic his weekly bread no longer; but he was mistaken, for the pastor had, before this, given him the bread, not on account of his virtues, but of his hunger.

CHAPTER XXVII.—ACTIVITY AND INDUSTRY, WITHOUT A KIND AND GRATEFUL HEART.

FROM Marx the bailiff went to the last of the number. This was Kienast, a sickly man. He was not yet fifty years old, but poverty and anxiety had worn him out, and this day, in particular, he was in terrible distress.

His eldest daughter had, the day before, hired herself out to service in the town, and had showed her father the earnest-money that morning, which made the poor man very uneasy.

His wife was with child, and near her time; and Susan was the only one of the children who could be any help to them, and now she was to go to service in a fortnight.

The father begged her, with tears in his eyes, to return the money, and stay with him, till after her mother's confinement.

"I will not," answered the daughter. "Where shall I find another service, if I give up this?"

Father. "After thy mother is brought to bed, I will go myself into the town, and help thee to find another. Only stay till then."

Daughter. "It will be half a year before I can hire myself again; and the service I have got is a good one. Who knows how you will help me? and, in short, I will not wait for another attempt."

Father. "But thou knowest, Susan, that I have done all I could for thee. Think of thy childhood, and do not leave me in my necessity."

Daughter. "Do you wish then, father, to stand in the way of my happiness?"

Father. "Alas! it is not for thy happiness, that thou shouldst leave thy poor parents in such circumstances. Do not go, Susan, I beg of thee. My wife has a very handsome apron, it is the last she has left, and she values it very much; it was a keepsake; but she shall give it thee, after her confinement, if thou wilt only stay."

Daughter. "I will not stay, either for your gifts or your good words. I can earn such as that, and better. It is time for me to be doing something for myself. If I were to stay ten years with you, I should not get a bed and a chest."

Father. "Thou wilt not get these in one half-year. After this once, I will not seek to detain thee. Stay only these few weeks."

"No, I will not, father!" answered the daughter; and she turned away, and ran into a neighbor's house.

The father stood there, bent down by anxiety and care, and said to himself: "What shall I do in this misfortune? How shall I deliver such a Job's message to my poor wife? I have been very much to blame for not doing my duty better by this child. I always passed over every thing, because she worked so well. My wife said to me a hundred times: 'She is so pert and rude to her parents; and if she has to teach her sisters, or do any thing for them, she does it so hastily and saucily, and so entirely without kindness and affection, that they can none of them ever learn any thing from her!' But she works so well, we must excuse something, and perhaps it is the fault of the others, was always my answer; and now I have my reward. I should have remembered that if the heart be hard, whatever other good qualities any one may have, they are all in vain. One can not depend upon them. I wish my wife did but know."

As the man was speaking thus to himself, the bailiff came close up, without his being aware.

"What darest thou not tell thy wife?" said he.

Kienast looked up, saw the bailiff, and said: "Is that you, bailiff? What dare I not tell my wife? Susan has hired herself out to service in the town, and we have such need of her at home! But I had almost forgotten to ask what you wanted with me."

Bailiff. "If this be the case with Susan, perhaps my news will be a comfort to thee."

Kienast. "That would, be help indeed."

Bailiff. "Thou art to have work at the building of the church, and twenty-five kreutzers a day, wages."

Kienast. "Lord God in heaven! May I hope for such a help as this?"

Bailiff. "Yes, Kienast. It is, indeed, as I tell thee."

Kienast. "Then God be praised for it." He turned faint, and his limbs shook. "I must sit down. This joy, in my troubles, has overcome me."

He sat down on a log of wood, and leaned against the wall of the house, to keep himself from falling.

The bailiff said: "Thou canst bear but little!"

And Kienast answered: "I have not broken my fast to-day."

"And so late!" said the bailiff; and he went on his way.

The poor wife, from the house, had seen the bailiff join her husband, and groaned aloud.

"This is some fresh misfortune! My husband has been like one beside himself all day, and knows not what he is doing; and just now I saw Susan, in the next house, lift up her hands in a passion; and here is the bailiff—what can have happened? There is not a more unfortunate woman under the sun! So near forty, and a child every year, and care and want and pain all the time!" Thus did the poor woman grieve in the house.

The husband, in the mean time, had recovered himself, and came to her with such a cheerful, happy face as she had not seen for many a month.

"Thou lookest merry! Dost thou think to keep it from me that the bailiff has been here?" said the woman.

And he answered. "He is come, as it were, from heaven to comfort us."

"Is it possible?" said the woman.

Kienast. "Sit down, wife! I must tell thee the good news." Then he told her what Susan had done, and what trouble he had been in; and how, now, he was helped out of all his distress.

Then he ate the food, which in his trouble he had left standing there at noon; and he and his wife shed tears of thankfulness to God, who had thus helped them in their distress. And they let Susan go, that very day, into service, as she wished.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—A SATURDAY EVENING IN THE HOUSE OF A BAILIFF, WHO IS A LANDLORD.

Now came the bailiff home from his journey, tired and thirsty. It was late; for Kienast lived up the hill, two or three miles from the village.

In the mean time he had had it given out, by his friends, that he was not at all alarmed by what had happened yesterday; and had not been so merry and jovial as he was to-day, for a year.

This made some take courage, toward evening, to creep quietly to the tavern.

When it began to be dark, still more came; and at night, by seven o'clock, the tables were almost as full as usual.

Thus it happens, when a fowler, in autumn, shoots a bird in a cherry-tree, all the others, which were pecking at the cherries, fly fearfully and hastily away from the tree, chirping the note of alarm. But, after a while, one, a solitary one at first, perches upon the tree—and, if it no longer sees the fowler, it whistles, not the sound of danger, but the bold, loud note of joy at finding food. At the call of the daring adventurer, the others flock timidly back again, and all feed upon the cherries, as if the fowler had never fired.

So it was here; and thus was the room once more filled with neighbors, who yesterday, and even this morning, would not have ventured to come.

In all mischievous, and even wicked deeds, people are always merry and bold, when they are in a crowd, and when those who give the tone to it are daring and impudent; and, as such leaders are not wanting in taverns, it can not be denied that such places tempt the common people to all wickedness, and are much more likely to lead them on to rash and thoughtless deeds, than poor simple schools are to bring them up to a quiet and domestic life.

The neighbors in the tavern were now the bailiff's friends again; for they sat over his ale. One began to say, that the bailiff was a manly fellow, and that, by G——, nobody had ever yet mastered him. Another, that Arner was a child, and the bailiff had managed his grandfather. Another, that it was not right; and, by heaven, he could not answer it to his conscience, thus to cheat the parish of the landlord's right, which had belonged to it ever since the days of Noah and Abraham. Another swore, that he had not got possession, by thunder! and that there should be a struggle for it yet, in spite of all the devils, and a parish meeting held to-morrow.

Then again, one said, there is no need of that, for the bailiff had always overcome all his enemies; and would not turn over a new leaf, either with his honor the squire, or with the beggarly mason.

Thus did the men go on, talking and drinking.

The bailiff's wife laughed to herself, set one pitcher after another upon the table, and marked all carefully down with chalk upon a board in the next room.

Now came the bailiff home; and he rejoiced in his heart to find the tables surrounded by the old set.

"This is hearty in you, my good fellows, not to forsake me," said he to them.

"We are not tired of thee yet," answered the countrymen; and drank his health, with loud shouts and huzzas.

"There is a great noise, neighbors! We must keep out of trouble; and this is Saturday night," said the bailiff. "Put the shutters to, wife; and put out the lights toward the street. We had better go into the back room. Is it warm, wife?"

Wife. "Yes, I made a fire there on purpose."

Bailiff. "Very well; carry all off the table into the back room."

His wife and the neighbors carried the glasses, pitchers, bread, cheese, knives, plates, cards, and dice, into the back room; from which, if they had been murdering one another, nothing could have been heard in the street.

"There now, we are safe from rogues and eavesdroppers, and from the holy servants of the black man.* But I am as thirsty as a hound: give me some wine."

* Certain church officers, who reported disturbances to the pastor, disrespectfully called "the black man" by the godless bailiff.

His wife brought some.

And Christian said: "Is that of the kind the barber's dog laps up?"

Bailiff. "Yes, indeed, I'm likely to be such a fool again!"

Chris. "But what devil's scheme had you in your head?"

Bailiff. "By G—, none! It was mere folly. I had eaten nothing, and did not like to drink."

Chris. "Whistle that to a dog; perhaps it may believe you: not I."

Bailiff. "Why not?"

Chris. "Why not? Because the wine we were drinking smelt of sulphur like the plague."

Bailiff. "Who says so?"

Chris. "I, Mr. Urias! I said nothing of it at the time; but when I carried home the empty jug, it reeked in my nose so that it almost knocked me down. All things considered, you have certainly had some scheme in your head to-day."

Bailiff. "I know no more than the child in the cradle what wine my wife sent. Thou art a fool with thy fancies."

Chris. "Ay, but you know, well enough, what a fine sermon you made on the rights of the land. I suppose you said all that with as little meaning as a man has when he takes a pinch of snuff."

Bailiff. "Hold thy foolish tongue, Christian. The best thing I could do, would be to have thee well beaten for upsetting my jug. But I must know now how they went on at the barber's after I left them."

Chris. "And your promise, bailiff."

Bailiff. "What promise?"

Chris. "That I should have wine till morning for nothing, if I got to know it."

Bailiff. "But if thou knowest nothing, wouldst thou still be drinking?"

Chris. "If I know nothing! Send for the wine, and you shall hear."

The bailiff had it brought, sat down by him; then Christian told him all he knew, and more besides. Sometimes he contradicted himself so barefacedly, that the bailiff perceived it, and called out: "You dog, do 'nt lie so that a man can take hold of it with his hands!"

"No, by G——," answered Christian, "as true as I am a sinner, every hair and point of it is true."

"Come, come," said the bailiff, who by this time had had enough, "Shaben Michel is here, and I must speak to him;" and he then went to the other table where Michel was sitting, slapped him on the shoulder, and said:

CHAPTER XXIX.—CONTINUATION OF THE CONVERSATION OF ROGUES WITH EACH OTHER.

"ART thou also amongst the sinners? I thought, since thou wert called to the church building, thou hadst become a saint; like our butcher, because he once had to ring a week for the sexton."

Michel. "No, bailiff! My calls are not so sudden; but, when I once begin, I will go through with it."

Bailiff. "I should like to be thy father confessor, Michel."

Mich. "Nay, I can not consent to that."

Bailiff. "Why not?"

Mich. "Because thou wouldst double my score with thy holy chalk."

Bailiff. "Would not that suit thee?"

Mich. "No, bailiff! I must have a father confessor who will forgive and look over sins, and not one who will chalk them down against me!"

Bailiff. "Well, I can forgive and overlook sins, as well as another."

Mich. "What! sins in thy books?"

Bailiff. "Truly, I am often obliged to do so; and it is better people should think I do it willingly."

Mich. "Is that possible, Mr. Bailiff?"

"We shall see," said the bailiff, making a sign to him.

They went together to the little table, near the fire.

And the bailiff said: "It is well thou art come; and lucky for thee."

Mich. "I have great need of luck."

Bailiff. "So I suppose; but if thou art willing, thou canst not fail to make money by this new place."

Mich. "And how must I manage it?"

Bailiff. "Thou must get into favor with the mason, and seem very hungry and poor."

Mich. "I can do that without lying."

Bailiff. "Thou must also often give thy supper to thy children, that people may think thy heart is as soft as melted butter; and thy children must run after thee bare-footed and bare-legged."

Mich. "There is no difficulty in that either."

Bailiff. "And when thou art the favorite of all the ten, then comes the true work."

Mich. "What is that to be?"

Bailiff. "To do all that thou canst to make quarrels and misunderstandings about the building; to throw things into confusion, and to make mischief between the laborers and their masters and the squire."

Mich. "There will be more difficulty in that part of the business."

Bailiff. "But it is a part by which thou mayst get money."

Mich. "Ay, if it were not for the hope of that, a cunning man might give such a direction, but only a fool would follow it."

Bailiff. "It is a matter of course, that thou wilt get money by it."

Mich. "Two crowns in hand, Mr. Bailiff. I must have so much paid down, or I will have nothing to do with it."

Bailiff. "Thou art more unconscionable every day, Michel. I show thee how thou mayst get wages for nothing, and thou wouldst have me also pay thee for taking my good advice."

Mich. "What is all that to the purpose? Thou wilt have me play the rogue in thy service, and so I will, and be true and hearty in it; but payment in hand, that is two crowns, and not a kreutzer less, I must have, or thou mayst do it thyself."

Bailiff. "Thou dog! thou knowest well enough how to get thy own way. There are thy two crowns for thee."

Mich. "Now it is all right, master! thou hast nothing to do but to give thy orders."

Bailiff. "I think thou mayst easily by night break down some of the scaffolding, and knock out a couple of the windows; and of course thou wilt make away with ropes and tools, and such light things as are lying around."

Mich. "Naturally."

Bailiff. "And it would be no very difficult affair to carry some of the timber over the hill to the river, and send it back again toward Holland."

Mich. "No, no! I can manage that. I will hang a great white shirt upon a pole, in the middle of the churchyard, that if the watchman, or any of the old women in the neighborhood hear a noise, they may fancy it is a ghost, and keep away from me."

Bailiff. "Thou art a rascally heretic. What a scheme!"

Mich. "I will do so, however; it may serve to keep me from the pillory."

Bailiff. "Well, but there is another thing. If thou canst find any drawings, or calculations, or plans of the squire's, lying about, thou must quietly put them out of the way, where nobody would think of looking for them, and at night mend thy fire with them."

Mich. "Very well, Mr. Bailiff."

Bailiff. "And thou must contrive so as to make thy honorable comrades inclined to be merry, and work idly, and particularly when the squire or any body from the hall comes down, and then thou canst wink, as much as to say: You see how it is."

Mich. "Well, I will do what I can. I see plainly enough what thou art after."

Bailiff. "But, of all things, the most important is, that thou and I should be enemies."

Mich. "Very true."

Bailiff. "We will begin directly. There may be tell-tales here, who will talk of how we held counsel secretly together."

Mich. "Thou art right."

Bailiff. "Drink another glass or two, and I will pretend as if I would reckon with thee, and thou wouldst not agree. I will make a noise about it, thou must abuse me, and we will thrust thee out of the house."

Mich. "Well thought of." He drank what was in the pitcher, and then said to the bailiff, "Come, begin."

The bailiff muttered something about reckoning, and then said aloud: "I never received the florin."

Mich. "Recollect yourself, bailiff!"

Bailiff. "By heaven, I know nothing of it! Wife! didst thou receive a florin last week from Michel?"

Wife. "Heaven bless us! not a kreutzer."

Bailiff. "It is very strange. Give me the book!" She brought it, and the bailiff read: "Here it is—Monday—nothing from thee. Tuesday—nothing. Wednesday—Didst thou say it was on Wednesday?"

Mich. "Yes!"

Bailiff. "Here is Wednesday—look! there is nothing from thee—and on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday—not a syllable of the florin."

Mich. "The devil! I tell you I paid it."

Bailiff. "Softly, softly, good neighbor—I write down every thing."

Mich. "What the deuce is your writing to me, bailiff? I paid the florin."

Bailiff. "It is not true, Michel."

Mich. "Here's a rogue, to say I have not paid him!"

Bailiff. "What dost thou say, thou unhanged rascal?"

Some of the countrymen got up:—"He has given the bailiff the lie, we heard him."

Mich. "No, I did not. But I paid the florin."

Men. "What dost thou say, thou knave, that thou didst not give him the lie? We all heard it."

Bailiff. "Turn the dog out of the room."

Michel took up a knife, and called out: "Let any one who touches me look to it."

Bailiff. "Take the knife away from him."

They took the knife from him, turned him out of the room, and sat down again.

Bailiff. "It's well he is gone. He was only a spy of the mason's."

Countrymen. "By G——, so he was. We are well rid of him."

CHAPTER XXX.—CONTINUATION OF THE CONVERSATION OF ROGUES WITH EACH OTHER, IN A DIFFERENT STYLE.

BRING us some more wine. Bailiff! we will drink on the strength of the harvest, and let you have one sheaf out of every ten for a measure of wine.

Bailiff. "You will not pay me soon, then."

Countrymen. "No; but you will have heavier weight for that."

The bailiff sat down with them, and drank to their hearts' content, on the strength of the future tithe.

Now their mouths were opened, and there arose from all the tables a wild uproar of oaths and curses, of dissolute, idle talk, of abuse and insolence. They told stories of licentiousness and theft, of blows and insults, of debts they had cunningly escaped paying, of lawsuits they had won by clever tricks, of wickedness and riots, which for the most part were false; but, alas! too much was true. How they had stolen from the old squire's woods, and fields, and tithes—and how their wives whined over their children—how one took up a prayer-book, and another hid the jug of wine in the chaff and straw. Also of their boys and girls,—how one helped his father to cheat his mother, and another took part with the mother against the father—and how they had all done as much or more when they were lads. Then they got to talking about old Uli, who had been caught in such fool's talk, and cruelly brought to the gallows; but how he had prayed at last and made a holy end of it. And how, when he had confessed, (though, as every body knew, but half,) still the hard-hearted pastor had not saved his life.

They were in the midst of this history of the pastor's cruelty, when the bailiff's wife beckoned him to come out. "Wait till we have finished the story of the hanged man," was his answer.

But she whispered in his ear: "Joseph is come."

He replied: "Hide him somewhere, and I will come soon."

Joseph had crept into the kitchen; but there were so many people in the house, that the bailiff's wife was afraid of his being seen. She put out the light, and said to him: "Joseph! take off thy shoes, and come after me into the lower room. My husband will be with thee directly."

Joseph took his shoes in his hand, and followed her on tip-toe into the lower room.

He had not waited long, before the bailiff came to him, and said: "What dost thou want so late, Joseph?"

Joseph. "Not much! I only want to tell you I have ordered all about the stone."

Bailiff. "I am glad of it, Joseph."

Joseph. "The master was talking to-day of the wall, and said that the flint stone, hard by, was very good—but I told him he was a fool, and did not know his own business; and that the wall would look much handsomer, and more polished, of Schwendi stone. He answered not a word; and I went on to say that, if he did not use Schwendi stone, it would be a loss to him."

Bailiff. "Did he resolve upon it?"

Joseph. "Yes, he did, immediately. We are to begin with it on Monday."

Bailiff. "The day-laborers are all going to the hall on Monday."

Joseph. "They will be back by noon, and busy with the stuff in the lime. It is as good as mixed."

Bailiff. "That is all right and well; if it were only begun—thy money is ready for thee, Joseph."

Joseph. "I am in great want of it just now, bailiff."

Bailiff. "Come on Monday, when you have begun with the quarry. It is put aside for thee."

Joseph. "Do you suppose I shall not keep my word?"

Bailiff. "Nay, I can trust thee, Joseph."

Joseph. "Then give me three crowns of it, now. I should like to get my new boots, at the shoemaker's, for to-morrow; it is my birth-day, and I dare not ask the master for any money."

Bailiff. "I can not well give it thee now; come on Monday evening."

Joseph. "I see how you trust me. It's one thing to promise, and another to perform. I thought I could depend upon the money, bailiff."

Bailiff. "On my soul thou shalt have it."

Joseph. "Ay, I see how it is."

Bailiff. "It will be time enough, on Monday."

Joseph. "Bailiff! you show me, plainly enough, that you do not trust me: and I will make bold to tell you, that I fear, if the quarry is once opened, you will not keep your word with me."

Bailiff. "This is too bad, Joseph! I shall most certainly keep my word with thee."

Joseph. "I do not believe it. If you will not give it me now; it is all over."

Bailiff. "Canst thou not manage with two crowns?"

Joseph. "No! I must have three; but then you may depend upon having every thing done."

Bailiff. "Well, I will give thee them: but thou must keep thy word."

Joseph. "If I do not, I give you leave to call me the greatest rogue and thief upon the earth."

The bailiff now called his wife and said: "Give Joseph three crowns."

His wife took him aside and said: "Do not let him have them."

Bailiff. "Do as I bid thee, without a word."

Wife. "Be not so foolish! Thou art in liquor and wilt repent to-morrow."

Bailiff. "Answer me not a word. Three crowns this moment! Dost thou hear what I say?"

His wife sighed, reached the money, and threw it to the bailiff. He gave it to Joseph, and said: "Thou wilt not, surely, deceive me."

"Heaven forbid! what dost thou take me for, bailiff?" answered Joseph. And he went away, counted over his three crowns, and said to himself: "Now I have my reward in my own hands, and it is safer there than in the bailiff's

chest. He is an old rogue, and I will not be his fool. The master may now take flint or blue stone for me."

The bailiff's wife cried for vexation, over the kitchen fire, and did not go again into the room, till past midnight.

The bailiff too, as soon as Joseph was gone, had a foreboding that he had overreached himself, but he soon forgot it again, amongst his companions. The riot of the drinkers lasted till after midnight.

At last the bailiff's wife came out of the kitchen, into the room, and said: "It is time to break up now; it is past midnight, and Easter Sunday."

"Easter Sunday!" said the fellows, stretched themselves, yawned, and got up, one after the other.

They tottered and stumbled along, catching hold of the tables and walls, and went with difficulty home again.

"Go, one at once, and make no noise," said the wife, "or the pastor and his people will get hold of you, and make you pay the fine."

"Nay, we had better keep our money for drinking," answered the men. And the wife added: "If you see the watchman, tell him there is a glass of wine and a piece of bread for him here."

They had scarcely got out of the house when the watchman appeared before the alehouse windows, and called out:

"All good people hear my warning,
'Tis one o'clock, and a cloudy morning."

The bailiff's wife understood his call, and brought him the wine, and bade him not to tell the pastor how late they had been up.

And now she helped her sleepy, drunken husband off with his shoes and stockings.

And she grumbled about Joseph's crowns, and her husband's foolishness. But he slept and snored, and took notice of nothing. And at last they both fell asleep, on the holy evening before Easter.

And now, thank God, I have no more to relate about them, for some time.

I return to Leonard and Gertrude.

What a world is this! A garden lies near a dog-kennel, and in the same field an offensive dunghill and sweet nourishing grass. Yes, it is indeed a wonderful world! The beautiful pasture itself, without the manure which we throw upon it, could not produce such delicious herbage.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE EVENING BEFORE A SABBATH IN THE HOUSE OF A GOOD MOTHER.

GERTRUDE was now alone with her children. The events of the week and the approach of the Sabbath filled her heart.

Thoughtfully and silently she prepared the supper, and took out of the chest her husband's, her children's, and her own Sunday clothes, that nothing might distract her attention in the morning. And when she had arranged every thing, she sat down at the table with her children.

It was her custom every Saturday, when the time for evening prayer came, to impress upon their hearts the recollection of their various failings, and of all the events of the week which might be of consequence to them.

And this day she was particularly alive to the goodness of God toward them throughout the week, and wished to fix it as deeply as possible upon their young hearts, that they might never forget it.

The children sat around her, folded their little hands for prayer, and their mother thus addressed them:—

"I have something very good to tell you, my children! Your dear father has got some very good work this week, by which he will be able to earn much more than usual; and we may venture to hope that we shall in future have our daily bread with less care and anxiety.

"Thank your heavenly father, my children, for his mercy to us, and do not forget the former times, when I had to be sparing of every mouthful of bread. It was often a great trouble to me, not to be able to give you enough, but God Almighty knew that he would help us in his own good time, and that it was better for you, my darlings, to be brought up in poverty, in patience, and in the habit of overcoming your desires, than in abundance. It is very difficult for people, who have all they wish for, not to become thoughtless and forgetful of God, and unmindful of what is for their real good. Remember then, my children, as long as you live, the want and care you have undergone; and when you are yourselves better off, think of those who suffer as you have suffered. Never forget what it is to feel hunger and want, that you may be tender-hearted to the poor, and willingly give them all you have to spare. Do you think you shall be willing to give it to them, my children?" "O yes, mother, that we shall!" said all the children.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE HAPPINESS OF THE HOUR OF PRAYER.

Mother. "Nicholas, who dost thou think suffers most from hunger?"

Nicholas. "Rudeli, mother! you were at his father's yesterday. He must be almost dying of hunger, for he eats grass off the ground."

Mother. "Shouldst thou like sometimes to give him thy afternoon's bread?"

Nich. "O yes, mother! may I give it him to-morrow?"

Mother. "Yes, thou mayst."

Nich. "I am glad of it."

Mother. "And thou, Lise! to whom wilt thou sometimes give thy piece?"

Lise. "I can not tell, just now, whom I shall like best to give it to."

Mother. "Dost thou not recollect any poor child who is very hungry?"

Lise. "O yes, mother."

Mother. "Then why canst thou not tell to whom thou wilt give it? thou art always so overwise, Lise."

Lise. "I know now, mother."

Mother. "Who is it?"

Lise. "Marx Reuti's daughter, Betheli. I saw her picking up rotten potatoes, from the bailiff's dunghill, to-day."

Nich. "Yes, mother, and I saw her too; and felt in all my pockets, but I had not a mouthful of bread left. If I had only kept it a quarter of an hour longer!"

The mother then asked the other children the same questions, and they were all glad in their hearts to think that they should give their bread to the poor children to-morrow.

The mother let them enjoy this pleasure a while longer. Then she said to them: "That is enough, children! think how good the squire has been to make you each a present."

"O yes, our pretty money! Will you show it us, now, mother?"

"By and by, after prayer," said the mother; and the children jumped about for joy."

CHAPTER XXXIII.—THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE HOUR OF PRAYER.

"YOU are noisy, my children," said the mother. "When any thing good happens to you, think of God, who gives us all things. If you do so, you will never be wild and riotous in your joy. I am very glad to rejoice with you, my darlings, but when people are wild and riotous in their joy, they lose the serenity and peace of their hearts; and, without a quiet, tranquil heart, there is no true happiness. Therefore must we keep God ever in view. This is the use of the hour for morning and evening prayer, that you may never forget him. For whoever is praying to God, or thinking of him, can neither be extravagant in joy, nor without comfort in sorrow. But then, my children, he must always endeavor, particularly when he is praying, to keep himself quiet and untroubled. Consider, whenever you thank your father for any thing sincerely, you are not noisy and riotous. You fall softly, and with few words, on his neck; and when you feel it really in your hearts, the tears come into your eyes. It is the same toward God. If his loving kindness really rejoices you, and your hearts are truly thankful, you will not make a great noise and talking about it—but the tears will come into your eyes, when you think how merciful he is toward you. Thus all that fills your hearts with gratitude to God and kindness to men, is a continual prayer; and whoever prays as he ought, will do what is right, and will be dear to God and man, as long as he lives."

Nicholas. "And, mother, you said, yesterday, that we should be dear to the gracious squire, if we did what was right."

Mother. "Yes, my children, he is a good and religious gentleman. May God reward him, for all he has done for us. I wish thou mayst become dear to him, Nicholas!"

Nich. "I will obey him, because he is so good, as I obey you and my father."

Mother. "That is right, Nicholas! always think so, and thou wilt certainly become dear to him."

Nich. "If I durst but speak a word to him!"

Mother. "What wouldst thou say to him?"

Nich. "I would thank him for the pretty money."

Anneli. "Durst you thank him?"

Nich. "Why not?"

Anneli. "I durst not."

Lise. "Nor I!"

Mother. "Why durst you not, children?"

Lise. "I should laugh."

Mother. "Why wouldst thou laugh, Lise, and so show him, plainly, that thou wert but a silly child? If thou hadst not many foolish fancies in thy head, thou wouldst never think of doing such a thing."

Anneli. "I should not laugh; but I should be sadly frightened."

Mother. "He would take thee by the hand, Anneli, and smile upon thee, as thy father does when he is very kind to thee, and then thou wouldst not be frightened any longer."

Anneli. "No, not then."

Jonas. "Nor I, then."

CHAPTER XXXIV.—A MOTHER'S INSTRUCTION.

Mother. "But, my dear children, how have you gone on, as to behavior, this week?"

The children looked at each other, without speaking.

Mother. "Anneli, hast thou done what was right this week?"

Anneli. "No, mother, you know I did not do right about little brother."

Mother. "Anneli, some misfortune might have happened to him. There have been children suffocated with being left in that way. And how wouldst thou like, thyself, to be shut up in a room, and left to hunger, and thirst, and cry alone? Besides, little children, when they are left long without any body to help them, get into a passion, and scream so dreadfully, that it may do them a mischief as long as they live. Anneli! God knows, I could not have a moment's peace out of the house, if I had reason to be afraid that thou wouldst not take proper care of the child."

Anneli. "Indeed, mother, I will not go away from him any more."

Mother. "I do trust thou wilt never put me into such a fright again. And Nicholas, how hast thou gone on this last week?"

Nicholas. "I don't know of any thing wrong."

Mother. "Hast thou forgotten knocking over thy little sister on Monday?"

Nich. "I did not do it on purpose, mother."

Mother. "If thou hadst done it on purpose, it would have been bad indeed. Art thou not ashamed of talking so?"

Nich. "I am sorry I did it, mother; and will not do so again."

Mother. "When thou art grown up, if thou takest no more heed of what is near thee and about thee, thou will have to learn it to thy cost. Even amongst boys, those who are so heedless are always getting into scrapes and disputes; and I am afraid, my dear Nicholas, that thy carelessness will bring thee into great trouble and difficulties."

Nich. "I will take pains to be more thoughtful, mother."

Mother. "Do so, my dear boy, or, believe me, thou wilt often be very unhappy."

Nich. "My dear mother, I know it, and am sure of it, and I will certainly take heed."

Mother. "And thou, Lise, how hast thou gone on?"

Lise. "I know of nothing at all this week, mother."

Mother. "Art thou sure?"

Lise. "I can not now think of any thing, mother; or I am sure I would willingly tell you of it."

Mother. "Thou hast always, even when thou knowest nothing, as many words to utter as if thou hadst a great deal to say."

Lise. "What have I been saying now, mother?"

Mother. "Nothing at all, and yet many words. It is in this way, as we have told thee a thousand times, that thou art foolish. Thou dost not think about any thing thou hast to say, and yet must always be talking. What need was there for thee to tell the bailiff, yesterday, that we knew that Arner was coming soon?"

Lise. "I am sorry I did so, mother."

Mother. "We have so often told thee not to talk of what does not concern thee, particularly before strangers, and yet thou dost so still. Suppose thy father

had been afraid of telling him that he knew it before, and thy prating had brought him into trouble."

Lise. "I should have been very sorry, but neither of you had said a word that it was to be a secret."

Mother. "Well, I will tell thy father, when he comes home, that whenever we are talking to each other in the room, we must add, after every sentence: 'Lise may tell this to the neighbors, or at the well—but not this—nor this—but again she may—and then thou wilt know what thou mayst chatter about.'"

Lise. "Forgive me, mother, I did not mean it so."

Mother. "We have told thee repeatedly, that thou must not talk about what does not concern thee; but it is useless. We can not cure thee of this failing, but by treating it seriously; and the first time that I find thee again chattering so thoughtlessly, I will punish thee with the rod."

The tears came into Lise's eyes when her mother talked of the rod. The mother saw them, and said to her: "Lise, the greatest misfortunes often happen from thoughtless chattering, and thou must be cured of this fault."

In this manner she spoke to them all, even to the little one; "Thou must not call out so impatiently for thy supper any more, or I shall make thee wait longer the next time; or, perhaps, give it to one of the others."

When this was all over, the children said their usual evening prayer, and afterward the Saturday prayer, which Gertrude had taught them, and which was as follows:—

CHAPTER XXXV.—A SATURDAY EVENING PRAYER.

"HEAVENLY Father! thou art ever kind to the children of men, and thou art kind also to us. Thou suppliest our daily wants. All comes from thee. Our bread, and all that we receive from our parents, thou hast first bestowed upon them, and they willingly give it to us. They rejoice in all which thou enablest them to do for us, and bid us be thankful unto thee for it. They tell us that if they had not learned to know and love thee, they should not so love us; and that if they were unmindful of thee, they should do much less for us. They bid us be thankful to the Saviour of men, that they have learned to know and love thee; and they teach us that those who do not know and love him, and follow all the holy laws which he has given to men, can neither so well love thee, nor bring up their children so piously and carefully as those who believe in the Saviour. Our parents teach us many things of Jesus, the Messiah; what great things he did for the children of men; how he passed his life in suffering and distress, and at last died upon the cross, that he might make men happy in time and eternity; how God raised him again from the dead; and how he now sits at the right hand of the throne of God his Father, in the glory of heaven, and still loves all the children of men, and seeks to make them blessed and happy. It goes to our hearts when we hear of our blessed Saviour. O, may we learn so to live as to obtain favor in his sight, and at last be received unto him in heaven.

"Almighty Father! we poor children, who here pray together, are brothers and sisters; therefore may we always love one another, and never hurt each other, but be kind and good to each other whenever we have the opportunity. May we carefully watch over the little ones, that our dear parents may follow their work and earn their bread, without anxiety. It is all we can do, to help them for the trouble and care they have had on our account. Reward them, O, heavenly Father, for all they have done for us; and may we be obedient to

them in all which they require from us, that they may love us to the end of their lives, and be rewarded for all the faithful kindness they have shown us.

"O, Almighty God! may we, on the approaching Sabbath, be truly mindful of all thy goodness, and of the love of Christ Jesus; and also of all that our dear parents and friends do for us, that we may be thankful and obedient to God and man, and walk before thee in love all the days of our lives."

Here Nicholas paused, and Gertrude added, with reference to the events of the week: "We thank thee, Heavenly Father, that thou hast this week relieved our dear parents from their anxious care for our nourishment and support, and given unto our father a good and profitable employment. We thank thee that our chief magistrate is, with a truly parental heart, our protector and our help in all misfortunes and distress. We thank thee for the goodness of the lord of the manor. If it be thy will, may we grow up to serve and please him, who is to us as a father."

Then Lize repeated after her: "Forgive me, O, my God, my besetting fault, and teach me to bridle my tongue; to be silent when I ought not to speak, and carefully and thoughtfully to answer the questions I am asked."

And Nicholas: "Guard me in future, O, Heavenly Father, from my hastiness; and teach me to give heed to what I am doing, and to those who are near me."

And Anneli: "I repent, O my God, that I so thoughtlessly left my little brother, and alarmed my dear mother. May I do so no more."

Then the mother said, further:

"Lord! hear us!

"Father, forgive us!

"Christ have mercy upon us!

Then Nicholas repeated the Lord's prayer.

And Enne added: "May God bless our dear father, and mother, and brothers, and sisters, and our kind benefactor, and all good men."

And Lise: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Mother. "May God be with you, and keep you! May he lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and be merciful to you for ever!"

The children and their mother remained for a time in that stillness, which must always succeed a prayer from the heart.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—PURE DEVOTION AND LIFTING UP OF THE SOUL TO GOD.

LISE broke this silence: "Now will you show us our presents," said she to her mother.

"Yes, I will," replied the mother. "But Lize, thou art always the first to speak."

Nicholas jumped from his seat, rushed past his little sister, to be nearer the light, that he might see the money, and, in so doing, pushed the child so that it cried out.

Then said the mother: "Nicholas, this is not right. It is not a quarter of an hour since thou gavest thy promise to be more careful, and now thou art doing the same thing again."

Nicholas. "O, mother, I am very sorry. I will never do so again."

Mother. "So thou saidst just now before God, and yet thou dost it again. Thou art not in real earnest."

Nich. "O, indeed, mother, I am in earnest. Forgive me! I am, indeed, in earnest, and very sorry."

Mother. "And so am I, Nicholas; but thou wilt forget again if I do not punish thee. Thou must go without supper to bed. As she spoke, she led the boy away from the other children into his room. His sisters stood all sorrowfully around. They were troubled, because Nicholas might not eat with them."

"Why will you not let me teach you by kindness alone, my children," said the mother.

"O, let him be with us this once," said the children.

"No, my loves, he must be cured of his carelessness," said the mother.

"Then do not let us see the presents till to-morrow, when he can look at them with us," said Anneli.

Mother. "That is right, Anneli. Yes, he may see them with you then."

Then she gave the children their supper, and went with them into their room, where Nicholas was still weeping.

"Take care, another time, my dearest boy," said his mother to him.

Nicholas. "Only forgive me, my dear, dear mother. Only forgive me and kiss me, and I will willingly go without supper.

Then Gertrude kissed her son, and a warm tear fell upon his cheek, as she said to him: "O, Nicholas, Nicholas, be careful!" Nicholas threw his arms around his mother's neck and said: "My dear mother, forgive me."

Gertrude then blessed her children, and went again into her room.

She was now quite alone. A little lamp burnt faintly in the room, her heart was devoutly still; and the stillness was a prayer which, without words, moved her inmost spirit. A feeling of the presence of God, and of his goodness; a feeling of hope of an eternal life, and of the inward happiness of the man who puts his trust and confidence in his Almighty Father; all this filled her soul with deep emotion, so that she sunk upon her knees, and a flood of tears rolled down her cheeks.

Blessed are the tears of the child, when, touched by a father's goodness, he looks sobbing back upon the past, dries his eyes, and seeks to recover himself, before he can stammer out the thankfulness of his heart. Blessed were the tears of Nicholas, which he wept at this moment, because he had displeased his good mother, who was so dear to him.

Blessed are the tears of all who weep from a pure child-like heart.

The Lord of heaven looks down upon the sobbing forth of their gratitude, and upon the tears of their eyes, when they spring from affection.

He saw the tears of Gertrude, and heard the sobbing of her heart; and the offering of her thanks was an acceptable sacrifice to him; Gertrude wept long before the Lord her God, and her eyes were still moist when her husband came home.

"Why dost thou weep, Gertrude? thy eyes are red and full of tears! Why dost thou weep to-day, Gertrude?"

Gertrude answered: "My dear husband, these are not tears of sorrow:—be not afraid. I wished to thank God for this week, and my heart was so full that I fell upon my knees; I could not speak for weeping, and yet it seemed to me as if I had never so thanked God before."

"O, my love," answered Leonard, "I wish I could so quickly lift up my soul, and pour forth my heart in tears. It is now my firm resolution to do what is

right; and to be just and thankful toward God and man; but I shall never be able to fall upon my knees thus and shed tears."

Gertrude. "If thou art only earnestly resolved to do what is right, all the rest is of little consequence. One has a weak voice and another a strong one, but that signifies little. It is only the use to which they are applied, which is of importance. My dear husband, tears are nothing, and bended knees are nothing; but the resolution to do justly, and be thankful toward God and man is every thing. That one man is more easily affected and another less so, is of no more consequence than that one worm crawls through the earth more easily than another. If thou art only in earnest, my love, thou art sure to find him who is the father of all men."

Leonard, with tears in his eyes, let his head fall upon her neck, and she leaned her face over his, with melancholy tenderness.

They remained thus for a while, still and deeply affected, and were silent.

At last Gertrude said: "Wilt thou not eat to-night?"

"I can not," answered he, "my heart is too full. I can not eat any thing at present." "Nor can I, my love," said she; "but I 'll tell thee what we will do. I will take the food to poor Rudi. His mother died to-day."

CHAPTER XXXVII.—KINDNESS TOWARD A POOR MAN.

Leonard. "Is she then at last freed from her misery?"

Gertrude. "Yes, God be praised! But thou shouldst have seen her die, my dear husband. Only think! she found out on the day of her death that Rudeli had stolen potatoes from us. She sent the boy and his father to me, to ask forgiveness. She desired them earnestly to beg us, in her name, to forgive her, because she could not pay back the potatoes; and poor Rudi promised so heartily to make it up by working for thee. Think, my dear husband, how all this affected me. I went to the dying woman, but I can not tell thee, it is impossible to describe, with what a melancholy dying tone she asked me whether I had forgiven them; and when she saw that my heart was touched, how she recommended her children to me; how she delayed it to the last moment, and then, when she found she was going, how she at last ventured, and with what humility and love toward her children, she did it; and how in the midst of it she expired. O, it is not to be told or described."

Leon. "I will go with thee to them."

Ger. "Yes, come, let us go."

So saying, she took up the broth, and they went.

When they arrived, Rudi was sitting on the bed by the corpse. He wept and sighed, and his little boy called out from the other room, and asked him for bread—or even raw roots—or any thing at all.

"Alas! I have nothing whatever. For God's sake, be quiet till morning. I have nothing," said the father.

And the little fellow cried out: "But I am so hungry, father, I can not go to sleep! O, I am so hungry, father!"

Leonard and Gertrude heard this, opened the door, set down the food before the hungry child and said to him, "Eat quickly, before it is cold."

"O, God!" exclaimed Rudi, "What is this? Rudeli, these are the people from whom thou hast stolen potatoes; and, alas, I myself have eaten of them!"

Ger. "Say no more about that, Rudi."

Rudi. "I dare not look you in the face, it goes so to my heart to think what we did."

Leon. "Eat something, Rudi."

Rudeli. "Eat, eat; let us eat, father."

Rudi. "Say the grace then."

Rudeli.

"May God feed,
And God speed
All the poor
On the earth's floor,
In body and soul, Amen!"

Thus prayed the boy, took up the spoon, trembled, wept, and ate.

"May God reward you for it a thousand fold," said the father; and he ate also, and tears fell down his cheeks.

But they did not eat it all, but set aside a plate full for the children who were asleep. Then Rudeli gave thanks.

"When we have fed,
Let's thank the Lord,
Who all our bread
Doth still afford.
To him be praise, honor, and thanksgiving,
Now and forever, Amen."

LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE PURE AND PEACEFUL GREATNESS OF A BENEVOLENT HEART.

As Rudi was about to thank them again, he sighed involuntarily.

"Dost thou want something, Rudi? If it is any thing we can do for thee, tell us," said Leonard to him.

"No, I want nothing more, I thank you," answered Rudi.

But he evidently repressed a deep sigh, which struggled to escape from his heart. Leonard and Gertrude looked at him with sorrowful sympathy, and said: "But thou sighest, and we see that thy heart is troubled about something."

"Tell them, tell them, father," said the boy, "they are so kind."

"Do tell us, if we can help thee," said Leonard and Gertrude.

"Dare I venture?" answered the poor man. "I have neither shoes nor stockings, and to-morrow I must follow my mother to her grave, and the day after go to the hall."

Leonard. "To think that thou shouldst fret thyself thus about it! Why didst thou not tell me directly? I can and will willingly give thee them."

Rudi. "And wilt thou believe, after what has happened, that I will return them safe and with thanks?"

Leon. "Say nothing of that, Rudi. I would trust thee for more than that; but thy misery and want have made thee too fearful."

Gertrude. "Yes, Rudi, trust in God and man, and thou wilt be easier in thy heart, and better able to help thyself in all situations."

Rudi. "Yes, Gertrude, I ought to have more trust in my father in heaven; and I can never sufficiently thank you."

Leon. "Say nothing of that, Rudi."

Ger. "I should like to see thy mother again."

They went with a feeble lamp to her bedside; and Gertrude, Leonard, Rudi, and the little one, all with tears in their eyes, looked at her awhile, in the deepest silence; then they covered her up again, and kindly took leave of each other, almost without words.

As they went home, Leonard said to Gertrude: "What a dreadful state of wretchedness this is! Not to be able to go any longer to church, nor to ask for work, nor return thanks for it, because a man has neither clothes, nor shoes, nor stockings."

Ger. "If he were suffering it from any fault of his own, it would almost drive him to despair."

Leon. "Yes, Gertrude, he would despair, he certainly would despair, Gertrude. If I were to hear my children cry out in that way for bread, and had none, and it was my own fault, Gertrude, I should despair; and I was on the road to this wretchedness."

Ger. "We have indeed been saved out of great danger."

As they thus spoke, they passed near the tavern, and the unmeaning riot of drinking and talking reached their ears. Leonard's heart beat at a distance, but,

as he drew near, he shuddered with painful horror. Gertrude looked at him tenderly and sorrowfully, and Leonard, ashamed, answered the mournful look of his Gertrude and said: "O what a blessed evening have I spent with thee! and if I had been here instead!"

Gertrude's sadness now increased to tears, and she raised her eyes to heaven. He saw it. Tears stood also in his eyes, and the same sadness was upon his countenance. He, too, raised his eyes to heaven, and both gazed for a time upon the beautiful sky. They looked with admiration upon the silvery brightness of the moon; and a rapturous inward satisfaction assured them that the pure and innocent feelings of their hearts were acceptable in the sight of God.

After this short delay, they went into their cottage.

Gertrude immediately sought out shoes and stockings for Rudi, and Leonard took them to him that evening.

When he came back, they said a preparation prayer for the sacrament of the next day, and fell asleep with devout thankfulness.

In the morning they arose early, and rejoiced in the Lord; read the history of the Saviour's sufferings, and of the institution of the holy supper; and praised God in the early hours, before the Sabbath sun arose.

Then they awoke their children, waited for them to say their morning prayer, and then went to church.

A quarter of an hour before service-time, the bailiff also arose. He could not find the key of his clothes-chest; uttered dreadful curses; kicked the chest open with his foot; dressed himself; went to church; placed himself in the first seat in the choir; held his hat before his mouth; and looked into every corner of the church, whilst he repeated his prayer under his hat.

Soon afterward the pastor entered. Then the people sang two verses of the hymn for Passion week: "O man, repent thy heavy sins," and so on.

Then the pastor went into the pulpit; and this day he preached and instructed his people as follows:—

Chapter XXXIX.—A Sermon.

"My children!

"He who fears the Lord, and walks piously and uprightly before him, walks in light.

"But he who in all his doings is forgetful of his God, walks in darkness.

"Therefore be ye not deceived, one only is good, and he is your Father.

"Wherefore do you run astray, and grope about in darkness? No one is your Father but God.

"Beware of men, lest ye learn from them what will be displeasing in the sight of your Father in heaven.

"Happy is the man who has God for his Father.

"Happy is the man who fears wickedness and hates deceitfulness: for they who commit wickedness shall not prosper, and the deceitful man is taken in his own snare.

"The man shall not prosper, who oppresses and injures his neighbor.

"The man shall not prosper, against whom the cry of the poor man rises toward God.

"Woe to the wretch who in the winter feeds the poor, and in the harvest takes from him double.

"Woe to the godless man who causes the poor to drink wine in the summer, and in the autumn requires from him double.

"Woe to him, when he takes away from the poor man his straw and his fodder, so that he can not till his ground.

"Woe to him, by the hardness of whose heart the children of the poor want bread.

"Woe to the godless man, who lends money to the poor that they may become his servants, be at his command, work without wages, and yet pay rent.

"Woe to him, when they give false testimony for him before the judge, and swear false oaths that his cause is just.

"Woe to him, when he assembles sinners in his house, and watches with them to betray the just man, that he may become as one of them, and forget his God, his wife, and his children, and waste, with them, the wages of his labor, upon which his wife and children depend.

"And woe to the miserable man, who suffers himself to be led astray by the ungodly, and, in his thoughtlessness, squanders the money which is wanted at home.

"Woe to him, when the sighs of his wife arise to God, because she has no food for her infant.

"Woe to him, when his child starves, that he may drink.

"Woe to him, when she weeps over the wants of her children, and her own excessive labor.

"Woe to him, who wastes the apprentice-fee of his sons; when his old age comes, they will say unto him, 'Thou didst not behave as a father to us, thou didst not teach us to earn bread, how can we now help thee?'

"Woe to those, who go about telling lies, and make the crooked straight, and the straight crooked: for they shall come to shame.

"Woe to you, when ye have bought the land of the widow, and the house of the orphan, at an unfair price. Woe to you, for this is your Lord; father of the widow and of the orphan, and they are dear to him; and ye are a hatred and an abomination in his sight, because ye are cruel and hard to the poor.

"Woe to you, whose houses are full of what does not belong to you.

"Though you riot in wine which came from the poor man's vines:

"Though you laugh, when starved and miserable men shake their corn into your sacks with sighs:

"Though you sneer and jest when the oppressed man writhes like a worm before you, and entreats you, in God's name, to lend him a tenth part of what you have cheated him of; though you harden yourselves against all this, yet have you never an hour's peace in your hearts.

"No! there lives not the man upon God's earth, who oppresses the poor and is happy.

"Though he be raised out of all danger, out of all fear of iniquity or punishment, on this earth; though he be a ruler in the land, and imprison with his hand, and accuse with his tongue, miserable men who are better than himself:

"Though he sit aloft, and judge them to life or death, and sentence them to the sword, or the wheel:

"He is more miserable than they!

"He who oppresses the poor man from pride, and lays snares for the unfortunate, and swears away widows' houses; he is worse than the thief and the murderer, whose reward is death.

"Therefore, has the man who does these things no peaceful hour, throughout his life.

"He wanders on the face of the earth laden with the curse of a brother's murder, which leaves no rest for his heart.

"He wanders around, and seeks, and tries continually to conceal from himself the horror of his inward thoughts.

"With eating and drinking, with insolence and malice, with hatred and strife, with lies and deceit, with buffoonery and licentiousness, with slander and abuse, with quarreling and backbiting, he seeks to get through the time which is a burthen to him.

"But he will not always be able to suppress the voice of his conscience; he will not always be able to escape the fear of the Lord; it will fall upon him like an armed man, and you will see him tremble and be dismayed, like a prisoner whom death threatens.

"But happy is the man who has no part in such doings.

"Happy is the man who is not answerable for the poverty of his neighbor.

"Happy is the man who has nothing in his possession which he has forced from the poor.

"Happy are you, when your mouth is pure from harsh words, and your eyes from harsh looks.

"Happy are you, when the poor man blesses you, and when the widow and the orphan weep tears of gratitude to God for you.

"Happy is the man who walks in love before his God, and before his people.

"Happy are you who are pious; come and rejoice at the table of the God of love.

"The Lord your God is your Father.

"The signs of love from his hands will refresh your spirits, and the blessedness of your souls will increase, because your love toward God your Father, and toward your brethren of mankind, will increase and strengthen.

"But ye who walk without love, and in your deeds consider not that God is your Father, and that your neighbors are the children of your God, and that the poor man is your brother; ye ungodly, what do ye here? ye, who to-morrow will injure and oppress the poor as ye did yesterday, what do ye here? Will ye eat of the bread of the Lord, and drink of his cup, and say that ye are one in body, and mind, and soul, with your brethren?

"Leave this house, and avoid the meal of love.

"And ye poor and oppressed ones of my people, believe and trust in the Lord, and the fruit of your affliction and suffering will become a blessing to you.

"Believe and trust in the Lord your God, and fear not the ungodly; but keep yourselves from them. Rather suffer, rather endure any want, rather bear any injury, than seek help from their hard-heartedness. For the words of the hard man are lies, and his help is a decoy by which he seeks to entrap the poor man and destroy him. Therefore flee from the ungodly man when he salutes you with smiles, when he gives you his hand, and takes yours with friendliness. When he offers you his assistance, then flee from him; for the ungodly man insnares the poor. Avoid him, and join not yourselves with him; but fear him not:—though you see him standing fast and great, like a lofty oak, fear him not!

"Go, my children, into the forest, to the place where the lofty oaks stand, and see how the little trees, which withered under their shade, now being removed from them, flourish and bloom. The sun shines again upon the young plants,

the dew of heaven falls upon them in its strength, and the great spreading roots of the oaks, which sucked up all the nourishment from the ground, now decay, and nourish the young trees which withered in the shade.

"Therefore hope in the Lord, for his help never fails those who hope in him.

"The day of the Lord will come to the ungodly man; and on that day, when he shall see the oppressed and the poor man, he will cry out and say: 'O, that I had been as one of these!'

"Therefore trust in the Lord, ye who are troubled and oppressed, and rejoice that ye know the Lord, who has appointed the supper of love.

"For through love ye bear the sufferings of this earth, even as a treasure from the Lord; and your burthens only increase your strength and your blessedness.

"Therefore rejoice that ye know the God of love; for without love ye would sink and become as the ungodly, who torment and betray you.

"Praise the God of love, that he has appointed this sacrament, and has called you, amongst his millions, to partake in his holy mysteries.

"Praise ye the Lord!

"The revelation of love is the salvation of the world.

"Love is the band which binds the earth together.

"Love is the band which unites God and man.

"Without love, man is without God; and without God and love, what is man?

"Dare ye say? can ye utter or think what man is without God, and without love?

"I dare not; I can not express it—man, without God and without love, is no longer a man, but a brute.

"Therefore rejoice that ye know the God of love, who has called the world from brutishness to love, from darkness to light, and from death to eternal life. Rejoice that ye know Jesus Christ, and through faith in him are called to be children of God, and to eternal life.

"And yet once more I say unto you, rejoice that ye know the Lord; and pray for all those who do not know him; that they may come to the knowledge of the truth and of your joy.

"My children, come to the holy supper of your Lord. Amen."

When the pastor had said this, and instructed his congregation for nearly an hour, he prayed with them, and then the whole congregation partook of the Lord's supper.

The bailiff, Hummel, assisted in distributing the Lord's supper; and when all the people had given thanks unto the Lord, they sang a hymn, and the pastor blessed his people, and every one returned to his own house.

CHAPTER XL.—A PROOF THAT THE SERMON WAS GOOD; *Item*, ON KNOWLEDGE AND ERROR, AND WHAT IS CALLED OPPRESSING THE POOR.

THE bailiff, Hummel, was furious at the discourse which the pastor had delivered about the ungodly man; and on the Lord's day, which the whole parish kept holy, he raged, and swore, and abused the pastor, and said many violent things against him.

As soon as he got home from the sacrament, he sent for his dissolute companions to come to him directly. They soon arrived, and joined the bailiff in saying many shameful and abusive things of the pastor and his Christian discourse.

The bailiff began first: "I can not endure his damned taunts and attacks."

"It is not right, it is a sin, and particularly on the Sabbath day, it is a sin to do so," said old Abi.

Bailiff. "The rascal knows very well that I can not endure it, and he only goes on so much the more. It will be a fine thing for him, if he can bring the people, by his preaching and his abuse, to hate and despise what he does not understand, and has nothing to do with."

Abi. "Ay, indeed! our blessed Saviour, and the evangelists, and the apostles in the New Testament, never attacked any body."

Christian. "Thou canst not say that. They did attack people, and still more than the pastor does."

Abi. "It is not true, Christian."

Chris. "Thou art a fool, Abi. Ye blind guides, ye serpents,—ye generation of vipers, and a thousand such. Thou knowest a great deal about the Bible, Abi."

Countryman, "Yes, Abi! they certainly did attack people."

Chris. "They did. But as for affairs of law, which they did not understand, and reckonings which had been settled before the judges according to law, they did not meddle with them, and those who do are very different kind of people."

Count. "Yes, that they are."

Chris. "They must be very different, or people would not be so bold. Only think what they did. There was one Annas—yes, Annas was his name—and his wife after him, only for telling one lie, they fell down and died."

Count. "Die they indeed? For only one lie?"

Chris. "Yes, as true as I am alive, and standing here."

Abi. "It's a fine thing, too, to know one's Bible."

Chris. "I have to thank my father, who is dead and buried for it. For the rest he was, God forgive him, no great things. He ran through all my mother's property to the last farthing,—but I could have got over that, if he had not leagued himself so much with Uli, who was hanged. Such a thing as that injures children and children's children. But he could read his Bible as well as any pastor, and made us all learn too. He would not excuse one of us."

Abi. "I have often wondered how he could be so good-for-nothing, when he knew so much."

Count. "It is very strange."

Jost. (A stranger, who happened to be in the tavern.) "I can not help laughing, neighbors, at your wonder about it. If much knowledge could make people good, your attorneys, and brokers, and bailiffs, and magistrates, with respect be it spoken, would be always the best."

Count. "Ay, and so they would, neighbor."

Jost. "Depend upon it, there is a wide difference between knowing and doing. He who is for carrying on his business by knowledge alone, had need take care lest he forget how to act."

Count. "Yes, so it is. A man soon forgets what he does not practice."

Jost. "Of course. When a man is in habits of idleness, he is good for nothing. And so it is with those who, from idleness and weariness, get to chattering and talking. They become good for nothing. Only attend, and you will find that the greatest part of those fellows who have stories out of the Bible, or the newspapers, and new and old pamphlets, constantly in their hands and

mouths, are little better than mere idlers. If one wants to talk with them about housekeeping, bringing up children, profit, or business, when they should give one advice how to set about this thing or that, which is of real use, they stand there like blockheads, and know nothing, and can tell nothing. Only where people meet, for idleness, in taverns, and at dances, and gossipings on Sundays and holidays; there they show off. They tell of quack cures, and foolish stories and tales, in which there is not a word of truth; and yet a whole room full of honest folks will sit listening for hours to such a prating fellow, who tells them one lie after another."

Abi. "By my soul, it is as he says! and, Christian, he has drawn thy father to the life. Just so we went on with him. He was as stupid as an ox about every thing relating to wood and fields, cattle, fodder, ploughing, and such like; and knew no more about his own business than a sheep. But in the tavern, and at parish meetings, and in the churchyard, after service, he spoke like a wise man from the East. Sometimes of Doctor Faustus, sometimes of our Saviour, sometimes of the Witch of Endor, or of the one of Hirzau, and sometimes of bull-fights at Maestricht, or of horse-races at London. Stupidly as he did it, and evident as it was that he was telling them lies, people went on willingly listening to him, till he was near being hanged, which did at last hurt his credit as a story-teller."

Jost. "It was high time."

Abi. "Yes, we were fools long enough; and gave him many a glass of wine for pure lies."

Jost. "To my mind it would have been better for him if you had never given him any."

Abi. "Indeed, I believe if we had never given him any, he would not have come so near the gallows. He would have been obliged to work."

Jost. "So you see your good will toward him did him an injury."

Count. "Yes, that it did."

Jost. "It is a wicked and ruinous thing to drag the Bible into such idle telling and hearing of profane stories."

Leupi. "My father once beat me soundly for forgetting, over one of these stories, (I think it was out of the Bible,) to fetch the cow from the pasture."

Jost. "He was in the right. To do what is in the Bible is our business, and to tell us about it is the pastor's. The Bible is a command, a law; what would the governor say to thee, if he had sent a command down to the village that we were to cart something to the castle, and thou, instead of going into the wood to get thy load, wert to seat thyself in the tavern, take up the order in thy hand, read it aloud, and, whilst thou wert sitting over thy glass, explain to thy neighbors what he meant and wished for?"

Abi. "What would he say to me? He would abuse me, and laugh at me, and throw me into prison for taking him for a fool."

Jost "And just so much do the people deserve, who read the Bible from mere idleness, and that they may be able to tell stories out of it at the tavern."

Chris. "Yes, but yet we must read in it, to know how to keep in the right way."

Jost. "Of course. But those who are always stopping at every resting-place, and standing still to talk at every well, and finger-post, and cross, which is put down to show the way, are not those who will get on the fastest?"

Abi. "But how is this neighbor? They say one can not pay too dear for

knowledge; but it seems to me one may easily pay too dear for knowledge of many things."

Jost. "Yes, indeed! We always pay too dear for every thing which keeps us away from active duties and business of importance. We should seek to gain information that we may know how to act, and if people try to know many things, merely for the sake of talking about them, they will certainly avail them nothing.

"It is, with respect to knowledge and performance, as it is in a trade. A shoemaker, for instance, must work, that is the first thing; he must also be able to judge of leather and know how to buy it; this is the means by which he can carry on his trade to advantage; and so it is in every thing else. Execution and practice are the chief things for all men; knowledge and understanding are the means by which they can carry on their business to advantage.

"But for this purpose the knowledge of every man should relate to what he has to do and perform, or in other words to his chief business."

Abi. "Now I begin to see how it is. When a man has his head full of various and foreign affairs, he does not give his mind to his own business, and to what is of the most importance to him."

Jost. "Just so. The thoughts and understanding of every man should be intent upon the things which are of the greatest consequence to him. I have no meadows to be cultivated by irrigation, therefore it is nothing to me how people manage to overflow them; and, till I have a wood of my own, I shall certainly take no pains to know how it may be best taken care of. But my reservoirs for manure are often in my thoughts, because they make my poor meadows rich. Every thing would prosper, if every body were properly attentive to his own affair. People get plenty of knowledge, soon enough, if they only learn to know things well; but they never learn to know them well, if they do not begin by knowing, and looking after what belongs to them. Knowledge rises by degrees from the lowest thing to the highest, and we shall make great progress in our lives, if we begin thus; but from idle talking, and stories, and foolish dreams of things in the clouds, or in the moon, people learn only to become good for nothing."

Abi. "They begin to learn that, even at school."

During the whole of this conversation, the bailiff stood by the fire, stared into it, warmed himself, scarcely listened to any thing, and joined seldom, and without any connection, in what they were saying. He forgot the wine in his abstraction, and therefore it was that the conversation between Abi and the stranger had lasted so long. Perhaps, too, he was not willing to express his vexation till the stranger had finished his glass and left them.

Then at last he began all at once, as if, during his long silence, he had been learning it off by heart.

"The pastor is always talking about oppressing the poor. If what he calls oppressing the poor were done by nobody, the devil take me if there would be any poor in the world. But when I look around me, from the prince to the night-watchman, from the first council in the land to the lowest parish meeting, every one seeks his own profit, and presses against whatever comes in his way. The late pastor sold wine, as I do, and took hay, and corn, and oats, in payment for it, as much as I do. Throughout the world every one oppresses his inferiors, and I am obliged to submit to oppression in my turn. Whoever has any thing, or wishes to have any thing, must oppress, or he will lose what is his own, and

become a beggar. If the pastor knew the poor as well as I do, he would not trouble himself so much about them; but it is not for the sake of the poor. All he wants is to find fault, and lead the people to judge one another wrongfully. The poor are a good-for-nothing set: if I wanted ten rogues I could soon find eleven amongst the poor. I wish people would bring me my income regularly home every quarter-day, I would soon learn to receive it piously and devoutly. But in my business, in a tavern and in poor cottages, where every farthing must be forced out, and one is plagued at every turn, it is a very different thing. I would lay a wager that any landlord, who would act considerately and compassionately toward day-laborers and poor people, would soon lose all he had. They are rogues every one."

Thus spoke the bailiff, and perverted the voice of his conscience, which made him uneasy, and told him that the pastor was right, and that he was the man who oppressed all the poor of the village, even until the blood started under their nails.

But, however he reasoned to himself, he was not at rest. Anxiety and care visibly tormented him. He paced uneasily up and down the room.

At last he said: "I am so angry about the pastor's sermon, that I know not what to do, and I am not well. Are you cold, neighbors? I have been as cold as ice, ever since I came home."

"No," answered the neighbors, "it is not cold; but every body saw at church that thou wert not well, thou wert so deadly pale."

Bailiff. "Did every body see it at church? I was indeed strangely ill!—I am very feverish—and so faint—I must drink something. We will go into the back room, during service-time."

CHAPTER XLI.—A CHURCHWARDEN INFORMS THE PASTOR OF IMPROPER CONDUCT.

BUT a churchwarden, who lived in the same street with the bailiff, and had seen Abi, Christian, and the other fellows go into the tavern, between the services, was angry in his heart, and thought at that moment of the oath he had taken to look after all improper and profane conduct, and to inform the pastor of it. And the churchwarden set a man, he could depend upon, to watch the fellows, and see whether they went out of the tavern again before service.

It was now nearly time for the bell to ring, and, as nobody came out, he went to the pastor, and told him what he had seen, and that he had set Samuel Treu to watch them.

The pastor was troubled by this intelligence, sighed to himself, and said little.

The churchwarden thought he was studying his sermon, and spoke less than usual over his glass of wine.

At last, as the pastor was preparing to go into the church, Samuel came, and the churchwarden said to him:

"Thou canst tell the honorable Herr Pastor, thyself, all about it."

Then Samuel said: "May heaven bless you, honorable Herr Pastor, sir."

The pastor thanked him, and said: "Are these people not gone home yet?"

Samuel. "No, sir! I have kept in sight of the tavern ever since the elder told me to watch, and nobody has left the house, except the bailiff's wife, who is gone to church."

Pastor. "And thou art quite certain that they are all still in the tavern?"

Sam. "Yes, sir, I am sure of it."

Churchwarden. "Your reverence sees that I was not mistaken, and that it was my duty to let you know of it."

Pastor. "It is a great pity that such things should take up any one's time and thoughts on a Sabbath day."

Churchwarden. "We have only done what was our duty, please your reverence."

Pastor. "I know it, and I thank you for your watchfulness. But, neighbors, take care that, for the sake of a trifling duty, you do not forget one of more difficulty and importance. To watch over ourselves, and over our own hearts, is our first and most important duty. Therefore it is always unfortunate when such evil deeds distract a man's thoughts."

After a while, he added: "No! such shameful disorder must no longer be endured—forbearance only increases it."

And he then went with the men into the church.

CHAPTER XLII.—AN ADDITION TO THE MORNING'S DISCOURSE.

As he was reading the account of our Saviour's sufferings, he came to these words:—

"And when Judas had taken the sop, Satan entered into his heart."

And he discoursed to his people upon the whole history of the traitor; and his feelings were so strongly excited, that he struck the cushion, vehemently, with his hand, which he had not done for years before.

And he said that all those who, as soon as they went out from the Lord's supper, ran off to drinking and gaming, were not a jot better than Judas, and would come to the same end.

And the congregation began to wonder, and consider, what could be the meaning of this great indignation of the pastor.

People began to lay their heads together; and a murmur went round that the bailiff had his house full of his associates.

And all the people began to turn their eyes toward his empty seat, and toward his wife.

She observed it—trembled—cast down her eyes—durst not look any body in the face; and, as soon as the singing began, made her way out of the church.

When she did that, the excitement grew still greater, and some pointed at her with their fingers; some women even stood up on the furthest benches on the women's side to see her, and there was so much disturbance that the singing went wrong.

CHAPTER XLIII.—THE COUNTRYMEN IN THE TAVERN ARE DISTURBED.

She ran home as fast as she could; and, when she entered the room, she threw the prayer-book, in a rage, amongst the glasses and jugs, and burst into a violent fit of crying.

The bailiff, and the neighbors, inquired what was the matter

Wife. "I'll soon let you know that. It's a shame for you to be drinking here on the Sabbath day."

Bailiff. "Is that all? Then there is not much amiss."

Men. "And it is the first time it ever made you cry."

Bailiff. "I thought, to be sure, thou hadst lost thy purse, at the least."

Wife. "Don't be talking thy nonsense now. If thou hadst been at church, thou wouldst not be so ready with it."

Bailiff. "What is the matter then? Do n't make such a blubbering, but tell us."

Wife. "The pastor must have got to know that these fellows of thine were drinking here during service-time."

Bailiff. "That would be a cursed business, indeed."

Wife. "He knows it, to a certainty."

Bailiff. "What Satan could tell him of it just now?"

Wife. "What Satan, thou simpleton? They come here smoking their pipes along the street, instead of by the back way; and so pass close by the elder's house. It is impossible to tell thee in what a way the pastor has been talking, and all the people have been pointing at me with their fingers."

Bailiff. "This is a damned trick that some Satan has been playing me."

Wife. "Why must you come just to-day, you drunken hounds?—you knew well enough that it was not right."

Men. "It is not our fault. He sent for us."

Wife. "Did he?"

Men. "Ay, that he did."

Bailiff. "I was in such a strange way, I could not bear to be alone."

Wife. "Well, it is no matter how it was. But, neighbors, go, as quickly as you can, through the back door, home; and take care that the people, as they come out of the church, may find every one of you at his own door—and so you may put a cloak over the thing. They have not yet quite finished the hymn, but go directly. It is high time."

Bailiff. "Yes; away with you. It is well advised."

The men went, and the bailiff's wife told him that the pastor had preached about Judas, how the devil had entered into his heart, how he had hanged himself;—and how those who went from the Lord's supper to drink and game would come to a like end."

"He was so earnest," said the woman, "that he struck the cushion with his fist, and I turned quite sick and faint."

The bailiff was so much terrified by this account that it struck him dumb, and he could not utter a word; and heavy groans escaped from the proud man, who had not been heard to utter such for years.

His wife asked him, repeatedly, why he groaned in such a manner?

He answered her not a word; but more than once he muttered to himself: "What is to be the end of this? what will become of me?"

He paced up and down the room in this way for a long time, and at last said to his wife: "Get me a cooling powder from the barber's; my blood is in a fever, and oppresses me. I will be bled to-morrow, if the medicine does not remove it."

His wife fetched him the powder; he took it, and, after a while, became easier.

CHAPTER XLIV.—DESCRIPTION OF A WICKED MAN'S FEELINGS DURING THE SACRAMENT.

THEN he told his wife how in the morning he had gone with right feelings to church, and in the beginning of the service had prayed to God to forgive his sins; but that the pastor's discourse had driven him mad, he had not had one good thought since, and dreadful and horrible things had occurred to him during the sacrament. "From the beginning to the end," said he to his wife, "I could

not utter a single prayer. My heart was like a stone; and when the pastor gave me the bread, he looked at me in a way I can not describe. No, it is impossible to give an idea of it; but I shall never forget it. When a judge condemns a poor sinner to the wheel, or the flames, and breaks his rod of office over him, he does not look at him in such a way. I can never forget how he looked at me. A cold sweat ran down my face; and my hands trembled as I took the bread from him.

"And when I had eaten it, a furious, horrible rage against the pastor took possession of me, so that I gnashed with my teeth, and durst not look round me.

"Wife! one dreadful idea after another came into my mind, and terrified me like a thunderbolt; but I could not get rid of them.

"I shuddered at the altar, so that I could not hold the cup fast; and then came Joseph, with his torn boots, and threw down his rogue's eyes when he saw me. And my three crowns!—O, how I shuddered at the thought of my three crowns.

"Then came Gertrude, who raised her eyes to heaven, and then fixed them on the cup, as if she had not seen me, as if I had not been there. She hates me, and curses me, and wishes to ruin me; and yet she could behave as if she did not see me, as if I had not been there.

"Then came the mason, and looked so sorrowfully at me, as if he would have said, from the bottom of his heart: 'Forgive me, bailiff.' He, who would bring me to the gallows, if he could.

"Then came Shaben Michel, as pale and frightened as myself, and trembling as much. Think, wife, what a state all this put me into.

"I was afraid Hans Wust would be coming too; I could not have stood that—the cup would certainly have fallen out of my hand, and I should have dropped upon the ground. As it was, I could scarcely keep upon my feet; and, when I got back to my seat, all my limbs shook, so that when they were singing I could not hold the book.

"And all the time I kept thinking—'Arner, Arner is at the bottom of all this!' and anger, fury, and revenge raged in my heart the whole time. A thing I had never thought of in my life came into my head during the sacrament. I dare scarcely tell thee what it was. I am frightened when I only think of it. It came into my head to throw his great landmark, on the hill, down the precipice. Nobody knows of the landmark but myself."

CHAPTER XLV.—THE BAILIFF'S WIFE TELLS HER HUSBAND SOME WEIGHTY TRUTHS, BUT MANY YEARS TOO LATE.

THE bailiff's speech alarmed his wife, but she knew not what to say, and was silent whilst he spoke.

Neither of them said any thing more for some time. At last the wife began, and said to him: "I am very uneasy on account of what thou hast been saying. Thou must give up these companions of thine. This business can not end well, and we are growing old."

Bailiff. "Thou art right enough there. But it is not so easy to do it."

Wife. "Easy or not, it must be done. Thou must get rid of them."

Bailiff. "Thou knowest well enough how I am tied to them, and what they know about me."

Wife. "Thou knowest still more ab They are a parcel of rogues, and dare not peach. Thou must get r

The bailiff groaned, and his wife continued:—

"They sit eating and drinking here constantly, and pay thee nothing; and when thou art intoxicated they can persuade thee to any thing. Only think how Joseph tricked thee last night. I wanted to advise thee for thy good, and pretty treatment I got for my pains. And, moreover, since yesterday two crowns more have walked out of thy waistcoat pocket, without being so much as set down. How long can this last? If thou wilt only reckon up how much thou hast spent over thy misdeeds, thou wilt find that thou hast lost by them every way. And yet thou goest on still with these people; and many a time and oft it is for the sake of nothing in the world but thy godless pride. Sometimes thou wilt have one of these hounds to say something for thee, and then another must hold his tongue for thee; and so they come and eat and drink at thy cost, and, for their gratitude, they are ready at the first turn to ruin and betray thee.

"Formerly, indeed, when they feared thee like a drawn sword, thou couldst keep these fellows in order; but now thou art their master no longer, and depend upon it, thou art a lost man in thy old age, if thou dost not look sharply after them. We are in as slippery a situation as can well be. The moment thou turnest thy back, the lads begin laughing and talking, and will not do a stroke of work, nor any thing but drink." So said the wife.

The bailiff answered her not a word, but sat staring at her, without speaking, whilst she spoke. At last he got up, and went into the garden, and from the garden into his meadow, and then into the stables. Trouble and anxiety followed him every where; but he stood still for a while in the stables, and reasoned thus with himself:—

CHAPTER XLVI.—SOLILOQUY OF A MAN WHOSE THOUGHTS UNHAPPILY LEAD HIM TOO FAR.

"WHAT my wife says is but too true; but what can I do? I can not help it; it is impossible for me to escape out of this net." So said the bailiff, and again cursed Arner, as if he had been the cause of his getting into all these difficulties; and then abused the pastor for driving him mad at church. Then he recurred again to the landmark, and said: "I will not touch the cursed stone; but if any one did remove it the squire would lose the third part of his wood. It is clear enough, that the eighth and ninth government landmark would cut through his property in a straight line. But heaven forbid that I should remove a landmark!"

Then he began again: "Suppose after all it should be no true landmark. It lies there, as if it had been since the flood, and has neither a letter nor a figure upon it."

Then he went again into the house, took down his account book—added it up—wrote in it—blotted it—separated his papers, and laid them back again—forgot what he had read—looked up again what he had written—then put the book into the chest—walked up and down the room, and kept thinking and talking to himself of "a landmark without a letter or a figure upon it. There is not such another to be found any where! What an idea is come into my head! Some ancestor of the family may have made an inroad into the government wood, and suppose this stone were of his placing! By G——, it must be [illegible] It is the most unaccountable bend in the whole government boundary. [illegible]s it goes in a straight line till it comes here, and the stone has no [illegible]nd there is no trench of separation.

"If the wood really belongs to the government, I should be doing nothing wrong. It would be only my duty to the government. But if I should be mistaken! No, I will not touch the stone. I should have to dig it up and to roll it, on some dark night, to the distance of a stone's throw over the level part to the precipice; and it is a great weight. It will not fall down like a stream of water. By day every stroke of the mattock would be heard, it is so near the highway; and at night—I dare not venture. I should start at every sound. If a badger came by, or a deer sprang up, I could not go on with the work. And who knows whether really a goblin might not catch me while I was doing it? It is not safe around the landmark in the night; I had better let it alone!"

After a while he began again: "To think that there are so many folks who don't believe either in hell or in spirits! The old attorney did not believe a word of them, nor did the pastor's assistant. By heaven, it is impossible that he could believe in any thing. And the attorney has told me plainly, a hundred times, that, when I was once dead, it would be all the same with me as with my dog or horse. This was his belief, and he was afraid of nothing, and did what he would. Suppose he were to prove right! If I could believe it, if I could hope it, if I could be assured in my heart that it was so, the first time Arner went out to hunt, I would hide myself behind a tree and shoot him dead. I would burn the pastor's house—but it is to no purpose talking. I can not believe it; I dare not hope it. It is not true; and they are fools, mistaken fools, who think so! There must be a God! There certainly must be a God! Landmark! Landmark! I will not remove thee!"

So saying the man trembled, but could not drive the thought out of his head. He shuddered with horror! He sought to escape from himself; walked up the street, joined the first neighbor he met with, and talked to him about the weather, the wind, and the snails which had injured the rye harvest for some years past.

After some time he returned home with a couple of thirsty fellows, to whom he gave something to drink, that they might stay with him. Then he took another cooling powder, and so got over the Sunday.

CHAPTER XLVII.—DOMESTIC HAPPINESS ON THE SABBATH DAY.

AND now I leave the house of wickedness for a time. It has sickened my heart to dwell upon its horrors. Now I leave them for a time, and my spirit is lightened and I breathe freely again. I approach once more the cottage where human virtue dwells.

In the morning, after Leonard and his wife were gone to church, the children sat quietly and thoughtfully together in the house, said their prayers, sang and said over what they had learned in the week; for they always had to repeat it to Gertrude every Sunday evening.

Lise, the eldest, had the care of her little brother during service time. She had to take him up, dress him, and give him his porridge; and this was always Lise's greatest Sunday treat; for, when she was looking after and feeding the child, she fancied herself a woman. You should have seen how she played the part of mother, imitated her, fondled the baby in her arms, and nodded and smiled to it; and how the little one smiled again, held out its hands, and kicked with its little feet; and how it caught hold of Lise's cap, or her hair, or her nose, and pointed to the smart Sunday handkerchief on her neck, and called out, ha! ha! and then how Nicholas and Anneli answered it, ha! ha! whilst the little

one turned its head round, to see where the voice came from, spied out Nicholas and laughed at him; and then how Nicholas sprang up to kiss and fondle his little brother; and how Lise then would have the preference, and insisted upon it that the little darling was laughing at her; and how carefully she looked after it, anticipated all its wants, played with it, and tossed it up toward the ceiling, and then carefully let it down again almost to touch the ground; how the baby laughed and crowed with delight, whilst she held it up to the looking-glass, that it might push its little hands and face against it; and how at last it caught a sight of its mother in the street, and crowed and clapped its hands, and almost sprang out of Lise's arms.

Such were the delights of Leonard's children on a Sunday or a feast day; and such delights of good children are acceptable in the sight of their God. He looks down with complacency upon the innocence of children, when they are enjoying existence; and, if they continue good and obedient, he will bless them, that it may be well with them to the end of their lives.

Gertrude was satisfied with her children, for they had done every thing as they had been told.

It is the greatest happiness of good children to know that they have given satisfaction to their father and mother.

Gertrude's children had this happiness. They climbed their parents' knees, jumped first into the arms of one, and then of the other, and clasped their little arms round their necks.

This was the luxury in which Leonard and Gertrude indulged on the Lord's day. Ever since she became a mother, it had been Gertrude's Sunday delight to rejoice over her children, and over their tender affection for their father and mother.

Leonard sighed this day, when he thought how often he had deprived himself of such pleasures.

Domestic happiness is the sweetest enjoyment of man upon earth; and the rejoicing of parents over their children is the holiest of human joys. It purifies and hallows the heart, and raises it toward the heavenly Father of all. Therefore the Lord blesses the tears of delight which flow from such feelings, and richly repays every act of parental watchfulness and kindness.

But the ungodly man, who cares not for his children, and to whom they are a trouble and a burthen—the ungodly man, who flies from them on the week day, and conceals himself from them on the Sabbath; who escapes from their innocent enjoyment, and finds no pleasure in them till they are corrupted by the world, and become like himself—this man throws away from him the best blessing of life. He will not in his old age rejoice in his children, nor derive any comfort from them.

On the Sabbath days Leonard and Gertrude, in the joy of their hearts spoke to their children of the goodness of their God, and of the compassion of their Saviour.

The children listened silently and attentively, and the hour of noon passed swiftly and happily away.

Then the bells began to ring, and Leonard and Gertrude went again to church.

On their way they passed by the bailiff's house, and Leonard said to Gertrude: "The bailiff looked shockingly this morning. I never in my life saw him look so before. The sweat dropped from his forehead as he assisted at the

sacrament. Didst thou not notice it, Gertrude? I perceived that he trembled when he gave me the cup."

"I did not notice it," said Gertrude.

Leonard. "I was quite disturbed to see the man in such a state. If I durst, I would have asked him to forgive me; and if I could in any way show him that I wish him no ill, I would do it gladly."

Gertrude. "May God reward thee for thy kind heart, Leonard. It will be right to do so, whenever thou hast an opportunity. But Rudi's poor children, and many others, cry out for vengeance against this man, and he will not be able to escape."

Leon. "I am quite grieved to see him so very unhappy. I have perceived, for a long time past, amidst all the noisy merriment of his house, that some anxiety preyed upon him constantly."

Ger. "My dear husband, whoever departs from a quiet, holy life can never be really happy."

Leon. "If I ever in my life saw any thing clearly, it was this: that however the bailiff's followers, whom he had about him in the house, might help him in the way of assistance, or advice, or cheating, or violence, they never procured for him a single hour of contentment and ease."

As they were thus conversing, they arrived at church, and were there very much moved by the great earnestness with which the pastor discoursed upon the character of the traitor.

Chapter XLVIII.—Some Observations upon Sin.

Gertrude, amongst the rest, had heard what was said, in the women's seats, about the bailiff's house being again full of his people, and after church she told Leonard of it. He answered: "I can scarcely believe it, during church time, and on a Sunday."

Gertrude. "It is indeed very sad. But the entanglements of an ungodly life lead to all, even the most fearful wickedness. I shall never forget the description our late pastor gave us of sin, the last time we received the sacrament from him. He compared it to a lake, which from continual rains overflowed its banks. The swelling of the lake, said he, is imperceptible, but it increases every day and hour, and rises higher and higher, and the danger is as great as if it overflowed violently with a sudden storm.

"Therefore the experienced and prudent examine, in the beginning, all the dams and embankments, to see whether they are in a fit condition to resist the force of the waters. But the inexperienced and imprudent pay no attention to the rising of the lake, till the dams are burst, and the fields and pastures laid waste, and till the alarm bell warns all in the country to save themselves from the devastation. It is thus, said he, with sin and the ruin which it occasions.

"I am not yet old, but I have already observed, a hundred times, that the good pastor was right, and that every one who persists in the habitual commission of any one sin, hardens his heart, so that he no longer perceives the increase of its wickedness, till destruction and horror awaken him out of his sleep."

Chapter XLIX.—The Character and Education of Children.

Conversing in this manner, they returned to their own cottage.

The children ran down the steps to meet their father and mother, and called out: "O, come, pray come, mother! we want to repeat what we learned last week, that we may be ready directly."

Gertrude. "Why are you in such haste, my loves? What need is there for it?"

Children. "O, when we have repeated, mother, you know what we may do then with our afternoon bread. You know, mother, what you promised yesterday."

Mother. "I shall be very glad to hear whether you can say what you have learned."

Chil. "But then we may do it afterward, mother! may we not?"

Mother. "Yes, if you are perfect."

The children were in great delight, and immediately repeated what they had learned, very perfectly.

Then the mother gave them their pieces of bread and two bowls of milk, from which she had not taken the cream, because it was Sunday.

She then took the baby in her arms, and rejoiced in her heart to hear the children laying their plans, and telling each other how they would give their bread. Not one of them ate a mouthful of it, not one of them dipped a morsel into the milk, but each rejoiced over his piece, showed it to the others, and maintained that it was the largest share.

The milk was soon finished, but the bread was all lying by the mother. Nicholas crept up to her, took her hand, and said: "You will give me a piece of bread for myself too, mother?"

Mother. "Thou hast got it already, Nicholas."

Nicholas. "Yes; but that is what I must give to Rudeli."

Mother. "I did not bid thee give it to him; thou mayst eat it thyself, if thou wilt."

Nich. "No, I will not eat it; but will you not give me another piece for myself, mother?"

Mother. "No, certainly not."

Nich. "Why not, mother?"

Mother. "That thou mayst not fancy that people should begin to think of the poor, only when they are satisfied, and have eaten as much as they can."

Nich. "Is that the reason, mother?"

Mother. "Wilt thou now give him the whole?"

Nich. "O, yes, to be sure I will, mother. I know he is terribly hungry, and we shall eat again at six o'clock."

Mother. "And, Nicholas, I think Rudeli will get nothing then."

Nich. "No, indeed, mother; he will have no supper."

Mother. "The want of those poor children is great indeed, and one must be very hard and cruel not to spare, whatever one can, from one's own food, to relieve them in their distress."

Tears came into the eyes of Nicholas. The mother then turned to the other children: "Lise, dost thou mean to give away all thy piece?"

Lise. "Yes, certainly, mother."

Mother. "And thou too, Enne?"

Enne. "Yes, mother."

Mother. "And thou too, Jonas?"

Jonas. "I think so, mother."

Mother. "I am glad of it, my children. But how will you set about it? Every thing should be done in the right way, and people who mean very well, often manage very ill. Tell me, Nicholas, how wilt thou give thy bread?"

Nich. "I will run, as fast as I can, and call him, Rudeli, I mean; but I will not put it into my pocket, that I may give it him sooner. Let me go now, mother."

Mother. "Stop a moment, Nicholas. And how wilt thou manage, Lise?"

Lise. "I will not do like Nicholas. I will beckon Betheli into a corner; I will hide the bread under my apron, and I will give it her, so that nobody may see it, not even her father."

Mother. "And what wilt thou do, Enne?"

Enne. "I do n't know where I shall meet with Heireli: I will give it as I find best at the time."

Mother. "And thou, Jonas! Thou hast some trick in thy head, little rogue. How wilt thou do?"

Jonas. "I will stick my bread into his mouth as you do, mother, when you are playing with me. I shall say to him: Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and then I shall put it between his teeth. I am sure he will laugh then, mother."

Mother. "Very well, my children. But I must tell you one thing. You must give the children the bread quietly, and so as not to be observed; lest people should think you fancy you are doing a very fine thing."

Nich. "Potz tausend, mother! then I had better put the bread into my pocket, after all."

Mother. "I think so, Nicholas."

Lise. "I thought of that before, mother; and that was the reason why I said I should not do like him."

Mother. "Thou art always the cleverest, Lise. I ought not to have forgotten to praise thee for it, and thou dost well to remind me of it."

Lise blushed and was silent, and the mother said to the children: "You may go now, but remember what I have said to you." The children went.

Nicholas ran and leaped, as fast as he could, down to Rudi's house, but Rudeli was not in the street. Nicholas shouted, and whistled, and called, but in vain; he did not come out, even to the window. Then said Nicholas to himself: "What must I do now? Must I go into the house to him? But I must give it him alone. I will go and tell him to come out into the street."

Rudeli was sitting with his father and sisters by the open coffin of his dear grandmother, who was to be buried in two hours; and the father and his children were talking, with tears in their eyes, of the kindness and love which she had always shown them. They wept over her last trouble about the potatoes, and promised again, as they looked at her, that, however hungry they might be, they would never steal from any body.

At this moment Nicholas opened the door, saw the dead body, was frightened, and ran out of the house again.

Rudi, who thought he might have some message to him from Leonard, went after the boy, and asked what he wanted. "Nothing, nothing," answered Nicholas, "only I wanted to speak to Rudeli, but he is at his prayers."

Rudi. "You may come in, if you want him."

Nich. "Let him come here to me for a moment."

Rudi. "It is so cold, and he does not like to leave his grandmother. Come into the house to him."

Nich. "I can not go in, Rudi. Let him come to me for a moment."

"Well then, he shall," answered Rudi, and went back into the house.

Nicholas followed him to the door, and called: "Rudeli, come here just for one moment."

Rudeli. "I can not come into the street, Nicholas! I would rather stay with my grandmother. They will soon take her away from us."

Nich. "It is but for a moment."

Rudi. "Go and see what he wants."

Rudeli went out, and Nicholas took him by the arm, and saying: "Come here, I have something to say to you," led him into a corner, thrust the bread quickly into his pocket, and ran away.

Rudeli thanked him, and called after him: "Thank your father and your mother too."

Nicholas turned round, made a sign to him, with his hand, to be quiet, said: "Do n't tell any body," and went off again like an arrow.

CHAPTER L.—CONCEIT AND BAD HABITS INTERFERE WITH OUR HAPPINESS, EVEN WHEN WE ARE DOING A KIND ACTION.

LISE, in the meantime, walked deliberately to the higher village, to Betheli, Marx Reuti's daughter. She was standing at the window.

Lise beckoned to her, and Betheli crept out of the house. But her father, who observed it, followed her, and hid himself behind the door.

The children thought not of him, and chattered away to their hearts' content.

Lise. "Betheli, I have brought you some bread."

Betheli. (Shivering, and stretching out her hand.) "You are very kind, Lise; and I am very hungry. But why do you bring me bread to-day?"

Lise. "Because I like you, Betheli. We have now bread enough. My father is to build the church."

Beth. "And so is mine, too."

Lise. "Yes; but your father is only a day-laborer."

Beth. "It is all the same thing, if it brings us bread."

Lise. "Have you been very ill off?"

Beth. "O! I do hope we shall do better now."

Lise. "What have you had for dinner?"

Beth. "I dare not tell you."

Lise. "Why not?"

Beth. "If my father were to find it out, he would—"

Lise. "I shall never tell him."

Betheli took a piece of a raw turnip out of her pocket, and said: "See here."

Lise. "Goodness! nothing better than that?"

Beth. "We have had nothing better this two days."

Lise. "And you must not tell any body; nor ask any body for any thing—"

Beth. "If he only knew I had told you, it would be a pretty business for me."

Lise. "Well, eat the bread before you go in again."

Beth. "Yes, that I will, or I shall not get it."

She began to eat, and at that moment Marx opened the door, and said: "What art thou eating, my child?"

His child gulped and swallowed down the unchewed mouthful, and said: "Nothing, nothing, father."

Marx. "Nothing was it? but stop a moment! Lise, I do n't like people to give my children bread, behind my back, for telling them such godless lies about

what is eaten and drunk in the house. Thou godless Betheli! dost thou not know that we had a chicken for dinner to-day?"

Lise now walked off as fast, as she had come deliberately.

But Marx took Betheli by the arm, and dragged her into the house, and Lise heard her crying bitterly, even when she was a great way off.

Enne met Heireli in the door-way of his own house, and said: "Would you like a piece of bread?"

Heireli. "Yes, if you have any for me." Enne gave it him; he thanked her, and she went away again.

Jonas crept about Shaben Michel's house, till Robert saw him, and came out. "What are you after, Jonas?" said Robert.

Jonas. "I want to have some play."

Robert. "Well, I will play with you, Jonas."

Jonas. "Will you do what I tell you, Robert? and then we shall have some sport."

Robt. "What do you want me to do?"

Jonas. "You must shut your eyes, and open your mouth."

Robt. "Ay, but perhaps you will put something dirty into my mouth."

Jonas. "No, I promise you, faithfully, I will not, Robert."

Robt. "Well—but look to it if you cheat me, Jonas!" (He opened his mouth, and half shut his eyes.)

Jonas. "You must shut your eyes quite close, or it will not do."

Robt. "Yes! but if you should prove a rogue, Jonas;" said Robert, shutting his eyes quite close.

Jonas popped the bread into his mouth directly, and ran off.

Robert took the bread out of his mouth, and said: "This is good sport, indeed," and sat down to eat it.

CHAPTER LL.—NO MAN CAN TELL WHAT HAPPY CONSEQUENCES MAY RESULT FROM EVEN THE MOST TRIFLING GOOD ACTION.

SHABEN MICHEL saw the sport of the children from the window, and knew Jonas, Leonard's son, and it struck him to the heart.

"What a Satan I am!" said he to himself. "I have sold myself to the bailiff, to betray the man who provides me with work and food, and now I must see that even this little fellow has the heart of an angel. I will not do any thing to injure these people. Since yesterday, the bailiff has been an abomination to me. I can not forget his look when he gave me the cup!" So said the man, and he remained at home the rest of the evening, thinking over his past conduct.

Leonard's children were now all returned, and told their father and mother how they had gone on, and were very merry—all except Lise, who tried, nevertheless, to look like the rest, and said a great deal about Betheli's delight when she received the bread.

"I am sure something has happened to thee," said Gertrude.

"O, no, nothing has happened; and she was very glad, indeed, to have it," answered Lise.

Her mother inquired no further, but prayed with her children, gave them their suppers, and put them to bed.

Afterward Leonard and Gertrude read for an hour in the Bible, and talked about what they had read, and passed a very happy Sunday evening together.

CHAPTER LII.—EARLY IN THE MORNING IS TOO LATE FOR WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE THE EVENING BEFORE.

VERY early in the morning, as soon as the mason awoke, he heard some one calling to him, in the front of the house, and got up immediately, and opened the door.

It was Flink, the huntsman, from the hall. He wished the mason good morning, and said: "Mason, I should have told thee, last night, to set the men to work this morning without delay, at breaking stone."

Mason. "From what I hear, the bailiff has told all the workmen to go to the hall this morning. But it is early yet, they can scarcely be set out, and I will tell them."

He called to Lenk, who lived next door, but got no answer.

After some time, Keller, who lodged in the same house, came out, and said: 'Lenk went half an hour ago to the hall, with the rest of the men. The bailiff told them last night, after supper, that they must, without fail, be at the hall betimes, as he had to be at home again by noon."

The huntsman was very uneasy at the intelligence, and said: "This is a cursed business!" "But what must be done?" said the mason.

Flink. "Is there any chance of overtaking them?"

Mason. "From Marti's hill thou mayst see them a mile and a half off; and, if the wind be fair, thou mayst call them back so far."

Flink made no delay, but ran quickly up the hill, called, whistled, and shouted with all his might, but in vain. They did not hear him, but went their way, and were soon out of sight.

The bailiff, who was not so far off, heard him call from the hill, and looked out. The huntsman's gun glittered in the sun, so that the bailiff recognized him, and wondered what the man wanted, and went back to meet him.

Flink told him that he had had a terrible headache the day before, and had delayed going, to tell the mason to set the men to work to break stone the first thing this morning.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE MORE CULPABLE A MAN IS HIMSELF, THE MORE VIOLENTLY DOES HE ABUSE ANOTHER WHO HAS DONE WRONG.

"THOU cursed knave! what a trick thou hast played now!" said the bailiff.

Flink. "Perhaps it will not turn out so ill. How the deuce could I tell that the fellows would all run off to the hall before daybreak! Was it by your orders?"

Bailiff. "Yes, it was, thou dog; and I suppose I shall now have to answer for thy fault."

Flink. "I wish I may come clear off myself."

Bailiff. "It is a cursed—"

Flink. "That was the very word I used myself, when I heard they were gone."

Bailiff. "I want no nonsense now, knave."

Flink. "Nor I neither; but what is to be done?"

Bailiff. "You fool, think."

Flink. "It is half an hour too late for my brains to discover any."

Bailiff. "Stop—one must never despair! A thought strikes me. Maintain

boldly that thou gavest the order last night to the mason's wife, or to one of his children. They will not out-talk thee, if thou art resolute."

Flink. "I will not try that plan. It may miss."

Bailiff. "Nay, it could not miss, if thou wert steady. But, upon second thoughts, I have hit upon another which is better."

Flink. "What's that?"

Bailiff. "Thou must run back to the mason, and lament and grieve over it; and tell him, it may be a great loss to thee to have neglected the order; but that he may get thee out of trouble by speaking one word for thee, and telling the squire that he received his note on the Sunday; and, by mistake, as it was the Sabbath, had not opened it till to-day.

"This will not hurt him in the least, and will get thee out of the scrape, if thou canst persuade him to do it."

Flink. "You are right there, and I think it will do."

Bailiff. "It can not miss."

Flink. "I must go now. I have other letters to take, but I will return some time this morning to the mason. Good-by, Bailiff."

When the bailiff was left alone, he said: "I will go now and give this account at the hall. If it does not agree, I will say it is what the huntsman told me."

CHAPTER LIV.—USELESS LABOR FOR POOR PEOPLE.

IN the meantime, the day-laborers arrived at the hall, sat down on the benches near the door, and waited till they were summoned, or till the bailiff, who had promised to follow them, should arrive.

When the squire's footman saw the men at the door, he went down to them, and said: "What are you here for, neighbors? My master thinks you are at work at the building."

The men answered: "The bailiff told us to come here to thank the squire for giving us the work."

"That was not necessary," answered Claus. "He will not keep you long for that; but I will tell him you are here."

The footman told his master, and the squire ordered the men to come in, and asked them, kindly, what they wanted.

When they had told him, and, awkwardly and with difficulty, stammered out something of thanks, the squire said: "Who told you to come here on this account?"

"The bailiff," replied the men, and again attempted to give him thanks.

"This has happened against my wish," said Arner. "But go away now, and be diligent and faithful, and I shall be glad if the work is of use to any of you. And tell your master that you must begin to break the stone to-day."

Then the men went home again.

CHAPTER LV.—A HYPOCRITE MAKES FRIENDS WITH A ROGUE.

AND as they returned, one of the men said to the others: "This young squire is a very kind-hearted man."

"And so would the old one have been too, if he had not been imposed upon, in a thousand ways," said the old men with one voice.

"My father has told me, a hundred times, that he was very well inclined in his youth, and would have continued so, if he had not been so infatuated by the bailiff," said Abi.

'And then it was all over with the squire's kindness. It dropped only into

the bailiff's chest, and he led him about, as he chose, like a great Polar bear," said Leemann.

"What a shameful trick he has played us now, to send us all this way without orders, and then leave us to get out of the scrape ourselves," said Lenk.

"That is always his way," said Kienast.

"And a villainous way it is," answered Lenk.

"Yes, but the bailiff is a worthy man! People like us can not always judge of the reasons for such things," answered Kriecher, in a raised tone; for he saw the bailiff creeping along the hollow, and very near them.

"The devil! thou mayest praise him if thou wilt, but I will praise the squire for the future," said Lenk, almost as loudly; for he did not see the bailiff below.

The latter now, as he was speaking, came up out of the hollow, wished them good morning, and then said to Lenk: "And why art thou praising the squire at this rate?"

Lenk answered, in some confusion: "Because we were talking together about his being so good-natured and kind to us."

"But that was not all," answered the bailiff.

"I know of nothing more," said Lenk.

"It is not right for a man to take back his words in that way, Lenk," said Kriecher, and continued: "He was not alone in what he said, Mr. Bailiff. Some of the others were murmuring that you had left them in such a way, and I was saying that such as we could not judge of your reasons; and upon this, Lenk said: 'I might praise the bailiff if I would, but that he would praise the squire for the future.'"

"Aye, indeed! and so thou wert comparing the squire with me," said the bailiff, sneeringly.

"But he did not mean it, as it is now represented," said some of the men, shaking their heads, and murmuring against Kriecher.

"There is no need of any explanation and no harm done. It is an old proverb, Whose bread I eat, his praise I sing," said the bailiff, and shaking Kriecher by the hand, he said no more upon the subject, but asked the men whether Arner had been angry.

"No;" answered the men, "not at all. He only said, we must go home again, and without fail begin the work to-day."

"Tell the mason so, and that the mistake is of no consequence—my respects to him," said the bailiff, and proceeded on his way; as did the men.

Some time before this, the huntsman had been to the mason, and begged and entreated him to say that he had received the note on the Sunday.

The mason was willing to oblige the bailiff and the huntsman, and mentioned it to his wife.

"I am afraid of every thing which is not straight-forward," said she, "and I dare say the bailiff has already made his own excuse. If the squire asks thee, I think thou must tell him the truth; but perhaps he will not inquire any thing more about it; and then thou canst leave it as it is, that nobody may be brought into trouble." Leonard accordingly told the huntsman that he would do this.

In the mean time the men returned from the hall.

"You are soon back again," said the mason.

"We might have spared our labor altogether;" replied they.

Leonard. "Was he angry about the mistake?"

Men. "No, not at all! He was very friendly and kind, and told us to go back and begin the work to-day.

Flink. "You see it will be of no consequence to you. It is a very different thing for me and the bailiff."

"O, but the bailiff's message; we had nearly forgotton it," said Hubel Rudi; "he sent his respects to thee, and the mistake was of no consequence."

Leon. "Had he been with the squire, when you met him?"

Men. "No; we met him on his way."

Leon. "Then he knew no more than what you told him, and what I now know myself?"

Men. "No! to be sure he did not."

Flink. "You will keep your promise, mason?"

Leon. "Yes, but exactly as I told you."

The mason then ordered the men to be at their work early, prepared some tools, and, after he had got his dinner, went with the men, for the first time, to the work.

"May God Almighty grant his blessing upon it," said Gertrude, as he went out.

CHAPTER LVI.—IT IS DECIDED THAT THE BAILIFF MUST NO LONGER BE A LANDLORD.

WHEN the bailiff came to the hall, Arner kept him waiting some time. At last he came out of the avenue and asked him, with some displeasure: "What is the meaning of this? Why did you send all these people to the hall to-day, without orders?"

"I thought it was my duty to advise them to thank your honor for your goodness," answered the bailiff.

Arner replied, "Your duty is to do what is useful to me and to my people, and what I order you, but not to send poor folks all this way for nothing, to teach them to make fine speeches, which are of no use, and which I do not seek for. But the reason why I sent for you, was to tell you, that I will no longer have the situation of bailiff and landlord filled by the same person."

The bailiff turned pale, trembled, and knew not what to reply; for he was quite unprepared for such a sudden resolution.

Arner continued, "I will leave you to choose which of the two you prefer; but in a fortnight I must know your determination."

The bailiff had somewhat recovered himself again, and stammered out some thanks for the time allowed him to think of it. Arner replied, "I should be sorry to be hasty with any body, and I do not wish to oppress you, old man. But the two offices are incompatible with each other."

This kindness of Arner encouraged the bailiff. He answered, "Till now all the bailiffs in your employ have kept tavern, and it is a common practice throughout the country."

But Arner answered him shortly, and said: "You have heard my decision." He then took out his almanac, and said again, "This is the 20th of March, and in a fortnight it will be the 3d of April; therefore, upon the 3d of April, I expect your answer. Till then, I have no more to say." Arner then marked down the day in his almanac, and went into the house.

CHAPTER LVII.—HIS CONDUCT UPON THE OCCASION.

ANXIOUS and troubled at heart, the bailiff also departed. This blow had so much overcome him, that he took no notice of any of the people he met on his

way down the steps, and through the avenue; and he scarcely knew where he was, till he came to the old nut-tree. There he stopped, and said to himself, "I must take breath. How my heart beats! I don't know whether I stand on my head or my feet. Without making a single complaint, without making any inquiry, merely because it is his pleasure, I am either to give up being bailiff, or landlord. This is beyond all bounds. Can he compel me to it? I think not. He can not take away my bailiff's coat, without bringing some charge against me; and the landlord's license is paid for. But if he should try, if he should seek for open accusation, he may find as much as he will. Of all the damned fellows I have served, there is not one who would be true to me. What must I do, now! A fortnight is something, however; I have often done a great deal in that time. If I can only keep up my spirits! The mason is at the bottom of all this. If I can only ruin him, it will be every thing. I can manage all the rest. But how very faint and weak I am!" So saying, he took a brandy bottle out of his pocket, sat down in the shade of the tree, applied to his constant remedy, and swallowed down one draught after another. A thief or a murderer, who is pursued by a warrant, is not more refreshed by his first draught of water in a free land, than the bailiff's rancorous heart was encouraged by his brandy bottle. He felt himself better again immediately, and, with his strength, his wicked daring also revived. "This has refreshed me greatly," said he to himself. And he got up again, with the air of a bold man who bears himself loftily. "A little while ago," said he, "I thought they would eat me up for their supper, but now I feel once more as if I could crush the mason, and the fine young squire himself, with my little finger. It is well I did not leave my bottle behind me. I am a sad poor creature without it."

Thus reasoned the bailiff with himself. His fears had now entirely given place to anger, pride, and his brandy bottle.

He walked along once more, as insolently and as full of malice as usual.

He nodded to the people in the fields, who saluted him, with almost his wonted bailiff's pride. He carried his knotted stick in a commanding manner, as if he were of more importance in the country than ten Arners. He pursed up his mouth, and opened his eyes, as wide and round as a plough-wheel, as they say in this country. Thus did the blockhead behave at a time when he had so little cause for it.

Chapter LVIII.—His Companion.

By his side walked his great Turk; a dog who, at a word from the bailiff, showed his great white teeth and snarled at every body, but faithfully followed his master through life and death. This great Turk was as much the terror of all the poor folks around, as his master was of all his oppressed dependents and debtors. This powerful Turk walked majestically by the side of the bailiff—but I dare not utter what is at my tongue's end, only it is certain that the bailiff, who was in a furious rage, had something in the expression of his face which reminded one very much of the dog.

Chapter LIX.—Explanation of a Difficulty.

Perhaps some simple inquirer may wonder how the bailiff, after yesterday's trouble, and his fright this morning, could still bear himself so haughtily. An experienced man will see the reason at once. Pride never torments a man more, than when he is under a cloud. As long as all is prosperous, and nobody can doubt a man's greatness, he seldom thinks it necessary to look so very

big. But when on all sides people begin to rejoice over his failures, it is no longer the same thing—then the blood gets heated, foams, and runs over like hot butter in a kettle, and this was exactly the bailiff's case. Moreover, it was very natural, and the most simple may understand it, that after he had recruited himself under the nut-tree, he should be able to conduct himself as haughtily as I have described. Besides this, he had slept better than usual the night before, on account of having taken his two powders, and drunk little, and his head, this morning, was quite cleared from the uneasiness and anxiety of the preceding day.

Chapter LX.—A digression.

It would, indeed, have been better for the bailiff if he had broken his brandy bottle to atoms, under the nut-tree, and gone back to his master to explain to him his situation, and to tell him that he was not rich, and had need both of his office of bailiff, and of his tavern, on account of his debts, and entreat him to show compassion and mercy toward him. I am sure Arner would not have driven away the old man, if he had acted thus.

But such is always the ill fate of the ungodly. Their crimes deprive them of their reason, and they become, as it were, blind in their greatest difficulties, and act like madmen in their distress; whilst, on the contrary, good and honest men, who have pure and upright hearts, keep their senses much better in their misfortunes, and therefore generally know better how to help themselves, and how to act in all the chances of life.

They bear their misfortunes with humility, ask forgiveness for their faults, and in their necessity look up to that Power who always lends assistance in need, to those who seek his help with pure hearts.

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, is a protection and polar star to them, through life, and they always so pass through the world, as, in the end, to thank God from their hearts.

But the wickedness of the ungodly man leads him from one depth to another. He never uses his understanding in the straight paths of simplicity, to seek for repose, justice, and peace. He uses it only in the crooked way of wickedness, to create distress, and to bring about disturbance. Therefore he is always unhappy, and in his necessity becomes insolent.

He denies his faults, he is proud in his distress. He seeks to help and save himself either by hypocrisy and servility, or by force and cunning.

He trusts to his own misled and disordered understanding. He turns away from the hand of his father, which is stretched out toward him, and when his voice says: "Humble thyself! it is a father's hand which chastens and will help thee," he despises the voice of his deliverer, and says: "With my own hand, and with my own head, will I save myself." Therefore the end of the ungodly man is always utter misery and woe.

Chapter LXI.—An old man lays open his heart.

I have been young, and now am old, and I have many times, and often, observed the ways of the pious, and of the ungodly. I have seen the boys of the village grow up with me. I have seen them become men, and bring up children and grand-children—and now have I accompanied all those of my own age, except seven, to the grave. O God! thou knowest the hour, when I too must follow my brethren! My strength decays, but my eyes are fixed upon the Lord! Our life is like a flower of the field, which in the morning springs up,

and in the evening withers away. O Lord, our God! thou art merciful and gracious toward those who put their trust in thee—therefore does my soul hope in thee; but the way of the sinner leads to destruction. Children of my village, O listen to instruction. Hear what is the life of the ungodly, that you may become holy. I have seen children who were insolent to their parents, and heeded not their affection. All of them came to a bad end. I knew the father of the wretched Uli. I lived under the same roof with him; and saw, with my own eyes, how the godless son tormented and insulted his poor father. And as long as I live, I shall never forget how the old man wept over him, an hour before his death. I saw the wicked boy laugh at his funeral! Can God suffer such a wretch to live? thought I.

What followed? He married a woman who had a large property, and he was then one of the richest men of the village, and went about, in his pride and in his wickedness, as if there were none in heaven, or upon earth, above him.

A year passed over, and then I saw the proud Uli sorrow and lament at his wife's funeral. He was obliged to give back her property, to the last farthing, to her relations. He was suddenly become as poor as a beggar, and in his poverty he stole, and you know what was his end. Children, thus have I always seen that the end of the ungodly man is misery and woe.

But I have also seen the manifold blessings and comforts in the quiet cottages of the pious. They enjoy whatever they have; they are content if they have little, and sober if they have much.

Industry is in their hands, and peace in their hearts—such is their lot in life. They enjoy their own with gladness, and covet not what is their neighbors.

Pride never torments them, envy does not embitter their lives. Therefore they are always more cheerful and contented, and generally more healthy, than the ungodly. They go through the necessary evils of life more safely and peacefully; for their heads, and their hearts, are not turned to wickedness, but are with their work, and the beloved inmates of their own cottages. Therefore they enjoy life. Their heavenly Father looks down upon their cares and anxieties, and assists them.

Dear children of my native village! I have seen many pious men and women upon their death-beds, and I have never heard any—not a single one, amongst them all—complain, in that hour, of the poverty and hardships of life. All, without exception, thanked God for the thousand proofs of his paternal goodness, which they had enjoyed through life.

O my children! be then pious, and remain single-hearted and innocent. I have seen the consequences of sly and cunning habits.

Hummel and his associates were much more crafty than the rest. They knew a thousand tricks, of which the others never dreamed. This made them proud, and they thought that sincere men were only to be their fools. For a time they devoured the bread of the widow and of the orphan—they raged and were furious against all who would not bow down the knee to them. But their end is approaching. The Lord in heaven heard the sighs of the widow and of the orphan, and saw the tears of the mother, which she shed with her children, on account of the wicked men who led away and oppressed the husband and the father; and the Lord in heaven helped the oppressed ones and the orphans, when they had given up all hope of recovering their rights.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE HORRORS OF AN UNEASY CONSCIENCE.

ON Saturday evening, when Hans Wust left the bailiff and went home, the pangs of perjury tormented him still more, so that he threw himself upon the ground and groaned in anguish.

Thus was he distracted the whole night, and on the following sabbath he tore his hair, struck his breast with his hands, violently, could neither eat nor drink, and called out: "O, O, this meadow of Rudi's! O, O, his meadow, his meadow! It tortures my very soul! O, O, Satan has got possession of me! O, woe is me! Woe to my miserable soul!"

Thus he wandered about, tormented and distracted by the thoughts of his perjury, and groaned in the bitter agony of his spirit.

Worn out with such dreadful sufferings, he at length, on Sunday evening, fell asleep for a time.

In the morning he was a little easier, and came to the resolution no longer to keep his sufferings to himself, but to tell all to the pastor.

He took his Sunday coat, and whatever else he could find, and fastened all together in a bundle, that he might borrow upon them the money he owed the bailiff.

He then took up the bundle, trembled, went to the pastor's house, stood still, was very near running away again, stood still once more, threw the bundle in at the door-way, and gestured like one out of his mind.

CHAPTER LXIII.—KINDNESS AND SYMPATHY SAVE A WRETCHED MAN FROM BECOMING UTTERLY DISTRACTED.

THE pastor saw him in this situation, went to him, and said: "What is the matter, Wust? What dost thou want? Come into the house, if thou hast any thing to say to me."

Then Wust followed the pastor into his room.

And the pastor was as kind and friendly as possible to Wust; for he saw his confusion and distress, and had, the day before, heard a report that he was almost in despair on account of his perjury.

When Wust saw how kind and friendly the pastor was toward him, he recovered himself a little, by degrees, and said:—

"Honorable Herr Pastor! I believe I have sworn a false oath, and am almost in despair about it. I can not bear it any longer. I will willingly submit to all the punishment I have deserved, if I may only again hope in the mercy and goodness of God."

CHAPTER LXIV.—A PASTOR'S TREATMENT OF A CASE OF CONSCIENCE.

THE pastor answered: "If thou art truly grieved at heart, on account of thy fault, distrust not God's mercy."

Wust. "O sir, may I, may I ever, in this my crime, hope for God's mercy, that he will forgive me my sins?"

Pastor. "If God has brought a man to a true repentance of his sins, so that he earnestly longs and sighs after pardon, he has already pointed out to him the way to forgiveness, and to the obtaining of all spiritual mercies. Depend upon this, Wust! and if thy repentance be really from thy heart, doubt not that it will be acceptable in the sight of God."

Wust. "But can I know that it is acceptable to him?"

Pastor. "Thou mayest easily know, by faithfully examining thyself, whether

it be really sincere, and from the bottom of thy heart; and if it be, it will certainly be acceptable to God. This is all I can say. But, Wust! if any one has encroached upon his neighbor's land, and repents of it, he goes, without his neighbor's knowledge or request, and, quietly and of his own accord, restores the land, and gives back rather more than less than what he had taken from him. In this case, we can not but be convinced that his repentance is sincere.

"But if he does not restore it, or only part of it, to him—if he gives it back unfairly—if he is only anxious not to be brought before a magistrate—if it is all for his own sake and not for the sake, of his neighbor whom he has injured—then are his repentance and his restoration only a cloak with which the foolish man cheats himself. Wust! if thou, in thy heart, seekest for nothing, but to amend and rectify all the mischief which thy wickedness has caused, and all the trouble which it has occasioned, and to obtain the forgiveness of God and man; if thou wishest for nothing else, and wilt willingly do and suffer any thing, to make all possible amends for thy fault; then is thy repentance certainly sincere, and there is no doubt that it will be acceptable to God."

Wust. "O, sir! I will most willingly do and suffer any thing whatever, upon God's earth, if this weight may only be removed from my heart. It is such a dreadful torment! Wherever I go, whatever I do, I tremble under this sin."

Pastor. "Fear not! Set about the business with sincerity and truth, and thou wilt certainly become easier."

Wust. "If I might only hope for that!"

Pastor. "Be not afraid! Trust in God! He is the God of the sinner who flies unto him. Only do all thou canst, with sincerity and uprightness. The greatest misfortune which has happened, in consequence of thy oath, is the situation of poor Rudi, who, owing to it, has fallen into grievous distress; but I hope the squire, when thou tellest him the whole affair, will himself take care that the man is comforted in his necessity."

Wust. "It is, indeed, poor Rudi, who is a continual weight upon my heart. Does your reverence think the squire will be able to help him to his meadow again?"

Pastor. "I don't know that. The bailiff will certainly do all in his power to throw suspicion upon thy present testimony. But, on the other hand, the squire will do his best, to help the unfortunate man to get his own again."

Wust. "O, if he can only accomplish that!"

Pastor. "I wish he may, with all my heart! and I hope he will—but, whatever may happen to Rudi, it is necessary that, for thine own sake and for thy peace of mind, thou shouldst tell the whole truth to the squire."

Wust. "I will willingly do that, your reverence."

Pastor. "It is the right way, and I am glad that thou dost it so willingly. It will bring back rest and peace to thy heart. But, at the same time, this acknowledgment will bring blame, and trouble, and imprisonment, and grievous distress upon thee."

Wust. "O, sir! all that is nothing in comparison of the horrors of despair, and the fear of never again obtaining the forgiving mercy of God."

Pastor. "Thou seest the thing so properly and sensibly, that I am glad at heart on thy account. Pray unto God, who has given thee so many good thoughts, and so much strength for good and right resolutions, that he will grant thee still further favor. Thou art now in an excellent way, and wilt, with God's assistance, bear with patience and humility whatever may await thee—and, what-

ever happens to thee, open thy heart to me. I will certainly never forsake thee."

Wust. "O, sir! how kind, how tender you are to such a wicked sinner!"

Pastor. "God himself is all love and forbearance in his dealings with us poor mortals, and I should indeed be a faithless servant to him, if I were cruel, and unfeeling, and severe to one of my own erring brethren, whatever might be his situation."

In this paternal manner did the pastor talk to Wust, who burst into tears, and for some time could not speak.

The pastor also remained silent.

Wust, at last, began again and said: "Please your reverence, I have one thing more to say."

Pastor. "What is it?"

Wust. "Since this affair, I have owed the bailiff eight florins. He said, the day before yesterday, that he would tear the note; but I will not receive any thing from him. I will pay it back to him."

Pastor. "Thou art right. Thou must certainly do that, and before thou speakest to Arner upon the subject."

Wust. "I have brought a bundle with me. It is my Sunday coat and some other things, which together are well worth eight florins. I must borrow this money, and I thought you would not be angry, if I were to beg you to lend it me, upon this pledge."

Pastor. "I never take security from any body, and I am obliged often to refuse such requests, sorry as I may be to do so; but in thy case I will not refuse."

Immediately he gave him the money, and said: "Take it directly to the bailiff, and carry thy bundle home with thee."

CHAPTER LXV.—THERE IS OFTEN A DELICACY IN THE POOREST PEOPLE, EVEN WHEN THEY ARE RECEIVING FAVORS FOR WHICH THEY HAVE ASKED.

WUST trembled when he received the money from the pastor, and said: "But I will certainly not take the bundle home, your reverence."

"Well then, I must send it after thee, if thou wilt not take it thyself," said the pastor, smiling.

Wust. "For heaven's sake, sir, keep the bundle; that you may be sure of your money."

Pastor. "I shall be sure of it any way, Wust! Don't trouble thyself about that, but think only of the much more important things thou hast to do. I will write to the squire to-day, and thou canst take the letter to him to-morrow."

Wust. I thank your reverence. But, for heaven's sake, keep the bundle. I dare not take the money else. I dare not, indeed!"

Pastor. "Say no more about it; but go directly to the bailiff, with the money, and come to me again to-morrow, at nine o'clock."

Then Wust went, relieved and comforted in his mind, from the pastor to the bailiff's house; and, as he was not at home, he gave the money to his wife. She said to him: "Where did you get so much money at once, Wust?" Downcast and briefly, Wust answered: "I have managed as well as I could. God be praised that you have it."

The bailiff's wife replied: "We never troubled you for it."

Wust. "I know that well enough, but it was no better for me on that account."

Bailiff's Wife. "You speak strangely, Wust! What is the matter with you? All seems not right with you."

Wust. "You will soon know more: but count the money, I must go."

The bailiff's wife counted the money, and said it was right.

Wust. "Well then, give it to your husband properly. Good-by."

Wife. "If it must be so, good-by, Wust."

CHAPTER LXVI.—A FORESTER WHO DOES NOT BELIEVE IN GHOSTS.

THE bailiff, in his way from the hall, called at the tavern at Hirzau, and sat there drinking and talking to the countrymen. He told them of the lawsuits he had gained, of his influence over the late squire; how he, and he alone, had kept the people in order under him; and how all was now confusion.

Then he gave his dog as much dinner as a hard-working man would eat, except the wine; and laughed at a poor fellow who sighed, as he saw the good meat and drink set before the dog. "Thou wouldst be glad enough to take it away from him," said he to the poor man; patted the dog, and talked, and drank, and boasted to the countrymen till evening.

Then came the old forester from the hall, and, as he went by, he called for a glass of wine; and the bailiff, who was never willingly alone for a moment, said to him: "We will go home together."

"If you are coming now," said the forester; "I must follow a track."

"This moment," answered the bailiff; asked first for his dog's reckoning and then for his own, paid both, gave the waiter his fee, and they went out together.

When they were alone on the road, the bailiff asked the forester if it were safe to go through the woods at night, on account of spirits.

Forester. "Why do you ask?"

Bailiff. "Only because I wonder how it is."

Forester. "You are an old fool then. To think of having been bailiff thirty years, and asking such a nonsensical question. You should be ashamed of yourself."

Bailiff. "No, by G—! About ghosts I never know what to think, whether to believe in them or not. And yet I never saw any."

Forester. "Come, as you ask so honestly, I will help you out of your wonder—but you will give me a bottle of wine for my information?"

Bailiff. "I will gladly give you two, if you can explain it."

Forester. "I have now been a forester forty years, and was brought up in the woods, by my father, ever since I was a boy of four years old. He was always talking to the countrymen, in taverns and at drinking bouts, about ghosts and horrible sights he saw in the woods—but he was only playing the fool with them. He went on very differently with me—I was to be a forester, and therefore must neither believe nor fear any such stuff. Therefore he took me by night, when there was neither moon nor stars, when it was very stormy, and on festivals and holy nights, into the woods. If he saw a fire, or an appearance of any kind, or heard a noise, I was obliged to run toward it with him, over shrubs, and stumps, and holes, and ditches, and to follow him over all cross roads, after the noise: and it was always gypsies, thieves, or beggars—and then he called out, with his terrible voice: 'Away rogues!' and though there were twenty or thirty of them, they always made off; and often left pots, and pans, and meat behind them, so that it was laughable to behold. Often indeed the noise was nothing but wild animals, which sometimes make a strange sound;

and decayed old trunks of trees will give out a light, and have an appearance which often frightens people, who dare not go up to them; and these are all the ghosts I ever in my life saw in the wood. But it always is, and will be, a part of my business to make my neighbors believe that it is well filled with spirits and devils: for, look ye, one grows old, and it is a comfort, on a dark night, not to have to turn out after the rascals."

Chapter LXVII.—A man who desires to remove a landmark, and would willingly disbelieve in the existence of spirits, but dares not.

As the man was thus speaking, they came to the by-path, through which the forester went into the wood, and the bailiff, who was now left alone, reasoned thus with himself:—

"He has been a forester now for forty years, and has never seen a ghost, and does not believe in them, and I am a fool and believe in them, and dare not pass a quarter of an hour in the wood, to dig up a stone.

"The squire takes away my license from me, like a thief and a rogue, and that dog of a stone upon the hill is no true landmark: I will never believe it is; and, suppose it be, has he a better right to it than I have to my tavern?

"To take a man's property from him by violence in this way! Who but the devil could put such a thing into his head? And since he does not spare my house, I have no reason to spare his damned flint-stone. But I dare not touch it! By night I dare not go to the place, and by day I can not manage it, on account of the high-road." Thus he talked to himself, and came to Meyer's hill, which is near the village.

He saw the mason at work upon the great flint stones which lay around, for it was not yet six o'clock, and he was vexed in his soul to see it.

"Every thing I plan and contrive, fails me! They all play the rogue with me. Must I now go quietly past this damned Joseph, and not say a word to him? No, I can not do it! I can not go by him, without a word. I would rather wait here, till they go home."

He sat down, and soon afterward got up again: "I can not bear to sit here, looking at them. I will go to the other side of the hill. O, thou damned Joseph!" He went a few steps back, behind the hill, and sat down again.

Chapter LXVIII.—The setting sun and a poor lost wretch.

The sun was now setting, and its last beams fell upon the side of the hill, where he sat. The field around him, and all below the hill, were already in deep shade. The sun set in majesty and beauty, serenely and without a cloud; God's sun; and the bailiff, looking back, as the last rays fell upon him, said to himself, "It is going down;" and he fixed his eyes upon it, till it was lost behind the hill.

Now all was in shade, and night came on rapidly. Alas! shade, night, and darkness surround his heart! No sun shines there! Do what he would, the bailiff could not escape this thought. He shuddered and gnashed his teeth—instead of falling down in prayer to the Lord of heaven, who calls forth the sun again in his glory—instead of hoping in the Lord, who saves us out of the dust and out of darkness, he gnashed with his teeth! The village clock at that moment struck six, and the mason went home from his work. The bailiff followed him.

CHAPTER LXIX.—HOW A MAN SHOULD CONDUCT HIMSELF WHO WOULD PROSPER IN THE MANAGEMENT OF OTHERS.

THE mason had, during this first afternoon of their being together, gained the good-will of most of the laborers. He worked the whole time as hard as they did—himself lifted the heaviest stones, and stood in the mire, or in the water, where it was necessary, as much or more than any of them. As they were quite inexperienced in such labor, he showed them, kindly and patiently, the best way of doing every thing to advantage, and betrayed no impatience even toward the most awkward. He called no one an ox, or a fool; though he had provocation enough, a hundred times over. This patience and constant attention of the master, and his zeal in working himself, caused all to succeed extremely well.

CHAPTER LXX.—A MAN WHO IS A ROGUE AND THIEF BEHAVES HONORABLY, AND THE MASON'S WIFE SHOWS HER GOOD SENSE.

MICHEL, as being one of the stoutest and best workmen, was by the master's side the whole afternoon, and saw with what kindness and goodness he behaved even to the most stupid; and Michel, though a thief and a rogue, became fond of Leonard, on account of his fair and upright conduct, and resolved not to be the cause of any injury to this good and honest man.

But Kriecher and the pious Marx Reuti were not so well pleased, that he made no distinction amongst the people, but behaved well, even to the rogue Michel. Lenk, too, shook his head often, and said to himself: "He is but a simpleton! If he had taken people who could work, like me and my brother, he would not have had half so much trouble." But the greater number, whom he had kindly and patiently instructed in the work, thanked him from the bottom of their hearts, and some of them prayed for him to that God, who rewards and blesses the patience and kindness, which a man shows toward his weaker brethren.

Michel could no longer keep to himself the wicked engagement into which he had entered with the bailiff, on Saturday evening, and said to the master, as they returned: "I have something to tell you, and will go home with you."

"Well! come then," said Leonard.

So he went with the master into his cottage, and told him how the bailiff, on Saturday evening, had bribed him to treachery, and how he had received two crowns in hand for it. Leonard started, and Gertrude was horror-struck, at this account.

"It is dreadful!" said Leonard.

"Dreadful, indeed!" said Gertrude.

"But don't let it distress thee, Gertrude, I beg of thee."

"Be not at all disturbed about it, master," said Michel, "I will not lift a hand against you, depend upon that!"

Leonard. "I thank you, Michel! but I did not deserve this from the bailiff."

Michel. "He is a devil incarnate. Hell has no match for him, when he is furious and seeks for revenge."

Leon. "It makes one shudder to think of it."

Gertrude. "I am quite bewildered!"

Mich. "Don't be like children about it; all things have an end."

Ger. and *Leon.* "Yes; thanks be to God."

Mich. "You may have it just your own way. If you like, I will let the bailiff go on thinking I am still true to him, and to-morrow, or the next day, take some tools from the building and carry them to his house. Then do you go quickly to Arner, and get a search warrant to examine all houses, and begin with the bailiff's, and go directly into the further room, where you will be sure to find them; but mind, you must rush in, the very moment you have shown the warrant, or it will be all in vain. They will have warning and get the things out of your sight, through the window, or under the bed-clothes—and, if you are civil, and do not search for them, you will be in a fine situation. But, indeed, I almost think it would be better for you to send somebody else; you are not fit for such a job."

Leon. "No, Michel; this kind of work certainly will not suit me."

Mich. "It is all one. I will find somebody to manage it cleverly for you."

Ger. "Michel! I think we should thank God, that we have escaped from the danger which threatened us, and not be laying a snare for the bailiff, from revenge."

Mich. "He deserves what he will get. Never trouble your head about that."

Ger. "It is not our business to judge what he deserves, or does not deserve; but it is our business to practice no revenge, and it is the only right conduct for us to pursue in this case."

Mich. "I must confess that you are in the right, Gertrude. It is a great blessing to be able so to govern one's self. But you are right. He will meet with his reward, and it is best to keep entirely away from him, and have nothing to do with him. And so I will directly break with him, and take him back his two crowns. But just now, I have but a crown and a half!" He took it out of his pocket, counted it, and then said: "I don't know whether to take him the other half by itself, or wait for my week's wages on Saturday, when I can give it him altogether."

Leon. "It will be no inconvenience to me to advance you the half-crown now."

Mich. "Well, if you can do so, I shall be very glad to have done with the man to-day. I will take it to him, this very hour, as soon as I get it."

"Master! since yesterday's sacrament, it has been heavy at my heart, that I had promised him to do such wicked things; and, in the evening, came your Jonas, to give his afternoon bread to my child, and that made me repent still more of behaving so ill to you. I never knew you properly before, Leonard, and I have never had much to do with you; but to-day I saw you wishing to help every body kindly and patiently, and I thought I could never die in peace, if I were to reward such an honest, good man with treachery. (The tears came into his eyes.) See, now, whether I am in earnest or not."

Leon. "Then never do an injury to any man again."

Mich. "With God's help, I will follow your example."

Ger. "You will certainly be a happier man if you do."

Leon. "Do you wish to go to the bailiff this evening?"

Mich. "Yes, if I can."

The mason gave him the half-crown and said: "Do not put him into a passion."

Ger. "And don't tell him that we know any thing about it."

Mich. "I will be as short as I can; but I will go this moment, and then it

will be done with. Good-by, Gertrude! I thank you, Leonard! Good night."

Leon. "Good-by, Michel." He went away.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE CATASTROPHE DRAWS NEAR.

WHEN the bailiff arrived at home, he found only his wife in the house; and therefore was able, at last, to give vent to all the rage and anger which had been rising in him throughout the day.

At the hall, at Hirzau, and in the fields, it was a different thing. A man like him is not willing to lay open his heart to others.

It will be said: a bailiff who should do so would, indeed, be as simple as a shepherd's lad; and Hummel was never accused of this. He could, for days together, smother his rage, envy, hatred, and vexation, and keep laughing, and talking, and drinking; but when he came home, and, by good or ill-luck, found the house empty, then the rage which he had before concealed, burst forth fearfully.

His wife was crying in a corner, and said: "For heaven's sake, do not go on in this way. This violence of thine will only drive Arner still further. He will not rest till thou art quiet."

"He will not rest, do what I will! He will never rest, till he has ruined me. He is a rogue, a thief, and a dog. The most cursed of all the cursed," said the man.

Wife "Do not talk in such a shocking way. Thou wilt go out of thy mind."

Bailiff. "Have I not cause? Dost thou not know that he will take my license or my bailiff's coat from me in a fortnight?"

Wife. "I know it; but, for heaven's sake, do not go on at this rate. The whole village knows it already. The secretary told the attorney, who has published it every where. I did not know it till tea-time this evening. All the people were laughing and talking on both sides of the street about it; and Margaret, who was at tea with me, took me aside, and told me the bad news. And, besides this, Hans Wust has brought back the eight florins. How comes he by eight florins? Arner must be at the bottom of it. Alas! a storm threatens us on every side!" So said the wife.

The bailiff started, as if he had felt a thunder-bolt, at the words "Hans Wust has brought back the eight florins!" He stood still for a time, staring at his wife, with open mouth—and then said: "Where is the money?—where are these eight florins?"

His wife set the money on the table, in a broken ale-glass. The bailiff fixed his eyes for some time upon it, without counting it, and then said: "It is not from the hall! The squire never pays any body in this coin."

Wife. "I am very glad it is not from the hall."

Bailiff. "There is something more in this. Thou shouldst not have taken it from him."

Wife. "Why not?"

Bailiff. "I could have got to know from whom he had it."

Wife. "I did think of that; but he would not wait; and I do not think thou couldst have got any thing out of him. He was as short and close as possible."

Bailiff. "All comes upon me at once. I know not what I am doing!—give me something to drink!" She set it before him, and he paced up and down the

room in a frenzy—drank and talked to himself. "I will ruin the mason! That is the first thing to be done—if it cost me a hundred crowns. Michel must ruin him, and then I will go after the landmark." Thus he spoke; and, at that moment, Michel knocked at the door. The bailiff started in a fright, said: "Who can be here so late at night?" and went to look through the window.

"Open the door, bailiff," called out Michel.

Chapter LXXII.—His last hope forsakes the bailiff.

"He comes just at the right moment," said the bailiff, as he opened the door. "Welcome, Michel! What good news dost thou bring?"

Michel. "Not much. I only want to tell you—"

Bailiff. "Don't talk outside the door, man. I shall not go to bed for some time. Come into the room."

Mich. "I must go home again. I only want to tell you, that I have changed my mind about Saturday's business."

Bailiff. "Ay, by G—! that would be complete! No! thou must not change thy mind. If it is not enough, I will give thee more—but come into the room. We are sure to agree about it."

Mich. "At no price, bailiff. There are your two crowns."

Bailiff. "I will not receive them from thee, Michel! Don't play the fool with me. It can not hurt thee; and, if the two crowns are too little, come into my room."

Mich. "I will not listen to another word about it, bailiff. There is your money."

Bailiff. "By G—, I will not receive it from thee, in this way. I have sworn it, so come into the room."

Mich. "Well, I can do that. There; now I am in the room, and here is your money," said he, laying it upon the table; "and now good-by, bailiff!" and therewith he turned about, and away he went.

Chapter LXXIII.—He sets about removing the landmark.

The bailiff stood for a while, stock-still and speechless, rolled about his eyes, foamed with fury, trembled, stamped, and then called out: "Wife, give me the brandy. It must be done. I will go!"

Wife. "Whither wilt thou go, this dark night?

Bailiff. "I am going—I am going to dig up the stone—give me the bottle."

Wife. "For God's sake, do not attempt it."

Bailiff. "It must be done!—I tell thee I will go."

Wife. "It is as dark as pitch, and near midnight; and this week before Easter, the devil has most power."

Bailiff. "If he has got the horse, let him e'en take the bridle too. Give me the bottle. I will go."

He took a pickaxe, a shovel, and a mattock, upon his shoulder, and went, in the darkness of the night, up the hill, to take away his master's landmark.

Drunkenness, and revenge, and rage, emboldened him; but when he saw a piece of shining wood, or heard a hare rustling along, he trembled, stopped for a moment, and then went raging on, till at last he came to the landmark—set to work directly, and hacked and shoveled away, with all his might.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—NIGHT GREATLY DECEIVES DRUNKARDS AND ROGUES, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY ARE IN TROUBLE.

SUDDENLY a noise startled him, and, looking up, he saw a black man coming toward him. A light shone about the man in the dark night, and fire burned upon his head. "This is the devil incarnate!" said the bailiff. And he ran away, screaming horribly, and leaving behind him mattock, pickaxe, and shovel, with his hat and the empty brandy bottle,

It was Christopher, the poulterer of Arnheim, who had been buying eggs at Oberhofen, Lunkofen, Hirzau, and other places, and was now on his way homeward. He had covered his basket with the skin of a black goat, and had hung a lantern from it, that he might find his way in the dark. This egg-carrier knew the voice of the bailiff, as he was running away; and, as he suspected that he was about some evil deed, he grew angry, and said to himself: "I will give the cursed knave his due for once. He thinks I am the devil."

Then quickly setting down his basket, he took up the mattock, pickax, and shovel, and his own iron-bound walking-stick, fastened them all together, dragged them behind him over the stony road, so that they rattled fearfully, and ran after the bailiff, crying out, with a hollow, dismal voice: "Oh!—Ah—Uh!—Hummel! Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—thou art mine—sto—op!—Hummel!"

The poor bailiff ran as fast as he could, and cried out pitifully, as he ran: "Murder! help! watchman! the devil is catching me!"

And the poulterer kept shouting after him: "Oh!—Ah!—Uh! bai—liff—sto—op—bailiff! thou art—mine!—bailiff."

CHAPTER LXXV.—THE VILLAGE IS IN AN UPROAR.

THE watchman in the village heard the running and shouting upon the hill, and could distinguish every word; but he was afraid, and knocked at some neighbors' windows.

"Get up, neighbors!" said he, "and hear what is going on upon the hill. It sounds as if the devil had got hold of the bailiff. Hark! how he shouts murder! and help! And yet, God knows, he is at home with his wife. It is not two hours since I saw him through the window."

When about ten of them were assembled, they declared they would go altogether, with torches, and well armed, toward the noise; but that they would carry with them, in their pockets, new bread, a testament, and psalter, that the devil might not prevail against them.

The men accordingly went, but stopped first at the bailiff's house, to see whether he were at home.

The bailiff's wife was waiting in deadly fear, wondering how he might be going on upon the hill, and when she heard the uproar in the night, and that men with torches were knocking at the door, she was dreadfully frightened, and called out: "Lord Jesus! what do you want?"

"Tell your husband to come to us," said the men.

"He is not at home; but do tell me what is the matter? Why are you here?" said the woman.

The men answered: "It is a bad business if he is not at home. Hark! how he is crying murder! help! as if the devil were taking him."

The wife now ran out with the men, as if she had been beside herself.

The watchman asked her, by the way: "What the devil is your husband doing now upon the hill? He was at home two hours ago."

She answered him not a word, but screamed terribly.

And the bailiff's dog growled, at its chain's length.

When the poulterer saw the people coming to help the bailiff, and heard his dog bark so fearfully, he turned round, and went, as quickly and quietly as he could, up the hill again to his basket, packed up his booty, and pursued his way.

Kunz, however, who, with the bailiff's wife, was a few steps before the rest, saw that it could not be the devil; and taking the roaring bailiff rather roughly by the arm, said to him: "What is the matter? why dost thou go on in this way?"

"Oh—Oh—let me alone—O—devil! let me alone!" said the bailiff, who in his terror could neither see nor hear.

"Thou fool, I am Kunz, thy neighbor; and this is thy wife," said the man.

The others first looked very carefully, to see whether the devil were any where about; and those who had torches, held them up and down, to examine carefully above and below, and on every side; and each man put his hand into his pocket to feel for the new bread, the testament, and psalter.

But as they still saw nothing, they began to take courage by degrees, and some grew bold enough to say to the bailiff: "Has the devil scratched thee with his claws, or trodden thee under his feet, that thou art bleeding in this manner?"

The others exclaimed: "This is no time for joking! we all heard the horrible voice."

But Kunz said: "I suspect that a poacher or a woodman has tricked the bailiff and all of us. As I came near him, the noise ceased, and a man ran up the hill as fast as he could. I have repented ever since, that I did not run after him; and we were fools for not bringing the bailiff's dog with us."

"Thou art a fool thyself, Kunz! That was certainly no man's voice. It ran through bone and marrow, and a wagon load of iron does not rattle over the streets as it rattled."

"I will not contradict you, neighbors! I shuddered as I heard it. But yet I shall never be persuaded that I did not hear somebody run up the hill."

"Dost thou think that the devil can not run so that one may hear him?" said the men.

The bailiff heard not a word of what they were saying; and, when he got home, he asked the men to stay with him that night, and they willingly remained in the tavern.

Chapter LXXVI.—The Pastor Comes to the Tavern.

In the mean time, the nightly uproar had roused the whole village. Even in the parsonage-house, they were all awake; for they anticipated some evil tidings.

When the pastor inquired what was the cause of the noise, he heard fearful accounts of the horrible adventure.

And the pastor thought he could, perhaps, turn the bailiff's fright (foolish as its cause might be,) to a good use.

He therefore went that night to the tavern.

Quick as lightning, vanished the wine jug as he entered.

The men stood up and said: "Welcome, honorable Herr Pastor!"

The pastor thanked them, and said to the neighbors: "It is a credit to you to be so ready and active when a misfortune happens. But will you now leave me alone with the bailiff, for a short time?"

"It is our duty to do as your reverence pleases. We wish you good-night."

Pastor. "The same to you, neighbors! but I must also beg that you will be careful what you relate about this business. It is very disagreeable to have made a great noise about a thing which afterward proves nothing at all, or something very different from what was expected. So far, nobody knows any thing about what has happened; and you know, neighbors, night is very deceitful."

"It is so, your reverence!" said the men, as they left the room; "and a great fool he always is, and will believe nothing!" added they, when they were outside of the door.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—CARE OF SOULS.

THE pastor began at once: "Bailiff! I have heard that something has happened to thee, and I am come to help and comfort thee, as far as I am able. Tell me honestly what has really happened."

Bailiff. "I am a poor unfortunate wretch, and Satan tried to get hold of me."

Pastor. "How so, bailiff? where did this happen?"

Bailiff. "Upon the hill, above."

Pastor. "Didst thou really see any body? Did any body touch thee?"

Bailiff. "I saw him as he ran after me. He was a great black man, and had fire upon his head. He ran after me to the bottom of the hill."

Pastor. "Why does thy head bleed?"

Bailiff. "I fell down as I was running."

Pastor. "Then nobody laid hold of thee?"

Bailiff. "No! but I saw him with my own eyes."

Pastor. "Well, bailiff, we will say no more about that. I can not understand how it really was. But be it what it may, it makes little difference. For, bailiff, there is an eternity when, without any doubt, the ungodly will fall into his hands; and the thoughts of this eternity, and of the danger of falling into his hands after thy death, must make thee anxious and uneasy in thy old age, and during thy life."

Bailiff. "O, sir! I know not what to do for anxiety and uneasiness. For heaven's sake, what can I do, what must I do, to get out of his hands? Am I not already entirely in his power?"

Pastor. "Bailiff! do not plague thyself with idle and foolish talking. Thou hast sense and understanding, and therefore art in thine own power. Do what is right, and what thy conscience tells thee is thy duty to God and man, and thou wilt soon see that the devil has no power over thee."

Bailiff. "O, sir! what must I do to obtain God's mercy?"

Pastor. "Thou must sincerely repent of thy faults, amend thy ways, and give back thy unrighteous possessions."

Bailiff. "People say I am rich, your reverence! but heaven knows I am not so."

Pastor. "That makes no difference. Thou keepest possession of Rudi's meadow unjustly, and Wust and Keibacher have sworn falsely. I know it, and I will not rest till Rudi has got his own again."

Bailiff. "O, sir! for heaven's sake, have compassion upon me."

Pastor. "The best compassion any one can show thee, is this: to persuade thee to do thy duty to God and man."

Bailiff. "I will do whatever you wish, sir."

Pastor. "Wilt thou give Rudi his meadow again?"

Bailiff. "Yes, I will, your reverence!"

Pastor. "Dost thou also acknowledge that thou possessest it unlawfully?"

Bailiff. "I can not deny it—but it will bring me to beggary if I lose it."

Pastor. "Bailiff! it is better to beg, than to keep unjust possession of poor people's property."

The bailiff groaned.

Pastor. "But what wert thou doing upon the hill?"

Bailiff. "For heaven's sake, sir, do not ask me that? I can not, I dare not tell you. Have mercy upon me, or I am a lost man."

Pastor. "I will not urge thee to confess more than thou desirest. If thou dost it willingly, I will advise thee like a father; but if thou wilt not, then it is thy own fault if I can not give thee the advice which is perhaps most needful to thee. But though I do not seek to inquire after what thou art not willing to tell me, yet I can not see what thou canst gain by concealing any thing from me."

Bailiff. "But will you never repeat what I say to you, without my consent, whatever it may be?"

Pastor. "I certainly will not."

Bailiff. "Then, in plain truth, I will tell you. I wanted to remove one of the squire's landmarks."

Pastor. "Gracious heaven! and why wouldst thou injure the excellent squire?"

Bailiff. "Because he wants to take away from me either my tavern or my office of bailiff."

Pastor. "Thou art indeed an unhappy creature, bailiff! And he was so far from intending any unkindness toward thee, that he would have given thee an equivalent, if thou hadst freely given up thy office of bailiff."

Bailiff. "Can that be true, your reverence?"

Pastor. "Yes, bailiff, I can assure thee of it with certainty; for I had it from his own lips. He was out hunting on Saturday afternoon, and I met him on the road from Reutihof, where I had been to see the old woman, and there he told me expressly that young Meyer, whom he wished to have for bailiff, should give thee a hundred florins yearly, that thou mightest have no reason to complain."

Bailiff. "O, if I had only known this before, your reverence, I should never have come to this misfortune."

Pastor. "It is our duty to trust in God, even when we can not see how his fatherly mercy will show itself; and we should hope well from a good master on earth, even when we can not see how he means to manifest his kindness toward us. If we do this, we shall always remain true and faithful to him, and, in all our mischances, find his heart open to compassion and paternal kindness toward us."

Bailiff. "O, what an unfortunate man I am! If I had only known half of this before!"

Pastor. "We can not alter what is past! But what wilt thou do now, bailiff?"

Bailiff. "I know not what in the world to do! To confess it, would endanger my life. What does your reverence think?"

Pastor. "I repeat what I told thee just now. I do not wish to force thee to any confession; what I say is merely in the way of advice; but it is my

opinion, that the straight way never turned out ill to any body. Arner is merciful, and thou art guilty. Do as thou wilt, but I would leave it to his compassion. I see clearly that it is a very difficult step to take, but it will also be very difficult to hide thy fault from him, if thou seekest true peace and satisfaction for thy heart."

The bailiff groaned, but did not speak.

The pastor proceeded: "Do as thou wilt, bailiff! I do not wish to urge thee; but the more I consider it, the more it appears to me that it will be the wisest plan to leave it to Arner's compassion: for I must confess to thee, I do not see what else thou canst do. The squire will inquire why thou wert off the road so late at night."

Bailiff. "Mercy on me! what a thought is just come into my head. I have left a pickaxe, shovel, and mattock, and I know not what besides, by the landmark, which is half dug up already. This may discover it all. I am in a dreadful fright about the pickaxe and mattock!"

Pastor. "If thou art in such a fright, bailiff, about a poor pickaxe and mattock, which may be easily removed before daybreak, think what hundreds of such chances and accidents will occur, if thou concealest it, to poison all the remainder of thy life with uneasiness and constant bitter anxiety. Thou wilt find no rest for thy heart, bailiff, if thou dost not confess."

Bailiff. "And there is no chance of my obtaining mercy from God, without it?"

Pastor. "Bailiff! if thou thyself thinkest and fearest this, and yet art silent against the voice of thy conscience and thine own conviction, how is it possible that this conduct can be pleasing to God, or restore thee to his favor?"

Bailiff. "And is there no other remedy?"

Pastor. "God's mercy will assist thee, if thou dost what thy conscience bids thee."

Bailiff. "I will confess it."

The moment he said this, the pastor prayed thus, in his presence.

"All praise, and thanksgiving, and adoration, be unto thee Almighty Father! Thou didst stretch forth thy hand toward him, and the work of thy love appeared to him anger and wrath! But it has touched his heart, so that he no longer hardens himself against the voice of truth, as formerly. O, thou, who art all mercy, and compassion, and loving-kindness, graciously accept the sacrifice of his confession, and remove not thy hand from him. Fulfill the work of thy compassion, and let him again become one of thy favored children! O, heavenly Father, the life of man upon earth is erring and sinful, but thou art merciful to thy frail children, and forgivest their excesses and sins when they amend.

"All praise and adoration be unto thee, Father Almighty! Thou hast stretched forth thy hand toward him, that he might turn unto thee. Thou wilt fulfill the work of thy compassion; and he will find thee, and praise thy name, and acknowledge thy mercies amongst his brethren."

The bailiff was now thoroughly moved. Tears fell from his eyes.

"O, sir, I will confess it, and do whatever is right. I will seek rest for my soul, and God's mercy."

The pastor remained some time longer with him, comforting him, and then went home. It was striking five as he arrived at his own house, and he immediately wrote to Arner. His letter yesterday and that to-day were as follows:—

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—TWO LETTERS FROM THE PASTOR TO ARNER.

FIRST LETTER.

"HIGH AND NOBLY BORN, GRACIOUS SIR!

"THE bearer of this, Hans Wust, has this day revealed a circumstance to me, which is of such a nature, that I could not do otherwise than advise him to confess it to you, as to his judge. He maintains, on his conscience, that the oath which he and Keibacher took ten years ago, about the affair between Rudi and the bailiff, was a false one. It is a distressing story, and there are some remarkable circumstances belonging to it, relating to the conduct of the late secretary, and of the unhappy assistant of my deceased predecessor, which this confession will bring to light, and thereby I fear give rise to much scandal. But I thank God that the poorest of all my many poor people, the long oppressed and suffering Rudi, with his unhappy family, may, by means of this confession, again obtain possession of what belongs to them. The daily increasing wickedness of the bailiff, and his daring conduct, which he now no longer restrains even on sacred days, convince me that the time of his humiliation is approaching. For the poor unhappy Wust, I earnestly and humbly entreat your compassion, and all the favor which the duty of justice can permit your benevolent heart to show him.

"My wife desires her best respects to your lady, and my children their grateful remembrances to your daughters. They send a thousand thanks for the bulbs, with which they have enriched our little garden. They will be most zealously watched over, for my children have quite a passion for flowers.

"Permit me, high and nobly born, gracious sir, with the sincerest respect and esteem, to subscribe myself

"Your high and nobly born grace's
"Most obedient servant,
"JOACHIM ERNST."

"*Bonnal, 20th March*, 1780."

SECOND LETTER.

"HIGH AND NOBLY BORN, GRACIOUS SIR!

"SINCE yesterday evening, when I informed you (in a letter now lying sealed beside me,) of some circumstances relating to Hans Wust, an all-seeing Providence has strengthened my hopes and wishes for Rudi, and my anticipations respecting the bailiff, in a manner which I can not yet either comprehend or explain. Last night there was a general uproar in the village, so violent that I apprehended some misfortune, and, upon inquiring, was told that the devil wanted to seize the bailiff. He screamed pitifully, on the hill, for assistance, and all the people heard the horrible rattling noise of the pursuing devil. I could not help laughing heartily at this intelligence; but many more people came in, who confirmed the fearful story, and at last told me that the bailiff was now returned home again, with the men who had gone to help him; but that he had been so dreadfully dragged about and injured by his terrible enemy, that it was not likely he would recover.

"This was a business quite out of my line—but what was to be done? We must make the best of the world as it is, since we can not alter it. I thought that whatever this affair might be, the bailiff was probably in a state to be worked upon, and that I ought not to lose the opportunity; so I went immediately

to his house. I found him in a pitiful condition. He was firmly persuaded that the devil had really been in pursuit of him. I made a few inquiries, in hopes of getting a clue to the business, but could make nothing out. The only thing certain is, that nobody has touched him, and that the wound on his head, which is but trifling, was caused by a fall. Moreover, as soon as the people approached, the devil ceased his rattling and roaring—but it is time to come to the most important part of the story.

"The bailiff was humbled, and confessed to me two shocking deeds, which he freely permitted me to communicate to your grace. First, that what Hans Wust had told me yesterday was true—namely, that he had deceived your late grandfather about Rudi, and obtained possession of the meadow unjustly. Secondly, that this night he intended to remove one of your grace's landmarks, and was busy at the work when the fearful accident happened to him.

"I humbly entreat your compassion and forbearance toward this unhappy man also, who appears, God be praised for it, to be brought to repentance and submission. As the circumstances are changed since yesterday, I will not send Hans Wust with his letter, but Wilhelm Abi shall deliver them both. I wait your further commands about them, and remain

"With true regard,

"Your high and nobly born grace's

"Most obedient servant,

"*Bonnal*, 21*st March*, 1780." "JOACHIM ERNST."

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE POULTERER'S INFORMATION.

WILHELM ABI set out for Arnburg with the letters, but Christopher, the poulterer, was at the hall before him, and told the squire the whole of what had happened, from beginning to end.

The squire, as he sat in his arm-chair, laughed until he had to hold his sides, at the account of the bailiff's fright, and of the fearful Oh!—Ah!—Uh! of the poulterer.

His wife Theresa, who was in the next room, heard the bursts of laughter and the poulterer's exclamations, and called out: "Charles, what is the matter? Come and tell me what it is all about!"

Then the squire said to the poulterer: "My wife wants to hear how you perform the devil: come in."

And he took the poulterer into his wife's room.

The man there repeated his tale—how he had driven the bailiff down into the field—how the neighbors had come out by dozens, with spits, and cudgels, and torches, to the poor bailiff's help—and how he had then crept up the hill again.

The squire and his lady were much diverted, and the squire gave the poulterer some glasses of good wine, and bade him tell nobody a single word of the affair.

In the mean time Wilhelm Abi arrived, with the pastor's letters.

Arner read them, and was the most touched by Hans Wust's story.

The negligence of his grandfather, and the misery of Rudi, deeply grieved him; but the pastor's judicious conduct rejoiced his heart. He gave the letters to Theresa, and said: "My pastor in Bonnal is a most excellent man. Nobody could have acted more kindly and prudently."

Theresa read the letters, and said: "This is a sad business about Wust! You must help Rudi to recover his property without delay; and, if the bailiff refuses

to give up the meadow, throw him into prison. He is a wretch who must not be spared."

"I will have him hanged, to a certainty!" answered Arner.

"O, no! you will not put any body to death!" replied Theresa.

"Do you think not, Theresa?" said Arner laughing.

"Yes, Charles! I am sure of it!" said Theresa, affectionately kissing him.

"You would not kiss me any more, I suspect, if I were to do so, Theresa," said Arner.

"No, indeed!" said Theresa, smiling.

Arner then went into his own room, and answered the pastor's letters.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE SQUIRE'S ANSWER TO THE PASTOR.

"DEAR AND REVEREND SIR,

"An hour before I received your letters, I had heard the story from the very devil who chased the bailiff down the hill; and who was no other than your old acquaintance, Christopher, the poulterer. I will give you an account of the whole affair, which was very laughable, to-day; for I am coming to the village, where I will hold a parish-meeting about the landmark. I mean at the same time to have a comedy with the people, about their belief in ghosts; and you, my dear sir, must be present at this play. I think you have not been at many, or you would not be so shy, and perhaps not so truly good and contented a man.

"I beg your acceptance of some of my best wine, with my heartfelt thanks for the upright and excellent assistance you have given me, in making amends for my grandfather's failings.

"We will this afternoon drink some of it to his memory. Believe me, he was a good man at heart, though rogues too often abused his kindness and confidence. I thank you, my dear sir, for the pains and care you have taken about Hubel Rudi. I will certainly assist him. This very day he must be in charity with my dear grandfather, and I trust he will never again lament over the recollection of him. I am grieved at heart, that he has suffered so much, and I will do my best, in any way I can, to comfort him for his past distress, by future ease and happiness. We are certainly bound to make good the failings of our parents wherever it is in our power. O, my dear sir, it is a sad mistake, to say that a judge is never answerable, nor obliged to make reparation. How little is he acquainted with mankind, who does not see that all judges are bound, at the risk of their property, continually to rouse and exert all their powers, not only to be honorable, but to be careful and watchful. But I am going from the purpose.

"My wife and children desire me to give their kind regards to your family, and send your daughters another box of flower-roots. Farewell, my dear sir! and do not trouble yourself to get all the rooms into such order, and to provide so many good things, as if I were coming from pure hunger. If you do, I will not visit you any more, dear as you are to me.

"Once more accept my best thanks, and believe me ever

"Your faithful and affectionate friend,

"CHARLES ARNER VON ARNHEIM."

"*Arnburg*, 21*st March*, 1780."

"P. S. My wife has just told me that she wishes to be present at the comedy of the poulterer, so we shall pour down upon you, with all the children, in the family coach."

CHAPTER LXXXI.—A GOOD COW-MAN.

WHEN Arner had dismissed Wilhelm, he went into his cow-house, and, from amongst his fifty cows, he chose out one for Hubel Rudi, and said to his cow-man: "Feed this cow well, and tell the boy to drive it to Bonnal, and put it up in the pastor's cow-house, till I come."

The cow-man replied: "Sir! I must obey your orders; but there is not one amongst the fifty, I would not rather part with. She is such a fine, young, handsome cow; and just at her best time for milking."

"It is to your credit, cow-man, to be so sorry to lose the good cow; but I am glad I chose it, I was looking for the best. She is going to belong to a poor man, cow-man, so don't grieve over her. She will be a treasure to him."

Cow-man. "O, sir, it is a sad pity to send her. She will fall off so in a poor man's hands, grow so thin, and lose her looks. O, sir, if I find he starves her, I shall be running off to Bonnal every day, with all my pockets full of bread and salt for her."

Squire. "Thou art a good fellow; but the man has an excellent meadow of his own, and plenty of food for her."

Cow-man. "Well, if she must go, I do hope she will be well treated."

Squire. "Depend upon it, she will want for nothing, cow-man."

The man fed the cow, and sighed to himself, because his master had chosen the best of all his set, to give away. He gave his favorite Spot his own bread and salt from breakfast, and then said to the boy: "Put on thy Sunday coat and a clean shirt, brush thy shoes, and make thyself neat; thou must drive Spot to Bonnal."

And the boy did as the cow-man bade him, and drove away the cow.

Arner stood still for a while, earnestly considering what he should decide about the bailiff.

As a father, when he restrains his wild untoward boys, seeks only the welfare of his children—as a father grieves at the punishment he is obliged to inflict, and would gladly exchange it for forgiveness and approbation—as he shows his sorrow in punishing, and touches his children's hearts still more by his tender regret than by the chastisement—so, thought Arner, must I punish, if I would perform my duty as judge, in the spirit of a father to my dependants.

With these feelings he formed his decisions about the bailiff.

In the mean time his wife and her maidens had hastened dinner, that it might be over sooner than usual.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—A COACHMAN WHO LOVES HIS MASTER'S SON.

AND little Charles, who had already been more than a dozen times to the coachman, to desire him to make haste and get the coach ready, ran again to the stables and called out: "We have done dinner, Francis! Put to, and drive round to the door, directly."

"You are mistaken, young master; I heard the dinner-bell ring just now."

Charles. "How dare you say I am mistaken? I will not bear that, old moustache!"

Francis. "Hold, my boy! I will teach you to call me moustache! I will plait the horses' tails and manes, and put on the ribands and the rosettes, and that will take me an hour—and, if you say another word, I will tell your papa that Herod is ill—See how he shakes his head! And then he will leave the

black horses in the stable and take the little carriage, and you can not go with him."

Charles. "No, no, Francis! Stop—don't begin to plait their manes. I love you, Francis! and will not call you moustache any more."

Francis. "You must give me a kiss then, Charles, in my beard; or I will take the ribands and plait them."

Charles. "No, don't do so, pray."

Francis. "Why did you call me moustache? You must kiss me, or I will not drive the black horses."

Charles. "Well, then, if I must! But you will get the coach ready very soon then."

Francis put down the curry-comb, lifted up the boy, who kissed him; said: "There's a good little fellow!"—put the horses to the coach, and drove quickly round to the hall-door.

Arner was sitting with his wife and children, and Charles begged his papa to let him ride upon the coach-box with Francis. "It is so hot and crowded inside."

"With all my heart," said Arner; and called out to Francis: "Take good care of him."

Chapter LXXXIII.—The Squire with his Workmen.

And Francis drove his spirited horses fast, and was soon on the plain near Bonnal, where the men were breaking stones.

Then Arner got out of the coach, to look at their work, and he found all the men in their right places.

They had got on with their work very well for the time.

And Arner praised the regularity and good appearance of the work, in a manner which convinced the dullest amongst them, that the slightest irregularity or neglect would not have escaped him.

Leonard was very glad of this, for he thought within himself, now they will all see that it is impossible for me to allow any carelessness or neglect.

Arner asked the master which was Hubel Rudi; and, at the moment Leonard pointed him out, poor Rudi, who was pale and evidently very weak, was raising a very heavy stone with his iron crow. Arner called out immediately: "Do not overwork yourselves, my good fellows; and take care not to do yourselves an injury." Then he ordered the master to give them each a glass of wine, and went toward Bonnal.

Chapter LXXXIV.—A Squire and a Pastor, who have Equally Kind Hearts.

He soon saw the good pastor coming to meet him, and the squire ran quickly toward him, and called out: "You should not have troubled yourself to come out such weather as this? It is not right, with your delicate health;" and he then went into the house with him.

There he told him the whole history of the poulterer, and then said: "I have some business to transact, but will be quick about it, that we may enjoy a couple of hours quietly together."

He sent immediately for young Meyer, and said to the pastor: "The first step shall be to seal up all the bailiff's accounts and books of reckoning; for I am resolved to know who are concerned with him, and he shall settle with them all, in my presence."

Pastor. "By doing this, you will get to know a great deal about the people of the village."

Squire. "And, as I hope, find out the way to put an end to a great deal of domestic unhappiness; if I can by this means make it clear and evident to every man how irrevocably people ruin themselves when they get ever so little into debt to such grasping men as the bailiff. In my opinion, my good friend, the laws do too little against this ruinous practice."

Pastor. "No law can do so much to counteract it, as the paternal kindness of the lord of a manor."

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE SQUIRE'S FEELINGS TOWARD HIS GUILTY BAILIFF.

As they were speaking, young Meyer arrived, and Arner said to him: "Meyer, I mean to dismiss my bailiff; but, notwithstanding his offenses, some circumstances lead me to wish him to receive, for life, a part of the emolument of his office. You are well off in the world, Meyer! and I think, if I were to make you bailiff, you would willingly allow the old man a hundred florins yearly, out of your salary."

Meyer. "If your honor thinks me equal to the situation, I shall wish in this, as to every other respect, to do according to your pleasure."

Arner. "Well then, Meyer, come to me to Arnburg to-morrow, and I will arrange this business. For the present, I will only tell you that you must take my secretary and Abi, who is a qualified man, with you, and seal up all Hummel's writings and accounts. You must carefully see after it, that not one of his papers or accounts be secreted:"

Immediately young Meyer and the squire's secretary took Abi with them, and sealed up the bailiff's papers. His wife went with a wet sponge toward the chalked board; but Meyer saw her, and hindered her from touching it, and had a copy of it taken immediately.

And Meyer, the secretary, and Abi, wondered to see on the board: "On Saturday, 18th, to Joseph, Leonard's man, three crowns." "What was this for?" said they to the bailiff and his wife; but they gave them no answer.

And when the men arrived at the parsonage-house, with the copy of the board, the squire also wondered at the three crowns, and asked the men if they knew the meaning of it.

"We inquired, but nobody would give us an answer," replied the men.

"I will soon find it out," said the squire. "When Flink and the gaoler come, tell them to bring the bailiff and Hans Wust here."

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE PASTOR AGAIN SHOWS HIS KINDNESS OF HEART.

THE good pastor had no sooner heard this, than he slipped out of the room, went to the tavern, and said to the bailiff: "For God's sake what is the meaning of these three crowns to Joseph? It will be a double misfortune to thee, if thou dost not tell me. The squire is angry about it."

Then the bailiff sorrowfully confessed to the pastor, the whole affair about Joseph and the money.

And the pastor went immediately back to Arner, and told him all, and how penitently the bailiff had owned it to him; and he again entreated the squire to be merciful toward this unhappy man.

"Be not uneasy, my good friend! You may depend upon finding me humane and compassionate toward him," said Arner.

He then had Joseph taken from his work, and brought before him, with Wust and the bailiff.

The bailiff trembled like an aspen leaf. Wust appeared very sorrowful, but composed and patient.

But Joseph was in a rage, and said to the bailiff: "Thou old wretch, this is all thy fault."

Arner had the prisoners brought, one after the other, into the inner room of the parsonage-house, and there he examined them, in the presence of Meyer, Abi, and the attorney. And when the secretary had written down their depositions, word for word, and read them over to the prisoners, and these had again repeated and confirmed them, he had them all brought to the place where the parish-meetings are held, under the lime-trees, and ordered the bell to be rung, to assemble all the people.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—ON A CHEERFUL DISPOSITION, AND ON GHOSTS.

BUT before this, the squire went for a few moments into the other room, to the pastor, and said: "I will take a draught of something to refresh me, my good friend. For I mean to be merry with the people. It is the best way to convince them of any thing."

"Nothing is more certain," said the pastor.

And the squire made him pledge him, and said: "I wish all clergymen would learn thus to go amongst the people in a straight-forward, unceremonious manner. When people see a man good-humored, and with an open, unrestrained manner, they are half won already."

"Alas, sir!" said the pastor, "this cheerfulness, and open, unrestrained manner, are exactly what we are least allowed to practice."

Squire. "It is a misfortune, belonging to your situation, reverend sir."

Pastor. "You are quite right. None should go amongst the people with a more unrestrained, cheerful, open manner, than the ministers of religion. They should be the friends of the people, and known to be such. They should be influenced by a regard to them in their speech, and in their silence. They should carefully consider their words, and yet dispense them freely, benevolently, and to the purpose, like their Master. But, alas! they form themselves in other schools, and we must have patience, squire. In all situations of life, there are many impediments to the practice of what is simple and natural."

Squire. "It is true. In all ranks people wander continually further and further from the path they should follow. Much time, which ought to be employed upon important duties, is wasted upon ceremonies and nonsense: and there are few men who, under the burthen of forms of etiquette and pedantry, preserve due attention to their duties, and to the really important objects of their lives, as you have done, my dear friend. But, by your side, it is my delight and joy to feel it my happy destination to act the part of a father, and I will endeavor to fulfill it with a pure heart, and, like you, with as little of the ceremony and nonsense of the world as possible."

Pastor. "You make me ashamed, my dear sir."

Squire. "I feel what I say! but the bell will soon ring. I am impatient for the comedy at the parish-meeting. I do expect, this time, to cure them of some of their superstitions."

Pastor. "May God grant you success! This superstition of theirs, interferes sadly with the good one seeks to do them."

Squire. "I find, from my own experience, that it often makes them very stupid, timid, and irresolute."

Pastor. "It warps a man's understanding, and has a bad effect upon all he does, and says, and thinks. And, what is still worse, it injures his heart, and hardens it with pride and uncharitableness."

Squire. "Very true. There is a wide distinction between the pure simplicity of nature, and the blind stupidity of superstition."

Pastor. "Yes. The uncorrupted simplicity of nature is alive to every impression of truth and virtue: it is like a blank tablet. But the stupidity of superstition is like melted ore, incapable of receiving any impression, except from fire and flame. And now that you have introduced the subject of this distinction, which is of so much importance to me, in my avocation, will you permit me to say a few more words about it?"

Squire. "Pray do. The subject is very interesting to me."

Pastor. "Man, in the uncorrupted simplicity of his nature, knows little; but what he does know, is well arranged. His attention is firmly and steadily directed toward what is useful and comprehensible to him. He does not seek to know what he can neither comprehend nor turn to use. But the stupidity of superstition has no clear arrangement in its knowledge. It boasts of knowing what it neither knows nor comprehends; it persuades itself that the disorder of its ideas is heavenly illumination, and that the fleeting splendor of its airy bubbles is divine light and wisdom.

"The simple innocence of nature, makes use of all the senses, judges nothing inconsiderately, examines every thing quietly and attentively, endures opposition, earnestly seeks and desires what is necessary, not what is mere matter of speculation, and conducts itself peacefully, gently, kindly, and benevolently. But superstition believes in contradiction to its own senses, and to the senses of mankind; never rests but in the triumph of its own obscurity, and rages rudely, wildly, and unfeelingly, wherever it exists.

"Man, in a state of simplicity, is guided by his uncorrupted heart, upon which he can always depend; and by his senses, which he uses peacefully.

"But the superstitious man is guided by his opinions, to which he sacrifices his feelings, his senses, and often his God, his country, his neighbor, and himself."

Squire. "Every page of history confirms the truth of your statement; and a very small share of experience and knowledge of the world, is sufficient to convince any man that hardness of heart and superstition are inseparable companions, and always followed by pernicious and grievous consequences."

Pastor. "From this essential difference between the simplicity of the honest, unprejudiced man, and the stupidity of the superstitious man, it appears that the best method of opposing superstition, is: 'In educating the poor, to ground their knowledge of the truth upon the pure feelings of innocence and love; and to turn their attention chiefly to the surrounding objects which interest them in their individual situations.'"

Squire. "I understand you, my good friend! and I think, with you, that by this means superstition and prejudice would lose their sting, their hurtfulness, and their accordance with the passions and desires of wicked hearts, and with the groundless terrors and weak fancies of a busy, speculative knowledge.

"And thus all that would remain of prejudice and superstition would be but empty words, and shades of things without inward poison, and these would die away of themselves."

Pastor. "It appears to me in the same light. The education of the poor should be founded upon clear ideas, surrounding objects, and the cautious development of the impulses of human nature; because these are, undoubtedly, the foundation of true human wisdom.

"To fix the attention strongly upon speculative opinions and distant objects, and feebly upon our duties, our actions, and the objects which surround us, is to create disorder in the soul of man. It leads to ignorance about our most important affairs, and to a foolish predilection for information and knowledge, which do not concern us.

"Roughness and hardness of heart are the natural consequences of all pride and presumption; and the source of the inward poison of superstition and prejudice is clearly derived from this: that in the education of the people, their attention is not steadily turned to the circumstances and objects around them, which have a strong and near relation to their individual situation, and would lead their hearts to pure and tender feelings of humanity upon all occasions.

"If people sought thus to instruct them, as earnestly and zealously as they do to teach them particular opinions, superstition would be torn up by the roots, and deprived of all its power; but I feel daily, more and more, how little we are advanced in this good work."

Squire. "In the world all is comparatively true, or not true. There have been rude times—times when a man who did not believe in ghosts was esteemed a heretic; times when a man was obliged, on pain of forfeiting his rights and his situation of judge, to order old women to the rack, to make them confess their dealings with the devil."

Pastor. "God be praised, those times are gone by; but much of the old leaven still remains."

Squire. "Yet, be of good cheer, my friend! One stone after another falls away from the temple of superstition; and it would be well if people were only as zealous to build up the temple of God, as they are to overthrow that of superstition!"

Pastor. "There again we are wanting: and this checks and destroys my rejoicing in the attacks made upon superstition; because I see that those who are so active against it, trouble themselves very little about upholding religion, the sanctuary of God, in its strength."

Squire "It is too true. But in all revolutions people will always begin by rejecting good and bad together. They were in the right to purify the Lord's temple; but they will soon perceive that, in their zeal, they have injured the walls, and then they will return and repair them again."

Pastor. "I trust it will be so! and, indeed, I see myself that people begin to feel that destructive irreligion strikes at the root of human happiness."

Squire. "We must now go; and I will make one attempt this very day to attack superstition, and overthrow the belief in ghosts which exists in Bonnal."

Pastor. "May you be successful! I have as yet been able to do very little against it by my arguments and preaching."

Squire. "I will not attempt it by words. My poulterer must spare me that trouble, with his basket and lantern, his pickaxe and mattock."

Pastor. "I really believe it will succeed admirably. It is certain that, when people know well how to turn such accidents to advantage, they may do more by means of them in a moment, than they can in half a century by all the arts of eloquence."

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—ON GHOSTS, IN A DIFFERENT TONE.

In the mean time the country people were all assembled at the place of meeting. Yesterday's adventure, and the report of the prisoners, brought them together in crowds. The alarming appearance of the devil had greatly agitated them, and they had already, early that morning, taken council together what was to be done under the circumstances, and had come to a resolution that the pastor ought no longer to be allowed to teach and preach so incredulously, and to laugh at all stories of ghosts. They determined to request Hartknopf, the church-warden, to make a proposal to this effect at the meeting; but young Meyer was against this, and said: "I can not agree that the old miser, who starves his own children, and is constantly hunting about for all sorts of refuse, should speak for us. It will be an eternal shame for us to appoint such a hypocrite."

The men answered: "We know well enough that he is a hypocrite and a miser, and we know that the way in which he and his maid-servant live together is scandalous. It is true, also, that we have not such a liar amongst us, nor one who encroaches so much upon his neighbor's land, or clears his field so carefully at harvest-time; but then, there is not one of us who can talk to a minister, or discuss spiritual matters, as he can. If you can tell us of any one, who will do it only half so well, we will be content." But Meyer knew of nobody.

So the men made their request to the church-warden, in these words: "Hartknopf, you are the man amongst us who best knows how to answer a clergyman; and when the squire holds the meeting to-day, we wish you to make a complaint against the pastor, on account of his unbelief, and to ask for the appointment of a day of prayer, on account of the fearful appearance of Satan."

They did not talk to him publicly about this, but the cleverest amongst them explained the business to him; for the pastor had many friends amongst the poorer part of them. Some of the richer country people disliked him the more on this account, particularly since he had maintained, in one of his morning discourses, that it was not right in them to oppose the division of a waste common, which the squire had proposed for the advantage of the poor.

The church-warden Hartknopf, accepted the appointment, and said: "You have given me rather late notice of this, but I will study the proposition;" and he went away to his own house, and thought over what he had to say, from morning until evening, when the bell rang for the meeting. When those who were in the plot were all assembled together, they wondered why he did not join them, and could not imagine what kept him away. Then Nickel Spitz said: "He is only waiting till you go in form to fetch him."

"What is to be done?" said the men. "We must e'en do as the simpleton wishes, or he will not come."

So they sent three of their officers to fetch him; and these soon returned with him.

The churchwarden saluted the people, with as much dignity as if he had been a pastor; and, with great importance and gravity, assured all those who had entered into the agreement, that he had now studied the proposition.

In the mean time, Arner had told the poulterer that, when he made a signal, by taking a large white handkerchief out of his pocket, he must come forth, and do all that they had agreed upon together.

Then he went with the pastor and the secretary to the meeting.

All the people stood up, and welcomed the worthy squire and the reverend pastor.

Arner thanked them with paternal kindness, and then told the men to sit down upon benches, that all might be done in proper order.

Theresa and the pastor's wife, and the children and servants, from the hall and the parsonage-house, stood in the churchyard, from whence they could see what passed at the meeting.

Arner now ordered the prisoners to be brought forth, one after the other, and their depositions to be read in their presence.

And when they had confirmed them before the meeting, he told the bailiff to kneel down and hear his sentence, and addressed him as follows:—

Chapter LXXXIX.—A Judgment.

"Unhappy man!

"It grieves me to the heart, to pronounce against thee, in thy old age, the doom which must follow evil deeds like thine. Thou hast deserved death; not because Hubel Rudi's meadow or my landmark are worth a man's life, but because perjury and daring robbery bring innumerable dangers and evils upon a country.

"The perjured man and the robber becomes a murderer, when circumstances tempt him to it; and is already a murderer in many senses, through the consequences of the error, suspicion, distress, and misery, which he occasions.

"Therefore, thou hast deserved death.

"I will, however, spare thy life, in consideration of thy old age, and because a part of thy crimes were committed against myself, individually.

"This is thy punishment:—

"Thou shalt this day, in the presence of appointed persons and of all who wish to accompany thee, be carried to the landmark, and there, in chains, replace every thing as it was before.

"Thence thou shalt be taken to the village prison, when the pastor will examine thee, for the space of fourteen days, about thy past life, that the causes of thy great recklessness and hardness of heart may be clearly and evidently discerned: and I will myself use my utmost endeavors to discover the circumstances which have led thee to these crimes, and which may lead others of my dependants into similar misfortunes.

"After this fortnight is expired, the pastor will, on the Sunday following, openly, before the whole community, relate the history of thy past life, of the disorders of thy house, thy hardness of heart, thy contempt of oaths and duties, and thy way of keeping accounts against the poor and rich—and the whole must be confirmed by thy own confession.

"I will myself be present; and, with the assistance of the pastor, will endeavor to preserve my dependents from such dangers in future, and to provide them with assistance and counsel against all such sources and causes of domestic misery.

"And with this I would willingly discharge thee, were my people sufficiently peaceable and well brought up to follow after the truth and what pertains to their temporal and eternal welfare, for their own sake, and not from the fear of severe, painful, and loathsome punishment; but, with so many rude, uncontrolled, and boisterous people, as are still amongst us, it is necessary for me to add:—

"That the executioner must conduct thee to-morrow under the gallows at Bonnal, and there bind thy right hand to a stake, and mark the first three fingers with an indelible black stain.

"But it is my express desire, that no man imbitter this thy hour of suffering, by jest or laughter, or any mark of redicule; but that, on the contrary, all the people look on, without noise or speech, and with their heads uncovered."

The squire then condemned Hans Wust to eight days' punishment in prison. And Joseph, as being a stranger, he immediately expelled from his territories, and forbade him to labor or to appear upon his land any more, on pain of being sent to the house of correction.

In the mean time the pastor's god-father, Hans Renold, had secretly told him what the country people had settled with the church-warden, and that they would certainly and without doubt attack him on account of his unbelief.

The pastor thanked Renold, and told him, laughingly, not to be uneasy; the thing would not end ill.

"This is excellent," said the squire, to whom the pastor told this, "that they should themselves begin the game:" and, whilst he was speaking, the church-warden got up and said:—

CHAPTER XC.—THE PROPOSAL OF HARTKNOPF, THE CHURCH-WARDEN.

"HONORED SIR!

"May I be permitted, in the name of your faithful people of Bonnal, to state to you an affair of conscience?"

Arner answered: "I am ready to hear. Who are you? What have you to say?"

The church-warden replied: "I am Jacob Christopher Frederick Hartknopf, church-warden and elder of Bonnal, and fifty-six years of age. And the principal people of the village, being themselves inexperienced and unaccustomed to speak upon spiritual subjects, have chosen and requested me to lay a statement before you."

Arner. "Now then, Mr. Church-warden Hartknopf, to the point."

Then the church-warden began again:—

"HONORED SIR!

"We have received from our forefathers a belief that the devil and his spirits often appear to men; and, since it is now become very evident that this our old belief in spirits is true, as indeed we never for a moment doubted it to be, we are compelled to take the liberty of informing your honor, that our reverend pastor (may God forgive him,) is not of this belief. We well know that your honor is of the same opinion with the pastor on this subject. But since, in sacred things, we must obey God rather than man, we hope your honor will forgive our freedom, when we entreat that the reverend pastor may, in future, teach our children our old belief, about the appearance of the devil, and that he may say nothing to them against ghosts, in which we believe, and will continue to believe. It is also our wish, that some Sunday, at no great distance, may be fixed upon for a day of fasting, and prayer, and humiliation; that we may all, upon an appointed day, penitently implore forgiveness, in dust and ashes, for the increasing sin of want of belief in spirits."

The squire and the pastor, though they were scarcely able to restrain their laughter till he had finished, yet heard him with all possible patience.

But the country people rejoiced in their hearts over this discourse, and re-

solved to accompany this able orator home, by hundreds, though they had sent only three to fetch him.

They now rose up on all sides, and said: "Honored sir! we all agree in what the church-warden has declared."

But the poor, and all those who loved the pastor, were very sorry and grieved about it, and said here and there to each other: "If he had only the luck to believe like other people—he is such an excellent man!" But these durst not speak out, so that his enemies triumphed.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE SQUIRE'S REPLY.

THE squire took off his hat, looked earnestly around him, and said:—

"Neighbors! you had no need of an orator for such nonsense as this. The whole affair, and the appearance of the devil, is all a mistake; and your pastor is one of the wisest of ministers. You ought to be ashamed of insulting him through such a poor blockhead as your church-warden. If you had a proper regard for his learning and judgment, you would be wiser, lay aside your belief in old women's tales, and not seek to restrain intelligent people to foolish opinions, which are entirely without foundation."

Here the country people all exclaimed: "But it was only last night that the devil appeared to the bailiff, and sought to lay hold of him."

Squire. "You are mistaken, neighbors; and before supper-time you will be ashamed of your credulity. But I hope you are not all equally hardened in your folly. Meyer! are you also of the opinion, that it is past all doubt that it was the devil who frightened the bailiff so terribly upon the hill?"

Young Meyer answered: "What do I know about the matter, your honor?"

The church-warden and many of the men were angry at Meyer for answering thus.

And the church-warden muttered over the bench to him: "How canst thou talk so against thy knowledge and conscience, Meyer?" But many of the men exclaimed: "We all heard the horrible voice of the pursuing devil."

Squire. "I know very well that you heard a shout, and a roaring, and a rattling. But how can you tell that all this was the devil? Might it not be a man, or several men, who, unluckily for the bailiff, who seems to have been there at an improper time, wished to frighten him? The wood is scarcely ever without somebody in it, and the high road is near, so that it may as easily have been men as the devil."

Countrymen. "Twenty or thirty men could not have made such a noise; and, if your honor had been there and heard it, you would never have thought of its being men."

Squire. "Night is deceitful, neighbors! and, when people are once frightened, they see and hear double."

Countrymen. "It is of no use to talk of being mistaken. It is impossible."

Squire. "But I tell you it is altogether certain that you were mistaken."

Countrymen. "No, please your honor, it is entirely certain that we were not mistaken."

Squire. "I have a great notion I could convince you that you were mistaken."

Countrymen. "We should like to see that, your honor."

Squire. "Many things would be more difficult."

Countrymen. "Your honor is joking."

Squire. "No, I am not joking. If you think I can not do it, I will try. And if you will agree to divide the common, I will perform my promise, and convince you that all the roaring and rattling was made by one man."

Countrymen. "That is impossible."

Squire. "Will you venture it?"

Countrymen. "Yes, sir, we will! We durst venture two commons upon it, that you will not be able to prove this."

Here there arose a murmur amongst the countrymen. Some of them said: "People should take care what they promise." Others replied: "He can no more prove this, than that the devil will go to heaven!" Others again said: "We have nothing to fear; he must give it up. We will venture; he can never prove it."

Countrymen (aloud.) "Yes, squire; if you will keep your word; speak on. We are content that if you can prove what you say, that one man made the noise we heard yesterday, we will divide the common. That is to say, if you can prove it entirely to our satisfaction; not otherwise."

The squire took out a large white handkerchief, gave the poulterer the signal, and said to the men: "I must have a quarter of an hour for preparation."

The people smiled all around, and said: "Till to-morrow, squire, if you will."

The squire said not a word in answer to their rudeness; but those who were in the churchyard, and could see the poulterer approaching the place of meeting, laughed heartily.

The men anticipated some mischance when they heard the bursts of laughter, and saw the stranger, with his dark basket and lantern, drawing near.

"What fool is this, who walks with a lighted lantern in broad daylight?" said they.

Arner answered: "It is my poulterer from Arnheim!" and called out to him: "Christopher, what is your business here?"

"I have a tale to tell, please your honor."

"With all my heart," answered Arner.

Then the poulterer set down his basket, and said:—

CHAPTER XCII.—SPEECH OF THE POULTERER TO THE MEETING.

"HONORED sir, reverend pastor, and you neighbors, here are the pickaxe, the mattock, the spade, the brandy-bottle, the tobacco-pipe, and the cocked hat of your bailiff, which, in his fright, he left by the landmark last night, when I drove him away from his work on the hill."

Countrymen. "And are we to believe that it was you who made all the noise? That can never be. The proof is not sufficient; we beg for another."

Squire. "Wait a little longer. He has a lantern by his side. Perhaps it may enlighten you a little." And then he added, loudly and very seriously: "Be silent, if you please, till he has finished what he has to say."

The men obeyed.

Then the poulterer continued: "You are not so civil as people usually are in this country. Why don't you let me finish? Remember the poulterer of Arnheim. If you do not hear every word I have to say, the next newspaper will be full of you; for there is not a syllable of truth in the devil's having appeared to the bailiff. It was I who frightened him! I, the poulterer, just as I now stand before you, with this basket, and this new black goat-skin, which I had put over my basket, because it rained yesterday, and I had hung the lantern before the basket,

as you saw it when I came here. I filled it full of oil at Hirzau, that it might burn well; for it was very dark, and the road, as you well know, is bad near Hirzau. At eleven o'clock I was in the tavern at Hirzau. I can bring the landlord, and at least ten men more, who were there, to prove this. As I came over the top of the hill, it struck twelve at Bonnal; and then I heard the bailiff, not half a stone's throw from the high-road, swearing and working away; and, as I knew him immediately by his voice and his swearing, I began to wonder what he was doing there at that hour of night. I half suspected that he was searching for hidden treasures, and that he might share them with me if I hit the right time. I followed the noise. But the bailiff, it seems, had yesterday, contrary to his usual custom, drunk rather more than was necessary; for, the moment he beheld me, he took me—a poor sinful man—for the devil in a bodily form! and when I saw that he was about removing a landmark in our master's wood, I thought to myself: come, he deserves to be frightened. I will make him think hell is gaping for him! So I bound the mattock, pickaxe, spade, and my walking-stick, all together, dragged them down the hill, over the stones, after me, and shouted out, with all my might: Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—bai—liff!—thou art mine! Hum—mel! And I was not more than a stone's throw from you, when you crept out softly and cautiously with your torches, to the bailiff's assistance. But as I had no wish to frighten innocent folks with making a noise so near them, I gave over, and went up the hill again, with my booty, to my basket, and then took the nearest way home. It was a quarter past two when our watchman met me, and asked why I was carrying workmen's tools upon my egg-basket.

"I forget what I answered, but certainly nothing to the purpose; for I did not wish to say any thing of it, till I had told the squire my story; which I did at six o'clock this morning.

"And now, neighbors, how do you think I could come by this story and these tools so early, if what I tell you is not true?"

Some of the countrymen scratched their heads, others laughed.

The poulterer continued: "If such a thing should happen to you again, neighbors, let me just, in a friendly way, advise the watchman, the authorities, and all the honorable commonalty of Bonnal, to let loose the greatest dog in the village, and he will soon discover the devil."

The poulterer here ceased, and there was a general murmur on every side.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE POOR ARE GAINERS BY THE COMEDY.

Some countrymen. "It is as he says, by G—! all the circumstances agree."

Other countrymen. "What a set of fools we were."

Kunz. "I wanted to run after the rogue."

Some of the leaders. "If we had only not staked the common upon it."

The rich countrymen. "This is a cursed business."

The poor. "Heaven be praised for it."

Theresa. "The master-stroke of all, is getting the common divided."

Pastor's wife. "The whole is a master-stroke."

The church-warden. "It is enough to make the very stones weep blood! Our belief is lost for ever. Elias! Elias! Fire from heaven."

The children (from the churchyard.) "Thou art mine!—Oh!—Ah!—Uh!—bailiff!"

The pastor. "I never saw the people so much moved."

The bailiff. "Am I in a dream, or awake? All was a mistake, and I must go

under the gallows. And yet I feel no anger; no desire of vengeance rages within me."

Thus in a general murmur did every man speak according to his own feelings.

After a while Arner stood up, smiled, and said: "How are you now inclined about the fast-day, on account of the fearful appearance of the devil upon the hill?"

Do what is right! Love God!
And fear God, but neither man nor devil.

This is the old and true belief; and your stories of apparitions and spirits are idle follies, which ruin your heads and hearts.

"Now at last the division of your common is agreed upon, and you will find, in a few years, how useful and beneficial it will be to your children and grandchildren, and how much reason I had to wish for it so earnestly. I have ordered some drink to be brought to you. Drink it to my health, and to the health of your numerous poor, who, in the division of the common, will receive no more than the rest; but to whom it will be a treasure, because they have nothing besides. There is not one of you who knows how much his children may stand in need of it."

Then Arner left the meeting, and told Hubel Rudi to follow him, in a quarter of an hour, to the parsonage-house.

And the squire and the pastor went to their wives in the churchyard, and afterward, with them, to the parsonage-house.

The pastor praised Arner for the wisdom and humanity with which he had treated his flock, and said to him: "I shall never again urge you to show forbearance and compassion toward any body, for your own benevolent heart has exceeded all I could have asked or advised."

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE SQUIRE THANKS THE PASTOR.

THE squire replied: "Say no more, my dear friend, I beseech you. I go straight to the point, and am as yet young and without experience. But, with God's assistance, I hope to learn how to manage things better. I am truly rejoiced that you approve of my decisions. But you must not imagine that I am not aware that your exertions have been much greater than mine, and that your care and kindness had prepared every thing, so that little remained for me, but to pronounce the sentence."

Pastor. "My dear sir, you go too far!"

Squire. "No, my friend. It is the simple truth, and I should be indeed unthankful and unjust, if I did not acknowledge it. You have labored with great care and intelligence to throw light upon my dear grandfather's inconsiderate decisions, and to put an end to their consequences. That good and upright man will rejoice, in heaven, over what you have done, and that the evil has at last been remedied; and he certainly would not forgive me, if I were to leave your goodness unrewarded. Here are the deeds of a small piece of land in your village, which I hope you will accept as a testimony of my gratitude."

Thus saying, he gave him a sealed deed of gift, which was expressed with the greatest warmth of gratitude.

Theresa stood by Arner's side, and presented the pastor with the most beautiful nosegay ever seen in a parsonage-house.

"This is in remembrance of the best of grandfathers, reverend sir," said she.

And in the morning the pastor's wife discovered, for the first time, that it was bound together by a string of pearls.

The good pastor was much overcome: tears filled his eyes, and he could not speak.

"Say not a word about it," added the squire.

"Your heart is worthy of a kingdom!" said the pastor at last.

"Do not make me blush, my dear sir," answered the squire. "Be my friend; and, hand in hand, let us strive to make our people as happy as we can. I hope to see more of you in future, and you will come more to me, will you not? My carriage is always at your service. Send for it, without ceremony, whenever you like to come to me."

CHAPTER XCV.—THE SQUIRE ASKS FORGIVENESS FROM A POOR MAN, WHOM HIS GRANDFATHER HAD INJURED.

IN the mean time Hubel Rudi arrived, and the squire held out his hand to the poor man, and said: "Rudi! my grandfather did you injustice, and deprived you of your meadow by his decision. It was a misfortune. He was deceived. You must forgive him, and not bear malice against him."

Rudi answered: "Alas! your honor! I knew very well that it was not his fault."

"Did you never hate him for it?" said the squire.

Rudi. "In my poverty, and particularly at first, I was indeed often very much troubled that I had not the meadow any longer; but I never felt hatred toward his honor."

Squire. "Is this really true, Rudi?"

Rudi. "It is, indeed, your honor! God knows that it is, and that I never could feel angry with him. I knew in my heart that it was not his fault. What could he do, when the bailiff found false witnesses, who swore an oath against me? The good old squire, whenever he saw me afterward, gave me money, and on all holidays sent me meat, and bread, and wine. May God reward him for it. It often cheered me in my poverty."

Rudi had tears in his eyes, and continued: "Alas! your honor! if he had only talked with us, by ourselves, as you do, many, very many things would never have happened; but the bloodsuckers were always by his side, whenever we saw him, and that spoiled all."

Squire. "You must forget this now, Rudi. The meadow is again yours. I have effaced the bailiff's name from the deed, and I wish you joy of it with all my heart, Rudi!"

Rudi trembled, and stammered out: "I can not enough thank your honor."

The squire said: "You have nothing to thank me for, Rudi. The meadow is yours by the laws of God and man."

Rudi clasped his hands together, wept aloud, and said: "O, my mother's blessing is upon me! She died on Friday, your honor! and before she died, she said to me: 'All will go well with thee, Rudi. Think of me, Rudi!' O, sir, I am so grieved for my dear mother!"

The squire and the pastor were much affected, and the squire said: "God's blessing will indeed be upon you, good and pious man."

"O, sir! it is owing to my mother's blessing! The blessing of the most religious, patient woman," said Rudi, weeping.

"How troubled I am, pastor, that this man should have been so long kept out of his right," said the squire.

"It is all over now, sir!" said Rudi, "and suffering and want are blessings from God, when they are gone through. But I can not sufficiently thank you for all; for the work at the church, which cheered and comforted my mother on her death-bed; and then for the meadow. I know not what I ought to say or do, sir. O! if she had only lived to see it!"

Squire. "You are an excellent man, and she will rejoice in your welfare, even in heaven. Your sorrow and your filial love have affected me so much, that I had almost forgotten to tell you, that the bailiff is bound to pay you arrears, with costs."

Pastor. "Permit me, sir, here to speak a word to Rudi. The bailiff is in very straitened circumstances. He is, indeed, bound to pay you arrears, with costs, Rudi. But I know that you are too kind-hearted to push him to the uttermost, and to bring him to beggary in his old age. I promised, in his affliction, to do all I could to obtain mercy and compassion for him, and I must perform my promise now. Rudi, have pity upon his distress."

CHAPTER XCVI.—GENEROSITY OF A POOR MAN TOWARD HIS ENEMY.

Rudi. "Say not a word about the arrears, reverend sir; they are out of the question: and, if the bailiff is so poor—I don't like to seem to boast—but I will certainly do what is right toward him.

"The meadow will furnish hay for more than three cows; and, if I keep two out of it, I shall have enough and more than I durst hope for; and I will willingly let the bailiff have enough to keep one cow, as long as he lives."

Pastor. "It is acting generously, and like a Christian, Rudi; and God will grant his blessing upon the remainder."

Arner. "This is all well and good, my dear sir. But we must not take the good fellow at his word, now. He is overcome by his joy. I admire you for your offer, Rudi; but consider the thing over quietly for a day or two. It will be time enough to promise, when you are sure you will not repent."

Rudi. "I am but a poor man, your honor; but not so poor as to repent having promised to do what is right."

Pastor. "The squire is right, Rudi. It is enough for the present that you will not exact the arrears. If you find that the bailiff is in want; when you have well considered the thing, you can do what you like."

Rudi. "If the bailiff is in want, I am sure I shall wish to do as I have said, your reverence."

Squire. "Well, Rudi, I want this to be a happy, cheerful day for you. Would you rather stay and rejoice with us here, or go home to your children? I will take care that you have a good supper in either place."

Rudi. "Your honor is very good! but I wish to go home to my children. There is nobody to take care of them. Alas! my wife is in her grave—and my mother also."

Squire. "Then go home to your children, Rudi. In the pastor's cow-house, below, you will find a cow, which I give you to reconcile you to my dear grandfather, who did you wrong; and that you may this day rejoice over his memory, with your children. I have also ordered a quantity of hay to be carried from the bailiff's barn, for it is yours. You will find it at home; and, if your cottage

or your cow-house want repairs, take what wood is necessary out of my forest."

CHAPTER XCVII.—HIS GRATITUDE TO THE SQUIRE.

RUDI knew not what to say, he was so completely overcome; and this joyful confusion, which could not utter a word, pleased Arner more than any expression of thanks.

At last Rudi stammered out a few words, but Arner interrupted him, and said, smiling: "I see that you are grateful, Rudi." He then again shook him by the hand, and added: "Go, now, Rudi. Drive home your cow, and depend upon my help; whenever I can be of service to you in any way, it will always be a pleasure to me."

Then Rudi left Arner, and drove home the cow.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—A SCENE TO TOUCH THE HEART.

THE pastor, and all who were present, had tears in their eyes, and remained silent for some moments after the man left the room.

At last Theresa exclaimed: "What an evening this has been! How fair is creation, and with what pleasure and joy does the face of nature inspire us; but human happiness is more delightful than all the beauties of earth!"

"Yes, my love, it surpasses all earthly beauties," said the squire.

The pastor added: "I thank you, from my heart, sir, for the touching scenes you have brought before us. Throughout the course of my life, I never met with purer and nobler greatness of soul than in the deed of this man. But it is most certain that the purest elevation of the human heart, is to be sought for amongst the unfortunate and distressed."

The pastor's wife pressed her children, who were much affected, to her heart, bent over them, and wept in silence.

After a while, the children said to her: "Let us go and see his poor children, and send them our supper."

And the pastor's wife said to Theresa: "Will you like to go with the children?"

"Very willingly," answered Theresa. And the squire and the pastor expressed their wish to accompany them.

Arner had brought a roasted quarter of veal in the carriage with him, for the poor family; and the pastor's wife had added to this some good nourishing broth, and given orders for it to be taken to them: but now she sent also her own and the children's supper, and Claus carried all to the poor man's cottage.

All the villagers, young and old, men, women, and children, were collected at Rudi's door, and round the hay-cart and the fine cow.

Claus was followed almost immediately by the squire and his lady, the pastor's wife, and all the children. They went into the room and found nothing but sickly, half-naked children, the pictures of hunger and want. All were much affected by the distress of the family; and Arner said to his companions: "Yet this very man is now willing to give the bailiff, who has been the cause of all this misery for so many years, a third part of the hay from his meadow!"

"It ought not to be allowed," said Theresa, hastily, in the warmth of her compassion for so much distress. "This man, with all his children, ought not to be allowed to give a farthing of what belongs to him to that wicked wretch."

"But, my love, would you set bounds to the course of that virtue and

magnanimity which God has raised, through suffering and want, to such a height?—a height which has so deeply affected your own heart, and forced tears from you?"

"No, not for worlds," answered Theresa. "Let him give all he has, if he will. God will never forsake such a man!"

Arner then said to Rudi: "Give your children something to eat."

But Rudeli pulled his father by the arm, and whispered in his ear: "Father, may I take Gertrude something?"

"Yes," said Rudi; "but wait a little."

Arner had heard the word Gertrude, and asked what the little fellow was saying about her.

Then Rudi told him about the stolen potatoes, and his mother's death-bed; and the goodness of Leonard and Gertrude, and that the very shoes and stockings he had on came from them; adding: "This is a blessed day for me, your honor! but I can not enjoy one mouthful, if these people do not come and share it."

How Arner praised them, and how they all admired the quiet goodness of a poor mason's wife, and the holy death of Catharine; and how Rudeli ran with a beating heart to invite Leonard and Gertrude; and how they declined till Arner sent Claus again for them and their children, and then came abashed and with downcast eyes; how Charles and Emily begged their papa and mamma to give them shoes and stockings, and some of their old clothes, for all the children, and helped them to the nicest food; and how kind the pastor's wife was to them; and how Rudeli and his sisters were not content till Gertrude came, and then ran to her, seized hold of her hand, and jumped into her arms. All this I will not seek to describe by many words.

Arner and Theresa stood for some time gazing on the scene, deeply touched by the sight of so much misery, which was now cheered and entirely relieved. At last, with tears in their eyes, they quietly took leave; and the squire said to the coachman: "Drive gently for a mile or two."

Leonard and Gertrude remained with Rudi till eight o'clock, joyfully sympathizing in his good fortune.

Chapter XCIX.—A PLEASING PROSPECT.

For the last few weeks, there has been a general report in the village, that Gertrude wishes to bring about a marriage between Rudi and young Meyer's sister, who is her dearest friend.

And as Rudi's meadow is worth at least two thousand florins, and it is said that the squire has told her brother he should rejoice in the match, people suppose she will not refuse him.

The mason goes on extremely well with the building, and the squire likes him better every day.

Chapter C.—THE POULTERER'S REWARD.

The poulterer came in for his share of good fortune. Theresa saw him, as they were driving home, and said to Arner: "He should not go unrewarded; for, in reality, it was he, and his night journey, which brought all this about."

Then Arner called out to the poulterer, and said: "Christopher! my wife

insists upon having you paid for your devil's business:" and he gave him a couple of crowns.

The poulterer made a low bow, and said: "Please your honor, I should like to do such devil's business every day of my life."

"Yes," said Arner; "provided you could be sure of having the dogs kept well chained up."

"Very true, your honor," said the poulterer; and the carriage drove on.

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REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

The foregoing pages, although constituting a tale complete in itself, and the whole work as originally published in 1781, are but about one-fourth part of "*Leonard and Gertrude*," as enlarged in subsequent editions.

As introductory to the chapters on the *School in Bonnal*, which are the only portion to be given from the remainder of the work, it will not be improper to give a brief account of all of it.

The first volume of the collected edition of Pestalozzi's works [1818—26,] contains all the portion above printed. The story proceeds with a continuation of Arner's efforts for the improvement of the village, with the help of the pastor, of Gluelphi, a retired military officer who becomes schoolmaster, Meyer, a cotton manufacturer, and Gertrude, whose simple and effective practical methods of managing and instructing her own and Rudi's children, furnish indispensable patterns to the benevolent and well-educated but inexperienced gentry.

The school, though a prominent feature in the story, is only one feature. It includes a combination of measures set on foot by Arner for the moral, social, and physical improvement of the people of the village, both rich and poor. The action of the tale consists of the progress of these measures, and of the opposition to them, resulting from the obstinate adherence of the rich to their long-established habits of oppression and extortion, and from the low vices of falsehood, hypocrisy, &c., which have naturally infected the poor.

One of the chief measures undertaken by Arner for ameliorating the physical condition of the village, is the partition among the landowners of a certain common, into equal shares for rich and poor; a scheme promising material advantage to the latter, and perfectly fair to the former. This is bitterly opposed by the large landowners, however; and the clumsy cunning with which they scheme together to prevent the partition, and the energetic movements of Arner toward the accomplishment of it, form a very curious and graphic picture of the social life of the villagers of the period.

The feudal authority possessed by Arner, however, is too great to admit of any other than underhand and secret methods of opposition to his various reforms; and these would necessarily fail at furthest with the disappearance of the older generation from the scene, and with the gradual substitution in their places of those growing up under the influence of the reformatory measures and better education introduced. But the progress of events renders it proper for Arner to make application to the government for purposes connected with his plans, and some meddlesome

relatives of his take the opportunity to make unfavorable representations to a conservative minister, with the design of breaking off his enterprise. This the minister endeavors to do, from apprehensions of some revolutionary contagion which is to be spread among Arner's peasantry, thence into the vicinity, and thence onward. But no serious injuries ensued; and the whole result of Arner's undertaking was, as might be expected, the beginning of a reform among the younger portion of the community, and an increased degree of outward propriety among the elder.

The career of Hummel, the bailiff, is somewhat elaborately illustrated by an episodical history of his previous life. Two sermons by the pastor, though also digressions from the thread of the story, are not without interest, as giving Pestalozzi's views of what the spirit and methods of popular education should be. Hummel himself, after undergoing public punishment, is exhibited at the close of the work, with more truthfulness than is usual in a story, as relapsing, so far as his failing health and diminished riches and influence permit, into his old habits of vile language, swindling, and bullying.

But the story comes to no regular conclusion at the end of the fourth volume;—it drops all the threads of the village life, suddenly and without any gathering together; although the first volume, which was written a year or two before the others, they being added to it by after-thought, is reasonably complete as a work of art.

The following chapters upon the *School in Bonnal*, are from various parts of the three last volumes; and are selected as furnishing, in their connected succession, a good specimen of the style of the remainder of the work, and as presenting an exemplification of Pestalozzi's favorite doctrine of the intimate relation between domestic and school instruction.

THE SCHOOL IN BONNAL.*

1. A Good School is Founded.

SINCE the squire had returned from Cotton Meyer's, he had spent every moment he could spare with the lieutenant, in consultation with him on the organization of the new school. They both came to the conclusion that a child is always well-educated, when he has learned to practice skillfully, orderly, and to the benefit of him and his, what is to be his future occupation.

This principal object of all education seemed to them at once the first requisite of a reasonable school for human beings. And they perceived that the lieutenant, and any person proposing to establish a good school for farmers' and factory children, must either himself know and understand what such children need to know and do, in order to become capable farmers and factory workers; or, if he does not himself understand it, that he must inquire and learn about it, and have those at hand who do know and can show him.

They naturally thought first of Cotton Meyer himself, and immediately after this conversation, and their meal, they went to him.

"This is the man of whom I have said so much to you," said the squire to the lieutenant, and then, to Meyer, "And this is a gentleman who, I hope, will encourage you about your school."

Meyer did not understand; but the squire explained to him, saying that this was to be the schoolmaster of the village.

Meyer could not sufficiently wonder at this, and after a time he said, "If the gentleman is willing to take so much pains, we can not thank him enough; but it will require time to become well acquainted with our condition and ways, in the village."

Lieutenant. "I presume so; but one must begin some time or other; and I shall not regret any pains I take to examine as thoroughly as possible what is needed, and what your children can properly learn, in order to be well-fitted for their farming and manufacturing."

Meyer. "That will be an excellent beginning."

Lieut. "I do not know how else I ought to begin; and I shall take every opportunity of becoming acquainted with all manner of house and field labor, so as to learn correctly what training and what example your children need, in order to the right education for their vocation and circumstances."

Meyer's Mareieli was quite at home with the lieutenant. She showed him all about the house, and in the stables, what the children must do, to learn to do in good order whatever was necessary for themselves and their parents; made them dig in the garden and throw earth hither and thither, to even the ground and improve its appearance, and adjust the edges; and to scatter fodder correctly. The more he saw, the more questions he asked; inquired how they

* From Part III. of "*Lienhard and Gertrud*," as extracted in Christoffel's "*Pestalozzi's Life and Views*," Zurich, 1847.

measured hay, reckoned tithes, and kept account of the cotton manufacture; what was the difference of wages in different kinds of cotton, and a hundred other things. These they explained to him as far as they could. Then he proposed to teach the children how to spin. But Mareieli said, "We take in some hundred *zentners** of yarn in a year, and I have never yet brought them to spin right well. And I can not complain about it, either; for they have to do a good deal in the fields and about the cattle. But if you desire to see a good arrangement for the matter of spinning, you must go to see the mason's wife. With her, there is something to be seen on that point; but not with us."

Lieut. "Is not the mason's wife, of whom you speak, named Gertrude?"

Mareieli. "It seems that you know her already?"

Lieut. "No; but the squire had proposed to go directly from you to her."

Mar. "Well; then you will see that I told you correctly."

2. A Good School is the Foundation of all Good Fortune.

Gertrude's room was so full, when they entered, that they could scarcely pass between the wheels. Gertrude, who had not expected to see any strangers, told the children, as the door opened, to get up and make room. But the squire would not let one of them move, but gave his hand first to the pastor and then to the lieutenant, to lead them behind the children, next the wall, to Gertrude's table.

You could not believe how much the scene delighted these gentlemen. What they had seen with Cotton Meyer seemed as nothing, in comparison.

And very naturally. Order and comfort, about a rich man, do not surprise. We think, hundreds of others do not do so well, because they have not money. But happiness and comfort in a poor hut, showing so unanswerably that every body in the world could be comfortable, if they could maintain good order and were well brought up—this astonishes a well-disposed mind, almost beyond power of expression.

But the gentlemen had a whole room full of such poor children, in the full enjoyment of such blessings, before their eyes. The squire seemed for a time to be seeing the picture of the first-born of his future better-taught people, as if in a dream; and the falcon eyes of the lieutenant glanced hither and thither like lightning, from child to child, from hand to hand, from work to work, from eye to eye. The more he saw, the fuller did his heart grow with the thought: She has done, and completely, what we seek; the school which we look for is in her room.

The room was for a time as still as death. The gentlemen could do nothing but gaze and gaze, and be silent. But Gertrude's heart beat at the stillness and at the marks of respect which the lieutenant showed to her during it, and which bordered on reverence. The children however spun away briskly, and laughed out of their eyes to each other; for they perceived that the gentlemen were there on their account, and to see their work.

The lieutenant's first words to Gertrude were, "Do these children all belong to you, mistress?"

"No," said Gertrude, "they are not all mine;" and she then pointed out, one after another, which were hers, and which were Rudi's.

"Think of it, lieutenant," said the pastor, "these children, who belong to Rudi, could not spin one thread, four weeks ago."

* Hundred weight.

The lieutenant looked at the pastor, and at Gertrude, and answered, "Is it possible!"

Gertrude. "That is not remarkable. A child will learn to spin right well in a couple of weeks. I have known children to learn it in two days."

Squire. "It is not that which I am wondering at in this room, but quite another thing. These children of other people, since the three or four weeks ago when Gertrude received them, have come to look so differently, that in truth I scarcely knew one of them. Living death, and the extremest misery, spoke from their faces; and these are so gone that no trace of them is left."

The lieutenant replied, in French, "But what does she do to the children, then?"

Squire. "God knows!"

Pastor. "If you stay here all day, you hear no tone, nor see any shadow of any thing particular. It seems always, and in every thing she does, as if any other woman could do it; and certainly, the commonest wife would never imagine that Gertrude was doing, or could do, any thing which she herself could not."

Lieut. "You could not say more to raise her in my estimation. That is the culmination of art, where men think there is none at all. The loftiest is so simple that children and boys think they could do much more than that."

As the gentlemen conversed in French, the children began to look at each other and laugh. Heireli and the child who sat opposite to her made mouths to each other, as if to say, "*Parlen, parlen, parlen.*"

Gertrude only nodded, and all was still in a moment. And then the lieutenant, seeing a book lying on every wheel, asked Gertrude what they were doing with them."

Ger. "Oh, they learn out of them."

Lieut. "But, not while they are spinning?"

Ger. "Certainly."

Lieut. "I want to see that."

Squire. "Yes; you must show us that, Gertrude."

Ger. "Children, take up your books and learn."

Children. "Loud, as we did before?"

Ger. "Yes, loud, as you did before; but right."

Then the children opened their books, and each laid the appointed page before him, and studied the lesson which had been set. But the wheels turned as before, although the children kept their eyes wholly on the books.

The lieutenant could not be satisfied with seeing, and desired her to show him every thing relating to her management of the children, and what she taught them.

She would have excused herself, and said it was nothing at all but what the gentlemen knew, and a thousand times better than she.

But the squire intimated to her to proceed. Then she told the children to close their books, and she taught them, by rote, a stanza from the song,

> "How beautiful the sunbeams' play,
> And how their soft and brilliant ray
> Delights and quickens all mankind—
> The eye, the brain, and all the mind!"

The third stanza, which they were then learning, reads thus:—

> "The sun is set. And thus goes down,
> Before the Lord of Heaven's frown,
> The loftiness and pride of men,
> And all is dusk and night again."

She repeated one line at a time, distinctly and slowly, and the children said it after her, just as slowly, and very distinctly, and did so over and over, until one said, "I know it now." Then she let that one repeat the stanza alone, and when he knew every syllable, she permitted him to repeat it to the others, and them to repeat after him, until they knew it. Then she began with them all three of the stanzas, of which they had already learned the first two. And then she showed the gentlemen how she taught them arithmetic; and her mode was the simplest and most practical that can be imagined.

But of that I shall speak again in another place.

3. Recruiting Officer's Doings.

The lieutenant was every moment more convinced that this was the right instruction for his school; but he was also convinced that he needed a woman like this, if the giving it was to be not merely possible, but actual.

A Prussian recruiting officer does not contrive so many means of getting into the service a fellow who comes up to the standard, as the lieutenant contrived to decoy into his trap this woman, who came up to his standard in school teaching.

"But, mistress," he began, "could not the arrangements in your room here be introduced into a school?"

She thought a moment, and replied, "I don't know. But it seems as if what is possible with ten children is possible with forty. But it would require much; and I do not believe that it would be easy to find a schoolmaster who would permit such an arrangement in his school."

Lieut. "But if you knew of one who desired to introduce it, would you help him?"

Ger. (*Laughing.*) "Yes, indeed; as much as I could."

Lieut. "And if I am he?"

Ger. "Are what?"

Lieut. "The schoolmaster, who would be glad to organize such a school as you have in your room."

Ger. "You are no schoolmaster.'

Lieut. "Yes I am. Ask the gentlemen."

Ger. "Yes, perhaps, in a city, and in something of which we know neither *gigs* nor *gags*."

Lieut. "No; but, honestly, in a village."

Ger. (*Pointing to the wheels.*) "Of such children?"

Lieut. "Yes, of such children."

Ger. "It is a long way from me to the place where schoolmasters for such children look like you."

Lieut. "Not so far."

Ger. "I think it is."

Lieut. "But you will help me, if I undertake to organize my school in that way?"

Ger. "If it is far away, I will not go with you."

Lieut. "I shall remain here."

Ger. "And keep school?"

Lieut. "Yes."

Ger. "Here in the room?"

Lieut. "No; in the school-room."

Ger. "You would be sorry, if you should be taken at your word."

Lieut. "But you still more, if you should have to help me."

Ger. "No; it would please me."

Lieut. "You have said twice that you would help me."

Ger. "I have—and I say so three times, if you are our schoolmaster."

Here he and the other gentlemen began to laugh; and the squire said "Yes, Gertrude; he is certainly your schoolmaster."

This perplexed her. She blushed, and did not know what to say.

Lieut. "What makes you so silent?"

Ger. "I think it would have been well if I had been as silent for a quarter of an hour back."

Lieut. "Why?"

Ger. "How can I help you, if you are a schoolmaster?"

Lieut. "You are looking for excuses; but I shall not let you go."

Ger. "I will beg you."

Lieut. "It will be of no use; if you had promised to marry me, you must abide by the promise."

Ger. "No, indeed!"

Lieut. "Yes, indeed!"

Ger. "It is out of the question."

Squire. "If there is any thing which you know, Gertrude, do it as well as you can; he will not ask any thing more; but, whatever you do to help him, you will do to help me."

Ger. "I will, very willingly; but you see my room full of children, and how I am tied down. But, with regard to advice and help in matters relating to work, which a gentleman naturally can not understand, I know a woman who understands them much better than I; and she can do whatever I can not."

Squire. "Arrange it as you can; but give him your hand on the bargain."

4. A Proud Schoolmaster.

The new condition of affairs raised the courage of the pastor, who had been almost in the state of a slave under the old squire; and his acquaintance with the son contributed much toward accomplishing his ancient plans. On the next Sunday he explained to the people some chapters of the Bible; and, at the end of the service, called for whatever else was to be done. Then the squire took the lieutenant by the hand, and told him to say himself to the congregation what he desired to do for their children.

The lieutenant arose, bowed to the squire, the pastor, and the congregation, took off his hat, leaned on his stick, and said:—"I have been brought up with a nobleman, and am myself a nobleman; but I am not for that reason ashamed to serve God and my follow-men in the situation which Providence calls me; and I thank my dear parents, now under the ground, for the good education they gave me, and which enables me now to put your school on such a footing that, if God will, your children shall all their lives be respected for having attended it. But it is not my business to make long speeches and sermons;

but, if it please God, I will begin my school instruction to-morrow, and then every thing will be made plain. Only I will say that each child should bring his work, whether sewing, or spinning cotton, or whatever it be, and the instruments for the same, until the squire shall purchase such for the school."

"And what will he do with spinning-wheels in the school?" said men and women to each other in all their seats, and one, behind him, so loud that he heard it.

The lieutenant turned round, and said aloud, "Nothing, except to make the children learn to read and cipher, of each other."

This the farmers could not get into their heads how the scholars could learn to read and cipher of each other; and many of them said, at the church-door, "It will be with him as it was with the madder-plants, and the beautiful sheep that the old squire had brought from two hundred leagues away, and then let them die miserably at their fodder." But some older and experienced men said, "He does not look at all like the madder-plants; and has not the appearance of a man who talks carelessly."

That evening the lieutenant went into the school-room, and nailed up, immediately opposite to where he was going to sit, a beautiful engraving. This represented an old man, with a long white beard, who, with wrinkled brow, and eyes wide open, lifted up his finger.

The squire and the pastor said, "What is that for?"

Lieut. "He is to say to me, 'Gluelphi, swear not, while you sit there before me!'"

They replied, "Then we will not pull him down, he fills too important a place."

Lieut. "I have been considering about it."

5. School Organization.

Next morning, the lieutenant began with his school. But I should not readily recommend any other schoolmaster to do what he did, and after such a Sunday's proclamation, which was considered proud by every body, then cause his school to be put in order by a farmer's wife. Still, if he be a Gluelphi, he may do it, and it will not injure him; but I mean a real Gluelphi, not a pretended one.

He let Gertrude put the children in order, just as if she had them at home.

She divided them according to age, and the work they had, as they could best be put together; and placed her own and Rudi's children, who were already accustomed to her management, between others. In front, next the table, she put those who did not know their A, B, C; next behind them, those who were to spell; then those who could read a little, and last those who could read fluently. Then, for the first row, she put only three letters on the blackboard, and taught them to them. Whichever knew them best then was to name them aloud, and the others were to repeat them after him. Then she changed the order of the letters, wrote them larger and smaller, and so left them before their eyes, all the morning. In like manner she wrote up several letters, for the scholars who were learning to spell, and those who could read a little had to spell with these letters. But these, as well as those who could read fluently, were to have their books always open by their spinning-wheels, and to repeat in a low tone of voice after one who read aloud. And every moment they were saying to that one "Go on."

For the work, Gertrude had brought a woman with her, named Margaret, who was to come to the school every day; as Gertrude had no time for that purpose.

This Margaret understood her business so well that it would not be easy to find another like her. As soon as any child's hand, or wheel, was still, she stepped up to him, and did not leave him until all was going on in good order again.

Most of the children carried home that evening so much work, that their mothers did not believe they had done it alone. But many of the children answered, "Yes; it makes a difference whether Margaret shows us, or you." And in like manner they praised the lieutenant, their schoolmaster.

In the afternoon he conducted the school, and Gertrude watched him, as he had her in the morning; and things went so well that she said to him, "If I had known that I could finish all my work in helping you organize the school in a couple of hours, I should not have been so troubled on Thursday."

And he was himself pleased that things went so well.

That evening he gave to each of the children over seven years old, a couple of sheets of paper, stitched together, and a couple of pens; and each child found his name written thereon as beautifully as print. They could not look at them enough; and one after another asked him how they were to be used. He showed them; and wrote for them, for a quarter of an hour, such great letters that they looked as if they were printed. They would have watched him until morning, it seemed so beautiful to them, and they kept asking him if they were to learn to do the same.

He answered, "The better you learn to write, the better I shall be pleased." At dismissal, he told them to take care of their paper, and to stick the points of their pens into rotten apples; for that was the very best way to keep them.

"To this, many of the children answered, "Yes, that would be nice, if we had any rotten apples; but it is not winter now."

At this he laughed, and said, "If you have none, perhaps I can get them for you. The pastor's wife has certainly more than she wants."

But other children said, "No, no; we will get some, we have some yet."

6. School Organization—Continued.

The children all ran home, in order quickly to show their beautiful writing to their parents; and they praised the schoolmaster and Margaret, as much as they could. But many answered, "Yes, yes; new brooms sweep clean;" or some such singular expression, so that the children did not understand what they meant. This troubled the good children, but still they did not cease to be pleased; and if their parents took no pleasure in their beautiful writing, they showed it to whomever they could, to their little brothers in the cradle, and to the cat on the table; and took such care of them as they had never in their lives taken of any thing before. And if the little brother reached out his hand, or the cat its paw, after them, they quickly drew them back, and said, "You must only look at it with your eyes; not touch it." Some of them put theirs away in the Bible. Others said they could not open such a great book, and put them in a chest, among the most precious things they had. Their joy at going to school again was so great that the next morning many of them got up almost before day, and called their mothers to get them quickly something to eat, so that they might get to school in good season. On Friday, when the new writ-

ing-benches, which the squire had had made, were ready, their pleasure was very great. During the first lesson, they would all sit together; but the lieutenant divided them into four classes, in order that there should not be too many of them, and that none should escape him, and none could make a single mark that he did not see.

In this study also, most of the children did very well. Some learned so easily, that it seemed to come to them of itself; and others, again, did well, because they had been more in the habit of doing things that required attention. Some, however, who had never had very much in their hands except the spoon with which they ate, found great difficulties. Some learned arithmetic very easily, who found writing very hard, and who held the pen as if their hands had been crippled. And there were some young loafers among them, who had all their lives scarcely done any thing except run about the streets and fields, and who, nevertheless, learned almost every thing far quicker than the rest.

So it is in the world. The most worthless fellows have the best natural endowments, and usually exceed, in intelligence and capacity, those who do not wander about so much, but sit at home at their work. And the arithmeticians among the farmers are usually to be found at the tavern.

The schoolmaster found these poor children generally much more capable, both in body and in mind, than he had expected.

For this there is also a good reason. Need and poverty make men more reflective and shrewd than riches and superfluity, and teach him to make the best use of every thing that will bring him bread.

Gluelphi made so much use of this fact, that, in every thing he did, and in almost every word he used, in the school, he had the distinct purpose of making use of this basis laid down by nature herself, for the education of the poor and of countrymen. He was so strenuous, even, about the sweat of daily labor, that he claimed that whatever can be done for a man, makes him useful, or reliable for skill, only so far as he has acquired his knowledge and skill in the sweat of his years of study; and that, where this is wanting, the art and knowledge of men is like a mass of foam in the sea, which often looks, at a distance, like a rock rising out of the abyss, but which falls as soon as wind and wave attack it. Therefore, he said, in education, thorough and strict training to the vocation must necessarily precede all instruction by words.

He also maintained a close connection between this training to a vocation and training in manners, and asserted that the manners of every condition and trade, and even of the place or country of a man's abode, are so important to him, that the happiness and peace of all his life depends on them. Training to good manners was thus also a chief object of his school organization. He would have his school-room as clean as a church. He would not even let a pane be out of the windows, or a nail be wrongly driven in the floor; and still less would he permit the children to throw any thing on the floor, eat during study, or any thing else of the kind. He preserved strict order, even in the least thing; and arranged so that, even in sitting down and rising up, the children would not hit against each other.

In muddy weather they were made to leave their shoes at the door, and sit in their stockings. And if their coats were muddy, they had to dry them in the sun, or at the stove, as the case might be, and clean them. He himself cut their nails for many of them, and put the hair of almost all the boys in good order;

and whenever any one went from writing to working, he was obliged to wash his hands. They had, likewise, to rinse out their mouths at proper times, and take care of their teeth, and see that their breath was not foul. All these were things they knew nothing about.

When they came into the school and went out, they stepped up to him, one after the other, and said to him, "God be with you." Then he looked at them from head to foot, and looked at them so that they knew by his eye, without his saying a word, if there was any thing wrong about them. But if this look did not serve to set things right, he spoke to them. When he saw that the parents were to blame for any thing, he sent a message to them; and, not uncommonly, a child came home to its mother with the message, "You, the schoolmaster sends his respects, and asks whether you have no needles, or no thread; or if water is expensive with you," and the like.

Margaret was as if she had been made on purpose to help him about these things. If a child's hair was not in good order, she placed it with its spinning-wheel before her, and braided it up while the child studied and worked. Most of them did not know how to fasten their shoes or their stockings. All these things she showed them; adjusted their neckcloths and aprons, if they were wrong, and, if she saw a hole in their clothes, took a needle and thread and mended it. At about the close of the school, she went through the room, praising or blaming the children, as they had worked well, half-well, or ill. Those who had done well, then went first up to the schoolmaster, and said to him, "God be with you," and he then held out his hand to them and replied, "God be with you, you dear child!" Those who had done only half-well, came then to him; and to them he only said, "God be with you," without holding out his hand to them. Lastly, those who had not done well at all had to leave the room before the others, without daring to go to him at all.

If one of them came too late, he found the door shut, like the gate of a fortress that is closed. Whether then he cried or not, made no difference; the master said to him, briefly, "Go home again, now; it will do you good to think a long time about it. Every thing that is done must be done at the right time, or else it is as if it is not done at all."

7. God's Word is the Truth.

Thus, every word he said, was intended, by constantly accustoming the children to what they would in future have to say and do, to lead them into true wisdom in life; for he endeavored, with every word, to plant deep in their minds such a foundation of equanimity and peace, as every man can possess in all circumstances, if the difficulties of his lot are early made to be another nature to him. And this is the central point of the difference between his mode of instructing the children, and that of other schoolmasters.

The efficiency of his labors soon convinced the pastor of Bonnal of the importance of that distinction; and caused him to see that all verbal instruction, so far as it aims at true human wisdom, and that highest end of this wisdom, true religion, must undoubtedly be subordinated to constant exercises in useful domestic labor; and that that mouth-religion which consists in memory-work and controversial opinions may be forgotten, as soon as, by constant exercises in useful practical exertion, a better foundation is laid for good and noble aspirations; that is, for true wisdom and true religion.

But the pastor saw that he himself knew little of any such management of men, and that the lieutenant, and even Margaret, accomplished more in that direction than he did by preaching for hours, or by doing whatever else he could. He was ashamed of himself in the comparison, but he aided their undertaking, learned from both of them whatever he could, and, in every thing which he taught his children, founded upon what the lieutenant. and Margaret practiced. But in proportion as these latter accustomed their children to useful labor, so much did he shorten his verbal instructions.

This he would gladly have done long before; but he did not know how to begin it, or how to continue it. He had indeed dreamed of what the lieutenant and Margaret were doing; but he could not deprive his children of such benefits as were derivable from the old system of instruction, for the sake of mere dreams of what he could not execute. But now that he saw a better truth, and the advantage of practice in doing over practice in teaching, he followed after that better truth, and in his age made giant strides in the change of his method of popular instruction.

From this time forward he permitted his children to learn no more dogmas by rote—such, for example, as those apples of discord, the questions which for two hundred years have split good Christians into so many parties, and which certainly, for country people, have not made easier the way to everlasting life; for he was every moment more convinced that man loses little or nothing by losing mere words.

But while he, like Luther, with the help of God, struck down the foolish verbiage of a mere mouth-religion, still he did not serve up instead of it a new one of the same kind, one of his own instead of the strange one; but united his efforts with those of the lieutenant and Margaret, to train his children, without many words, to a peaceful and laborious life in their vocations; by constantly accustoming them to a wise mode of life, to stop up the sources of ignoble, shameful, and disorderly practices, and in this manner to lay the foundations of a quiet and silent habit of worship of God, and of a pure, active, and equally and silent benevolence to men.

To attain this end, he based every word of his brief instructions in religion upon the doings and omissions of the children, their circumstances and duties in life; so that, when he talked with them of God and eternity, he seemed to be speaking of father and mother, of house and home—of things closely connected with this world.

He pointed out to them with his own hand the few wise and pious portions which they were still made to learn by rote from the book. Of the rest of the prolix, quarrelsome gabble, which he desired to empty out of their brains, as the summer melts away the winter snow, he saved nothing at all; and if any one began to talk to him about it, he said that he saw more clearly every day that it was not good for men to have heads filled up with too many whys and wherefores, and that daily experience showed that, just in proportion as men carried about such whys and wherefores in their heads, they lost in their degree of natural understanding, and the daily usefulness of their hands and feet. And he no longer permitted any child to learn a long prayer by heart; saying openly that it was contrary to the express spirit of Christianity, and to the command which the Saviour gave to his disciples, "But thou when thou prayest," &c.

8. To be as Good as a Man can be, he must Appear Bad.

The best thing about him was, that he said plainly, all that he did, "If I had not seen the lieutenant and Margaret doing this in their school-room with the children, I should have remained, as to their instruction, even until death, the old pastor in Bonnal, without any change, just as I have been for thirty years. I was not in a condition to undertake the chief parts of the true instruction of these children; and all that I can do for it, even now, is this: not to lay any hindrance in the way of the lieutenant and Margaret."

He was quite right; for of the ordinary employments of men, and of most things upon which the lieutenant based his proceedings, he knew nothing whatever. He both knew men, and did not know them. He could describe them in such a way that you would have to say, "Yes, they are thus." But he did not know them so that he could mingle with them, and correct or accomplish any thing about them. And the lieutenant often told him directly that he was not capable of accomplishing any real reform amongst men; that he would only destroy them with his goodness. For how kind soever the lieutenant might seem always, no one could easily have stricter principles of education than he.

He openly maintained, that "Love is useless in the training of men, except behind or by the side of fear. For they must learn to root up thorns and thistles; and men could never do that willingly, never of themselves, but only when they are obliged, or have become accustomed to. One who would set any thing right with men, or bring them up to any proposed point, must gain the mastery of their evil qualities, must follow up their falsehood, and must make them sweat with pain, for their crooked ways. The education of men is nothing except the polishing of single members of the great chain by which all humanity is bound together. Faults in the education and guidance of men consist mostly in this, that we take single links out of the chain and undertake to ornament them, as if they were isolated, and were not links belonging to that great chain; and as if the power and usefulness of that single member depended upon its being gilded, or silvered, or set with precious stones; and not upon its being well-knit to its next neighbors without any weakening, and being strongly and pliantly adapted to the daily vibrations of the whole chain, and to all its movements."

Thus spoke the man whose strength consisted in his knowledge of the world, to the clergyman, whose weakness consisted in his ignorance of it.

But it was the labor of the life of the former to acquire a knowledge of men; and he always felt gratitude to his deceased father, for having made this his design from youth up. His father had thought many men good who were not, by reason of insufficient knowledge with them; and the sorrow therefrom resulting cost him his life. A few days before his death, he called Gluelphi, then eleven years old, to his bedside, and said, "Child, trust no one, all your life, until you have experience of him. Men betray and are betrayed; but to know them, is worth gold. Respect them, but trust them not; and let it be your daily task to write down every evening what you have seen and heard."

And therewith the last tears came from his eyes, and soon they were closed. And from that day, Gluelphi had not omitted, any evening, to follow the deathbed advice of his father. He had also preserved all his written records, from youth. They are to him a treasure of knowledge of human nature; and he calls them by no name except the good bequest of his dear deceased father;

and he often moistens them with tears. They make a thousand heavy hours pleasant to him, and have been, in his school also, a guide which has quickly led him to the object he has desired.

He knew the children in a week, better than their parents in seven years; and, according to his principles, set himself to make them sweat for pain if they undertook to keep any thing secret from him, and especially to keep their hearts always open to his eyes.

9. He who Separates the Principles of Arithmetic and of Susceptibility to Truth, puts Asunder what God has Joined...

But how much soever he cared for the hearts of his children, he took as much care for their heads; and required whatever went into them should be as clear and comprehensible as the silent moon in the heavens. He said, "Nothing can be called teaching, which does not proceed in that principle; what is obscure, and deceives, and makes confused, is not, teaching, but perverting the mind."

This perversion of the mind, in his children, he guarded against, by teaching them, above all, to see and hear closely; and by laboriously and industriously teaching them habits of cool observation, and at the same time by strengthening in them the natural capacity which every man possesses. To this end, he practiced them especially in arithmetic; in which he carried them so far, within a year, that they very soon yawned if any one began to talk to them about the wonderful puzzles with which Hartknopf's friends so easily astonished the rest of the people in the village.

So true is it, that the way to lead men away from error is, not to oppose their folly with words, but to destroy the spirit of it within them. To describe the night, and the dark colors of its shadows, does not help you see; it is only by lighting a lamp, that you can show what the night was; it is only by couching a cataract, that you can show what the blindness has become. Correct seeing and correct hearing is the first step toward living wisely; and arithmetic is the means by which nature guards us from error in our searches after truth; the basis of peace and prosperity, which children can secure for their manhood only by thoughtful and careful pursuit of their employments.

For such reasons, the lieutenant thought nothing so important as a right training of his children in arithmetic; and he said, "A man's mind will not proceed well, unless it gains the habitude of apprehending and adhering to the truth, either by means of much experience, or of arithmetical practice, which will in great part supply the place of that habitude."

But his methods of teaching them arithmetic are too extended to be given here.

10. A Sure Means Against Mean and Lying Slanders.

In this matter also he succeeded with the children as he desired; and it could not but happen that one, who accomplished so much for them, should become dear to many people. But it was far from being the case that all were satisfied with him. The chief charge against him was, that he was too proud for a schoolmaster, and would not talk with the people at all. He said one thing and another to defend himself, and tried to make them understand that he was using his time and his lungs for their children; but the farmers said that, notwithstanding all that, he might stop a moment or two when any one wanted to say something to him; and, if pride did not prevent him, he would.

All the children, to be sure, contradicted their parents in this, and said that he certainly was not proud, but they replied, "He may be good to you, and may be proud nevertheless."

But the rainy weather, in the third week of his school-keeping, accomplished for him, what the good children could not do, with all their talking.

It was an established principle in Bonnal, that an old bridge, in front of the school-house, decayed for twenty years, should not be replaced; and so, whenever it rained for two days together, the children had to get wetted almost to their knees, to get to the school. But the first time that Gluelphi found the street so deep in water, he stood out in the street, as soon as the children came, in the middle of the rain, and lifted them, one after another, over the stream.

This looked very funny to a couple of men and their wives, who lived just opposite the school-house, and who were exactly those who had complained most that his pride would scarcely let him say good day and good night to people. They found great pleasure in seeing him get wet through and through, in his red coat, and thought he would never keep at it a quarter of an hour, and expected every moment that he would call out to them to know whether nobody was coming to help him. But when he continued right on with his work, just as if not even a cat lived any where near him, not to say a man, and was dripping wet, clothes and hair, and all over, and still showed no shadow of impatience, but kept carrying over one child after another, they began to say, behind their windows, "He must be a good-natured fool, after all, to keep it up so long, and we seem to have been mistaken about him. If he had been proud, he would certainly have stopped long ago."

At last they crept out of their holes, and went out to him, and said, "We did not see, before, that you were taking so much trouble, or we would have come out to you sooner. Go home and dry yourself; we will carry the children over. We can bear the rain better than you. And, before school is out, we will bring a couple of planks, too, so that there shall be a bridge here, as there used to be."

This they did not say merely, but did it. Before eleven o'clock, there was actually a bridge erected, so that after the school the scholars could go dry-shod over the brook. And, also, the complaints about his pride ceased; for the two neighbors' wives, who had been the loudest in making them, now sang quite another song.

If this seems incredible to you, reader, make an experiment yourself, and stand out in the rain for the sake of other people's children, without being called on to do so, or receiving any thing for it, until you are dripping wet; and then see whether those people do not then willingly speak good of you, and do good to you; and whether they say any thing evil of you, except in regard to something actually and very evil, or something which they absolutely can not see and understand to be otherwise than bad.

11. Foolish Words, and School Punishments.

But it was not long before the people had something else to complain about; and, indeed, something worse than before. The Hartknopf party in the village, that is, discovered that the lieutenant was not a good Christian; and began quietly to make good and simple people in the village believe it. One of the first to find comfort in this story, and to endeavor to propagate it, was the old schoolmaster. He could not endure that all the children should so praise and love

the new schoolmaster. As long as he had been schoolmaster, they had hated him; and he had become so used to this, in thirty years, that he believed it must be so; and asserted that the children, not being able to understand what is good for them, naturally hate all discipline, and consequently all schoolmasters. But he made not much progress with this theory; and he fancied people were going to tell him that the children loved their present schoolmaster because he was good to them.

This vexed him; for he could not endure, all his life, to have it flung at him that his own foolishness was the reason that the children did not love him, although it was the honest truth. If he observed the least thing which he disapproved, the first word was, "You are killing me, body and soul; you will bring me into my grave. If you did not deserve hell for any other reason, you deserve it on account of me;" and the like.

Such language, especially to children, does not cause good feelings; and they must have been much more than children to be able to love a fool, who spoke to them in that way every moment. They knew whom they were dealing with, and when he was most enraged, they would say to each other, "When we kill again, and bring him some sausages and meat, we shall not go to hell any more, at least as long as he has any of them left to eat."

With the new schoolmaster the case was quite otherwise. His harshest reproofs to the children, when they did wrong, were, "That is not right," or "You are injuring yourself," or "In that way you will never arrive at any thing good," &c. Little as this was, it was effectual, because it was the truth.

Gluelphi's punishments consisted mostly in exercises intended to help the faults which they were to punish. For instance, if a child was idle, he was made to carry stone for the guard-fence, which the teacher was making some of the older boys construct, at the sand-meadow, or to cut fire-wood, &c. A forgetful one was made school-messenger, and for four or five days had to transact whatever business the teacher had in the village.

Even during his punishments, he was kind to the children, and scarcely ever talked more with them than while punishing them. "Is it not better for you," he would often say to a careless one, "to learn to keep yourself attentive to what you do, than every moment to be forgetting something, and then to have to do every thing over again?" Then the child would often throw himself upon him with tears, and, with his trembling hand in his, would reply, "Yes, dear Herr schoolmaster." And he would then answer, "Good child. Don't cry; but learn better; and tell your father and mother to help you overcome your carelessness, or your idleness."

Disobedience, which was not carelessness, he punished by not speaking publicly to such a child, for three, or four, or five days, but only alone with him; intimating to him, at the close of school, to remain. Impertinence and impropriety, he punished in the same way. Wickedness, however, and lying, he punished with the rod; and any child punished with the rod, was not permitted, during a whole week, to join in the children's plays; and his name and his fault stood entered in the Register of Offenses, until he gave unmistakable evidence of improvement, when they were stricken out again.

So great was the difference between the old and the new organization of the school.

CHRISTOPHER AND ALICE.

In the year 1782, Pestalozzi, with a view of directing the attention of the readers of "*Leonard and Gertrude*" from the story to the moral lessons which it was intended to convey, and to correct some erroneous impressions which the people had got from the picture he had drawn of the depravity of subordinate functionaries in the villages, published his "*Christopher and Alice*," (*Christoph and Else.*) This work consists of a series of dialogues, in which Christopher, an intelligent farmer, discusses with his family, chapter by chapter, the history of Bonnal. The principal interlocutors are, besides Christopher, his wife Alice, Josiah, his head-servant, and Frederic, his eldest son. Some of his neighbors occasionally drop in, and take part in the discussion, which is replete with the soundest views of life, and of parental duty, and opportunity, conveyed in homely but expressive language. But it lacked the interest of action, and never reached the class of people for whose special benefit is was intended.

We extract the principal portion of one of the dialogues, in which Pestalozzi exalts the training office of the mother and the home above that of the schoolmaster and the school room—a leading principle of his educational labors through life—one of the earliest and latest of his aspirations for the advancement of his father-land, and of humanity.

HOME AND SCHOOL TRAINING. DOMESTIC EDUCATION.

"That is my chapter, father!" said Alice, when Christopher had read the twelfth chapter of our book;* "a pious mother, who herself teaches her children seems to me to be the finest sight on the earth."

"It is a very different one from a school room, at all events," said Josiah.

Alice. "I did not mean to say that schools are not very good."

Christopher. "Nor would I allow myself to think so."

Josiah. "Well, and it is true, after all, that nothing of what the schoolmaster can say will ever reach children's hearts in the same way as what their parents teach them; and, generally speaking, I am sure there is not in school-going all the good that people fancy there is."

Christopher. "I am afraid, Josiah, thou art rather straining thy point. We ought to thank God for all the good that there is in the world; and, as for the schools in our country, we can't thank Him enough for them."

Josiah. "Well spoken, master. It is well that there are schools; and God forbid that I should be ungrateful for any good that it has done to us. But, with all this, I think that he must be a fool who, having plenty at home, runs about begging; and that is the very thing which our village folks do, by forgetting all

* This chapter represents Gertrude in the midst of her children, teaching them, at the same time that they are engaged in spinning.—B.

the good lessons which they might teach their children at home, and, instead thereof, sending them every day to gather up the dry crumbs which are to be got in our miserable schools. I am sure that is not quite as it ought to be."

Christopher. "Nor is it, perhaps, quite as thou hast put it."

Josiah. "Nay, master! but only look it in the face, and thou'lt surely see it the same as I do. That which parents can teach their children is always what they stand most in need of in life; and it is a pity that parents should neglect this, by trusting in the words which the schoolmaster makes them get by heart. It is very true, they may be good and wise words, and have an excellent meaning to them; but, after all, they are only words, and coming from the mouth of a stranger, they don't come half as near home as a father's or a mother's words."

Christopher. "I can not see what thou would'st be at, Josiah."

Josiah. "Look, master! The great point in bringing up a child is, that he should be well brought up for his own house; he must learn to know, and handle, and use those things on which his bread and his quiet will depend through life; and it seems to me very plain, that fathers and mothers can teach that much better at home, than any schoolmaster can do it in his school. The schoolmaster, no doubt, tells the children of a great many things which are right and good, but they are never worth as much in his mouth as in the mouth of an upright father, or a pious mother. The schoolmaster, for instance, will tell the child to fear God, and to honor his father and mother, for that such is the word of God; but the child understands little of what he says, and mostly forgets it again before he comes home. But if, at home, his father gives him milk and bread, and his mother denies herself a morsel, that she may give it to him, the child feels and understands that he ought to honor his father and mother, who are so kind to him, and he will not forget his father's words, which tell him that such is the word of God, as easily as the empty word of the schoolmaster. In the same way, if the child is told at school to be merciful, and to love his neighbor as himself, he gets the text by heart, and perhaps thinks of it for a few days, till the nice words slip again from his memory. But at home he sees a poor neighbor's wife calling in upon his mother, lamenting over her misery, her hunger, and nakedness; he sees her pale countenance, her emaciated and trembling figure, the very image of wretchedness; his heart throbs, his tears flow; he lifts up his eyes full of grief and anxiety to his mother, as if he himself was starving; his mother goes to fetch some refreshments for the poor sufferer, in whose looks the child now reads comfort and reviving hope; his anguish ceases, his tears flow no longer, he approaches her with a smiling face; at last his mother returns, and her gift is received with sobs of gratitude, which draw fresh tears from the child's eye. Here then he learns what it is to be merciful, and to love one's neighbor. He learns it, without the aid of words, by the real fact; he sees mercy itself, instead of learning words about mercy."

Christopher. "I must own I begin to think thou art not quite mistaken in saying that too much value is put upon the schoolmaster's teaching."

Josiah. "Of course, master! If thou sendest thy sheep up into the mountain, thou reliest upon their being well kept by the shepherd, who is paid for it, and thou dost not think of running about after them thyself; but if thou hast them at home, in thy own stables, thou lookest after them thyself. Now it is just the same thing with the school; only there is this difference, that it is easy to get for the sheep pasture which is infinitely better than the food they have in the

stable; but it is not so easy to find a school in which the children are better taught than they might be at home. *The parents' teaching is the kernel of wisdom, and the schoolmaster's business is only to make a husk over it; and there even is a great chance whether it turn out well.*"

Alice. "Why, Josiah, thou makest one's brains whirl all round, about one's children. I think I see now what thou art at; and I fancy many a poor, ignorant mother, who now sends her children to school, without thinking any thing about it, merely because it is the custom to do so, would be very glad to be taught better."

Josiah. "There is yet another part of the story, master. What helps the common people to get through the world, thou knowest, and to have their daily bread, and a cheerful heart, is nothing else but good sense and natural understanding; and I have never found in all my life a useful man who was what they call a good scholar. The right understanding with the common people is, as it were, free and easy, and shows itself always in the proper place and season; so that a man's words don't fit but at the very moment when they are spoken, and a quarter of an hour before or after they would not fit at all. But the school understanding, brings in all manner of sayings which are fit at all times, in summer and winter, in hot and cold, in Lent and at Easter; and that is the reason why this school understanding does not do any good to common people, who must regulate themselves according to times and seasons; and that is the reason, again, why their natural understandings, which are in them, ought to be drawn out more. And for this, there are no better teachers than the house, and the father's and mother's love, and the daily labor at home, and all the wants and necessities of life. But if the children must needs be sent to school, the schoolmaster should, at least, be an open-hearted, cheerful, affectionate, and kind man, who would be as a father to the children; a man made on purpose to open children's hearts, and their mouths, and to draw forth their understandings, as it were, from the hindermost corner. In most schools, however, it is just the contrary; the schoolmaster seems as if he was made on purpose to shut up children's mouths and hearts, and to bury their good understandings ever so deep under ground. That is the reason why healthy and cheerful children, whose hearts are full of joy and gladness, hardly ever like school. Those that show best at school are the children of whining hypocrites, or of conceited parish-officers; stupid dunces, who have no pleasure with other children; these are the bright ornaments of school rooms, who hold up their heads among the other children, like the wooden king in the ninepins among his eight fellows. But, if there is a boy who has too much good sense to keep his eyes, for hours together, fixed upon a dozen letters which he hates; or a merry girl, who, while the schoolmaster discourses of spiritual life, plays with her little hands all manner of temporal fun, under the desk; the schoolmaster, in his wisdom, settles that these are the goats who care not for their everlasting salvation. . . ."

Thus spoke good Josiah, in the overflowing of his zeal, against the nonsense of village schools, and his master and mistress grew more and more attentive to what he said.

"Well, I trust," said Christopher, at last, "there still may be some other light to view the matter in."

But Alice replied: "There may be twenty more lights to view the matter in, for aught I know. But I care not; I know this one thing, that I will have my

children more about me in future; it seems very natural, indeed, that fathers and mothers should themselves teach their children as much as they possibly can. I think there is a great deal in what Josiah says, and one really shudders, when one comes to reflect what sort of people our village schoolmasters generally are. There are many of them, I know, Christopher, whom thou wouldst not trust with a cow, or a calf, over winter; and it is very true, that one ought to look more one's self after one's children, and not fancy all is well, provided one sends them to school."

HOW GERTRUDE TEACHES HER CHILDREN.

THIS work was written in 1801, and is in the form of letters to Pestalozzi's friend Gesner, of Zurich, son of the author of "*The Death of Abel;*" and was, indeed, drawn up at his request. Its purpose is to present in a condensed form the history of the development of Pestalozzi's views on the principles and practice of instruction, up to the period of the composition of the work.

The name is not appropriate to the actual contents of the book; for instead of containing such details of rudimentary instructions as mothers might give, it is mainly a careful and condensed compend of an extended course, adapted to the minds of teachers of some experience. The title was given with reference to the previous work, "*Leonard and Gertrude,*" in which Gertrude is represented as a pattern teacher for young children; and it signifies merely that the present work sets forth at greater length the principles and practice of the former one. It has an allusive propriety only.

The work commences with reference to Pestalozzi's early confusion of ideas respecting education, and states briefly his early labors for improving the condition of the poor. But he says his early hopes, as expressed in Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" (1782,) were no less comprehensive than his later ones. His progress had been in working out the details of the application of his principles to practical instruction. In the course of the unsuccessful experiment at Neuhof, he proceeds, he had acquired an acquaintance with the real needs of the Swiss people, altogether deeper than that of his cotemporaries. In the despondent years then following, he endeavored to do something toward supplying those needs, by composing and publishing his "*Inquiries into the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind.*" But Pestalozzi was not made for a master of theories, whether in social or mental philosophy, or elsewhere. His work neither satisfied him nor commanded the attention of the public.

Pestalozzi then traces his career as a practical educator, beginning with his sudden resolution to become a schoolmaster, and his bold assumption, single-handed and without money, books, apparatus, or any thing except a ruinous old building, of the charge of the school of homeless poor children at Stanz, and pausing to give brief accounts, partly autobiographical, of his three assistants, Krüsi, Buss, and Tobler.*

Besides the exposition of his practical views, of which the following pages present an abstract in his own words, the work contains a consider-

* These autobiographies will be found in the "*American Journal of Education,*" Vol. V., p. 155.

able portion of polemic matter, directed against cotemporary evils and errors in received modes of education. A principal origin of the superficial and unsubstantial character of these modes he finds to have been the introduction of printing, which, according to him, has caused an excessive devotion to mere language, without regard to thought, and has resulted in making book-men, instead of thinkers.

The latter portion of the work contains a somewhat obscure and unsatisfactory statement of the position of religious education in his system, and of the mode of giving it; which, however, is by no means to be taken as an adequate presentation of Pestalozzi's views on this point.

The positive part of the book may be considered as an extended answer to the question, "What is to be done to give the child all the theoretical and practical knowledge which he will need in order to perform properly the duties of his life, and thus to attain to inward contentment?"

This answer professes to discuss both the theory and the practice referred to in the question; but the former is predominant, although there is an honest effort to give the latter its proper place.

The following pages will sufficiently present the chief features of the most important portion of the work, that which sets forth the system of instruction within the three primary divisions of Number, Form, and Speech.

PESTALOZZI'S ACCOUNT OF HIS OWN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE.

POPULAR education once lay before me like an immense marsh, in the mire of which I waded about, until I had discovered the sources from which its waters spring, as well as the causes by which their free course is obstructed, and made myself acquainted with those points from which a hope of draining its pools might be conceived.

You shall now follow me yourself for a while through these labyrinthine windings, from which I extricated myself by accident rather than by my own art or reflection.

Ever since my youthful days, the course of my feelings, rolled on like a mighty stream, was directed to this one point; namely, to stop the sources of that misery in which I saw the people around me immersed.

It is now more than thirty years since I first put my hand to this same work, which I am still pursuing. Iselin's "*Ephemerides*" bear witness that my present dreams and wishes are not more comprehensive than those which I was even then seeking to realize.

I lived for years together in a circle of more than fifty pauper children; in poverty did I share my bread with them, and lived myself like a pauper, to try if I could teach paupers to live as men.

The plan which I had formed for their education embraced agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. But, young as I was, I knew not what attention, and what powers, the realization of my dreams would require. I allowed myself to be guided by a deep and decided feeling of what seemed to me essential to the execution of my project; and it is true that, with all the experience of after life, I have found but little reason to modify the views I then entertained. Nevertheless my confidence in their truth, founded upon the apparent infallibility of my feeling, became my ruin. For it is equally true, on the other hand, that in no one of the three departments above-mentioned did I possess any practical ability for the management of details, nor was my mind of a cast to keep up a persevering attention to little things; and, in an insulated position, with limited means, I was unable to procure such assistance as might have made up for my own deficiencies. In a short time I was surrounded with embarrassments, and saw the great object of my wishes defeated.

In the struggle, however, in which this attempt involved me, I had learned a vast deal of truth; and I was never more fully convinced of the importance of my views and plans than at the moment when they seemed to be for ever set at rest by a total failure. My heart too was still aiming at the same object; and, being now myself plunged into wretchedness, I had a better opportunity, than any man in prosperity ever can have, of making myself intimately acquainted with the wretchedness of the people, and with its sources. I suffered even as the people suffered; and they appeared to me such as they were, and as they would not have shewn themselves to any one else. For a length of

years I sat amongst them like the owl among the birds. I was cast away by men, and their sneers followed after me. "Wretch that thou art!" they exclaimed; "thou art less able than the meanest laborer to help thyself, and yet thou fanciest thyself able to help the people!" Yet amidst the scorn which I read on all lips, the mighty stream of my feeling was still directed to the same point; to stop the sources of the misery in which I saw the people around me sinking; and in one respect, at least, my power was daily increased. My misfortune was a school, in which Providence had placed me to learn truth for my great object; and I learned of it more and more. That which deceived no other, has ever deceived me; but what deceived every one else, now deceived me no longer.

I knew the people in a manner in which no one around me knew them. The glitter of prosperity arising from the newly-introduced manufactures, the freshened aspect of their houses, the abundance of their harvests, all this could not deceive me; nor even the Socratic discoursing of some of their teachers, nor the reading associations among bailiffs' sons and hair-dressers. I saw their misery, but I lost myself in the vast prospect of its scattered and insulated sources; and while my knowledge of their real condition became every day more extensive, my practical capability of remedying the evils under which they labored, increased in a far less proportion. Even "*Leonard and Gertrude*," the work which sympathy with their sufferings extorted from me, was, after all, but the production of my internal inability to offer them any real help. I stood among my contemporaries like a monument which bespeaks life, but is in itself dead. Many cast a glance upon it; but they could appreciate me and my plans no better than I myself was able to form a correct estimate of the various powers, and the details of knowledge, necessary to carry them into effect.

I grew careless; and, being swallowed up in a vortex of anxiety for outward action, I neglected to work out to a sufficient depth, within my own mind, the foundations of what I intended to bring about.

Had I done this, to what internal elevation might I have risen for the accomplishment of my purposes! and how rapidly should I then have reached my aim! I attained it not, because I was unworthy of it; because I sought it merely in the outward; because I allowed my love of truth and of justice to become a passion which tossed me about, like a torn-up reed, on the waves of life, nor would permit me to take root again in firm ground, and to imbibe that nourishment and strength of which I stood so much in need for the furtherance of my object. It was far too vain a hope, that some one else would rescue that loose reed from the waves, and secure it in the ground in which I myself neglected to plant it.

Oh, my dear friend! Who is the man that has but one feeling in common with my soul, and knows not how low I must now have sunk? And thou, my beloved Gesner, before thou readest on, wilt consecrate a tear to my course. . . . . .

Deep dissatisfaction was gnawing my heart; eternal truth and eternal rectitude were converted by my passion into airy castles. With a hardened mind I clung stubbornly to words and sounds which had lost within me the basis of truth. Thus I degraded myself every day more with the worship of commonplaces, and the trumpeting of those quackeries, wherewith these modern times pretend to better the condition of mankind.

I was not, however, insensible to this internal abasement, nor did I fail to struggle against it. For three years I toiled, more than I can express, over my "*Inquiries into the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind*," chiefly with a view to get settled in my own mind as to the progress of my favorite ideas, and to bring my innate feelings into harmony with my notions of civil right and moral obligation. But this work, likewise, is no more than a testimony of my internal incapacity; a mere play of my reflective faculties. The subject is not comprehensively viewed, nor is there a due exercise of power to combat myself, or a sufficient tendency to that practical ability which was requisite for my purposes. It only served to increase that deficiency within myself, arising from a disproportion between my power and my knowledge, which it was indispensable that I should fill up, though I grew every day more unable to do so.

Nor did I reap more than I sowed. My book produced upon those around me the same effect as did every thing else I did; hardly any one understood me; and in my immediate neighborhood there were not two men to be found, who did not hint that they considered the whole book as a heap of nonsense. And even lately, a man of importance, who has much kindness for me, said with Swiss familiarity: "Don't you now feel yourself, Mr. Pestalozzi, that when you wrote that book you did not know what you wanted to be at?" Thus, however, to be misunderstood and wronged was my lot: but instead of profiting by it, as I ought to have done, I warred against my misfortune with internal scorn and a general contempt of mankind; and by thus injuring the foundation, which my cause ought to have had within myself, I did it infinitely more harm than all those could do, by whom I was misunderstood and despised. Yet I had not lost sight of my aim; but my adherence to it was no more than the obstinacy of a perverted imagination and a murmuring heart; it was on a profaned soil that I sought to cherish the sacred plant of human happiness.

I, who had just then, in my "*Inquiries*," declared the claims of civil right as mere claims of our animal nature, and therefore essential impediments to moral purity, the only thing that is of real value to human nature, now descended so low, that amidst the violent convulsions of the revolution I expected the mere sound of social systems, and of political theories, to produce a good effect upon the men of my age, who, with few exceptions, lived upon mere puff and swell, seeking power, and hankering after well-set tables.

My head was gray; yet I was still a child. With a heart in which all the foundations of life were shaken, I still pursued, in those stormy times, my favorite object; but my way was one of prejudice, of passion, and of error. To bring to light the inveterate causes of social evils, to spread impassioned views of the social constitution and the unalterable basis of man's rights, nay, to turn to account the spirit of violence which had risen up amongst us, for the cure of some of the ills under which the people suffered; such were the means by which I hoped and sought to effect my purpose. But the purer doctrines of my former days had been but sound and word to the men among whom I lived; how much less, then, was it to be expected, that they should apprehend my meaning in the view which I now took. Even this inferior sort of truth they contaminated by their filth: they remained the same as ever; and they acted toward me in a manner which I ought to have anticipated, but which I did not anticipate, because the dream of my wishes kept me suspended in mid-air, and

my soul was a stranger to that selfishness by which I might have recognized them in their true colors. I was deceived not only in every fox, but also in every fool; and to every one that came before me, and spoke well, I gave full credit for the sincerity of his intentions. With all this I knew more than any one else about the people, and about the sources of their savage and degraded condition; but I wished nothing further than that those sources might be stopped, and the evils which sprang from them arrested; and the new men, (*novi homines*) of Helvetia, whose wishes went further, and who had no knowledge of the condition of the people, found, of course, that I was not made for them. These men, in their new position, like shipwrecked women, took every straw for a mast, on which the republic might be driven to a safe shore; but me, me alone, they took for a straw not fit for a fly to cling to.

They knew it not, they intended it not; but they did me good, more good than any men have ever done me. They restored me to myself; for, in the amazement caused by the sudden change of their ship's repair into a shipwreck, I had not another word left, but that which I pronounced in the first days of confusion: "I will turn schoolmaster." For this I found confidence. I did turn schoolmaster. Ever since I have been engaged in a mighty struggle, and compelled, as it were, in spite of myself, to fill up those internal deficiencies by which my purposes were formerly defeated.

To lay before you, my friend, the whole of my existence, and my operations, since that period, is my present task. Through Legrand I had made some interest with the first Directoire for the subject of popular education, and I was preparing to open an extensive establishment for that purpose in Argovie, when Stanz was burnt down, and Legrand requested me to make the scene of misery the first scene of my operations. I went; I would have gone into the remotest clefts of the mountains, to come nearer to my aim; and now I really did come nearer. . . . But imagine my position. . . . Alone, destitute of all means of instruction, and of all other assistance, I united in my person the offices of superintendent, paymaster, steward, and sometimes chambermaid, in a half-ruined house. I was surrounded with ignorance, disease, and with every kind of novelty. The number of children rose, by degrees, to eighty: all of different ages; some full of pretensions; others inured to open beggary; and all, with a few solitary exceptions, entirely ignorant. What a task! to educate, to develop these children, what a task!

I ventured upon it. I stood in the midst of these children, pronouncing various sounds, and asking them to imitate them; whoever saw it, was struck with the effect. It is true it was a meteor which vanishes in the air as soon as it appears. No one understood its nature. I did not understand it myself. It was the result of a simple idea, or rather of a fact of human nature, which was revealed to my feelings, but of which I was far from having a clear consciousness.

PESTALOZZI.—METHODS OF ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.

1. The Elementary Means of Instruction Depend upon Number, Form, and Speech.

Ideas of the elements of instruction were for a long time working in my mind, vividly though indistinctly, until at last, like a "*Deus ex machina*," the conception that *the means of the elucidation of all our intuitional knowledge proceed from number, form, and speech*, seemed suddenly to give me new light on the point which I was investigating.

After long consideration of the subject—or rather, uncertain dreams about it—I at last set myself to conceive how an educated man proceeds, and must proceed, when endeavoring to abstract, and gradually make clear, any subject now floating confusedly and dimly before his eyes.

In such a case, he will—and must—observe the three following points:—

1. How many subjects, or how various ones, are before him.

2. How they look; what is their form and outline.

3. What they are called; how he can recall each to mind by means of a sound, a word.

The doing this evidently presupposes, in such a man, the following developed powers:—

1. The power of considering unlike objects in relation to their forms, and of recalling to mind their material.

2. That of abstracting these objects as to their number, and of distinctly conceiving them either as one or as many.

3. That of repeating by language, and fixing, so as not to be forgotten, the conception of an object as to number and form.

Thus I conclude that number, form, and speech are commonly the elementary means of instruction, since they include the whole sum of the external qualities of an object, so far as relates to its extent and number, and become known to my intellect through speech. Instruction, as an art, must thus, by an invariable law, proceed from this threefold basis, and endeavor

1. To teach the children to consider any object brought before their consciousness, as a unity; that is, as separate from whatever it seems to be bound up with.

2. To teach them an acquaintance with the form of each such object; its size and relations.

3. To make them as early as possible acquainted with the whole circle of words and names of all the objects known to them.

The instruction of children being to proceed from these three elementary points, it is evident, again, that the first efforts of the art must be directed to develop, establish, and strengthen, with the utmost psychological skill, the fundamental knowledge of numbering, measuring, and speaking, upon whose correct attainment depends the right knowledge of all visible objects; and after-

ward to bring the means of developing and training these three departments of mental attainment to the highest degree of simplicity, of perfection, and of agreement together.

The only difficulty which occurred to me upon the recognition of these three elementary points was this: Why are not all those conditions of things, which we recognize through the three senses, not elementary in the same sense, as number, form, and speech? But I soon observed that all possible objects have number, form, and name; but that the other attributes, recognized through the five senses, are not possessed in common with all others as those are, but only sometimes one and sometimes another of them. Between the three attributes of number, form, and name, and others, I also found this substantial and distinct difference—that I was unable to make any of the others elementary points of human knowledge; while, on the contrary, I saw just as clearly that all other such attributes of things as are recognized by the five senses, permit themselves to be put into immediate relations with those three; and in consequence, that in the instruction of children, knowledge of all the other qualities of subjects must be deduced immediately from the preliminary knowledge of form, number and name. I saw that by my acquaintance with the unity, form, and name of an object, my knowledge of it becomes *definite* knowledge; that by gradually aiming to know all its other qualities, I acquire a *clear* knowledge; and by understanding the relations of all facts relative to it, I acquire an *intelligent* knowledge.

I now proceeded further, and found that all our knowledge proceeds from three elementary faculties, namely:—

1. The active faculty, which renders us capable of language.

2. The indefinite power of mere perception by the senses, which gives us our consciousness of all forms.

3. The definite power of perception not by the senses alone, from which must be gained the consciousness of unity, and through it the power of counting and computing.

I thus concluded that the art of educating our race must be based upon the first and simplest results of these three fundamental elements—sound, form, and number; and that instruction in any one department could and would never lead to a result beneficial to our nature, considered in its whole compass, unless these three simple results of our fundamental faculties should be recognized as the universal starting-points for all instruction, fixed as such by nature herself; and unless these results were accordingly developed into forms proceeding universally and harmoniously from them, and calculated efficiently and surely to carry instruction forward to its completion, through the steps of a progression unbroken, and dealing alike and equally with all three. This I concluded the only means of proceeding in all three of these departments, from indistinct intuitions to definite ones, from intuitions to clear perceptions, and from clear perceptions to intelligent ideas.

Thus, moreover, I find art actually and most intimately united with nature, or rather with the ideal by means of which nature makes the objects of the creation known to us; and so was solved my problem, *viz.*, to discover a common origin of all the means of the art of instruction, and, at the same time, that form of it in which the development of the race is defined by the constitution itself of our nature:—and the difficulty removed, in the way of applying the

mechanical laws, which I recognized as at the foundation of human instruction, to that system of instruction which the experience of thousands of years has given to the human race for its own development; that is, to writing, arithmetic, reading, &c.

2. THE FIRST ELEMENTARY MEANS OF INSTRUCTION IS, ACCORDINGLY, SOUND.

From this arise the following subdivisions of instruction:—

A. In Tones; or, the means of training the organs of speech.

B. In Words; or, the means of becoming acquainted with single objects.

C. In Language; or, the means of becoming able to express ourselves with clearness relatively to such objects as become known to us, and to all which we are capable of seeing in those objects.

To repeat these subdivisions.

A. *Instruction in Tones.* This, again, divides itself into instruction in speaking tones, and singing tones.

a. Speaking tones.

With respect to these, it should not be left to chance whether they are heard by the child at an early or late period; and in great number or in small. It is important that he should hear all of them, and as early as possible.

His knowledge of them should be complete, before he has attained the ability to form them; and in like manner his power of imitating them all and with facility should be completely developed, before the forms of the letters are laid before him, and before his first exercises in reading.

The spelling-book must therefore contain all the sounds of which language consists; and should in every family be daily repeated by the child who is studying them, in the presence of the child in the cradle; so that the knowledge of those sounds may thus by frequent repetition become deeply impressed upon the latter, and indeed be made quite indelible, even before it is able to repeat one of them.

No one who has not seen it can imagine how the pronunciation of such simple sounds as ba, ba, ba, da, da, da, ma, ma, ma, la, la, la, &c., excites the attention of young children, and stimulates them; or of the gain to the general powers of acquisition of the child which comes from the early acquaintance with these sounds.

In accordance with this principle of the importance of the knowledge of sound and tones, before the child can imitate them, and in the conviction that it is equally important what representations and objects come before the eyes of young children, and what sounds come to his ears, I have composed a "*Book for Mothers;*" in which I explain, by illuminated wood-cuts, not only the fundamental points of number and form, but also the most important other attributes with which the five senses make us acquainted; and in which, by an acquaintance with many names, thus assured, and rendered vivid by much actual inspection, future reading is prepared for and made easy. In the same way also, by practice in sounds, preparatory to spelling, I prepare and facilitate this study also; for by this book, I make these sounds at home and, I may say, quarter them upon the child's mind, before the child can pronounce a syllable of them.

I intend to accompany these cuts, for the youngest children, with a book of

methods, in which every word which must be said to the child upon each subject elucidated, shall be stated so clearly that even the most inexperienced mother can sufficiently attain my purpose; for the reason that not a word will need to be added to those which I shall set forth.

Thus prepared from the "*Book for Mothers*," and acquainted by actual practice from the spelling-book with the entire extent of sounds, the child must, as soon as his organs become trained to articulation, become accustomed to repeat over the various columns of sounds in the spelling-book, with as much ease as he does such other purposeless sounds as people give him to imitate.

This book differs from all previous ones in this: that its method is universal; and that the pupil himself proceeds in a visible manner, beginning with the vowels, and constructing syllables by the gradual addition of consonants behind and before, in a manner which is comprehensive, and which perceptibly facilitates speech and reading.

My method is: to take each vowel with all the consonants one after another, from b to z, and thus to form at first the simple easy syllables, ab, ad, af, &c.; and then to put before each of these simple syllables such consonants as are actually so placed in common language; as, for instance, before ab, in succession, b, g, sch, st, &c.; making bab, gab, schab, &c. By going through all the vowels in this manner, with this simple prefixing of consonants, I formed first easy syllables, and then, by prefixing more consonants, more difficult ones. This exercise necessitated manifold repetitions of the simple sounds, and a general and orderly classification of all the syllables which are alike in their elements; resulting in an indelible impression of their sounds, which is a very great assistance in learning to read.

The advantages of the book are explained in it, as follows:—

1. It keeps the child at spelling single syllables, until sufficient skill is acquired in the exercises.

2. By the universal employment of similarities of sound, it renders the repetition of similar forms not disagreeable to the child, and thus facilitates the design of impressing them indelibly on the mind.

3. It very rapidly enables the children to pronounce at once every new word formed by the addition of new consonants to syllables already known, without being obliged to spell them over beforehand; and also to spell these combinations by heart, which is afterward a great assistance in orthography.

In the short introduction prefixed to the book, explaining the use of it, mothers are required themselves to repeat daily to their children, before they can read, these series of sounds, and to pronounce them in different successions, so as to attract attention, and to give an acquaintance with each separate sound. This recitation must be prosecuted with redoubled zeal, and begun again from the beginning, as soon as the children begin to speak, to enable them themselves to repeat them, and thus to learn quickly to read.

In order to make the knowledge of the written characters, which must precede spelling, easier to the children, I have annexed them to the spelling-book, printed in a large character, in order to make their distinctions more easily discernible by the eye.

These letters are to be pasted separately on stiff paper, and put before the children. The vowels are in red, to distinguish them, and must be learned thoroughly, as well as their pronunciation, before going further. After this

they are by little and little to be taught the consonants, but always along with a vowel; because they can not be pronounced without a vowel.

As soon as the children, partly by their exercise, partly by the spelling which I am about to describe, begin to have a sufficient knowledge of the letters, they may be set at the threefold series of letters, also appended to the book; where, in a smaller type, is given, over the German printed letter, the German written, and the Roman printed letters. The child, reading each syllable in the form of letter already familiar to him, and then repeating it in the other two, will learn to read in all three alphabets, without any loss of time.

The same principle is still to be adhered to in these exercises: that every syllable is nothing but a sound constructed by the addition of a consonant to a vowel; the vowel being thus always the foundation of the syllable. The vowel should be laid down first—or slid out on the spelling-board hung up on the wall, which should have a groove at the upper and lower side, in which the letters should stand and move easily backward and forward—and the consonants added, in the order given in the book. Each syllable should at the same time be pronounced by the teacher and repeated by the children, until indelibly impressed on their minds. Then the teacher may ask for each letter, in its order or out of it; and make them spell the syllables when covered up out of sight.

It is very necessary, especially in the first part of the book, to proceed slowly, and never to proceed to any thing new until what precedes it has been learned beyond the power of forgetting; for upon this depends the foundation of the whole course of instruction in reading, upon which what follows is to be built by small and gradual additions.

When in this way the children have arrived at a certain degree of facility in spelling, it may be interchanged with exercises of another kind. Thus, for example, a word may be spelled by beginning with one letter and adding the others, one after another, until it is complete, pronouncing it as each letter is added; as, p, pi, pin. Then the reverse process may be followed, by taking away one letter after another, and thus going backward in the same manner; repeating it until the children can spell the word by heart, correctly. The same thing can also be done by beginning at the end of the word, instead of the beginning.

Lastly, the word may be divided into syllables, the syllables numbered, and repeated and spelled promiscuously by their numbers.

Great advantages may be gained in schools, by teaching the children, from the beginning, to repeat the words all together at the same moment; so that the sound produced by all shall be heard as a simple sound, whether the words were repeated to them, or pointed out by the number of the letters or syllables. This keeping time together renders the instructor's part quite mechanical, and operates with incredible power upon the senses of the children.

When these exercises in spelling have been gone through with on the tablet, the book itself is then to be put into the child's hand, as a first reading-book; and he is to be kept at work upon it until he has acquired the most complete facility in reading it.

So much for instruction in the sounds of speech. I have to add a word, on the sounds of singing. But as singing proper can not be reckoned a means of proceeding from indistinct intuitions to clear ideas, that is, as one of the means of instruction which I am at present discussing, but is rather a capacity, to be

developed from other points of view, and for other purposes, I put off its consideration to the time when I shall consider the system of education; saying at present only this: that singing, according to the general principle, begins with what is simplest, completes this, and proceeds only gradually from it, when completed, to the beginning of what is new.

B. The second department of the domain of sound, or of the special elementary means of instruction derived from sound, is—

Instruction in words, or rather in names.

I have already remarked that the child must receive its first instruction in this department, also, from the "*Book for Mothers.*" This is so arranged, that the most important subjects of the world, and especially those that, as generic names, include whole classes of subjects within themselves, are discussed; and the mother is enabled to make the child well-acquainted with the most important of all these names. By this course of proceeding, the child is prepared, even from its earliest years, for instruction in names; that for the second special means of instruction depending on the power of uttering sounds.

The instruction in names is given by means of series of names of the more important subjects, from all the realms of nature, history, geography, and human vocations and relations. These columns of words are put into the child's hand immediately after the end of his studies in the spelling-book, as a mere exercise in learning to read; and experience has shown me that it is possible for the children to have completely committed to memory the columns, within no more time than is required to learn to read them readily. The advantage of so complete a knowledge of such various and comprehensive views of names at this stage, is immeasurable, in relation to the facilitation of subsequent instruction.

C. The third special means of instruction proceeding from the faculty of sounds is—

Instruction in language itself.

And here is the point at which begins to be developed the proper method by which the art of instruction, by taking advantage of the development of the capacities of the human mind, can give an acquaintance with language which shall keep up with the course of nature in general development. But I should say, rather, here begins to develop itself the method by which, according to the will of the Creator, man can secure himself from the hands of mere natural blindness and natural capability for instruction, to be put into the hands of the higher powers which have been developing in him for thousands of years; the method by which the human race, independently—man—can secure for the development of his powers that more definite and comprehensive tendency and that more rapid progress, for which nature has given him power and means but no guidance, and in which she can never guide him while he is man only; the form in which man can do all this without interfering with the loftiness and simplicity of the physical development of nature, the harmony that exists in our merely sensuous development; without taking away any part of ourselves, or a single hair of that uniform protection which mother nature exercises over even the mere physical development.

All these attainments must be reached by means of a finished art of teaching language, and the highest grade of psychology; thus securing the utmost perfection in the mechanism of the natural progression from confused intuitions to

intelligent ideas. This is, in truth, far beyond my powers; and I feel myself to be, on this subject, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

But the Egyptian, who first fastened a shovel with a crooked handle to th horn of an ox, and thus taught him to perform the labor of a man at digging, thus prepared the way for the invention of the plow, although he did not bring it to perfection.

My services are only the first bending of the shovel-handle, and the fastening of it to a new horn. But why do I speak by similitudes? I ought to and will state what I mean, plainly, and without circumlocution.

I desire to remove the imperfections from school instruction; both from the obsolete system of stammering servile old schoolmasters, and from the later system which has by no means taken its place—in the common schools; and to knit it to the immovable power of nature herself, and to the light which God kindles and ever maintains in the hearts of fathers and mothers; to the desires of parents that their children may be respectable before God and man.

In order to define the form of our instruction in language, or rather the various forms in which its object can be gained, that is, through which we are to become able to express ourselves distinctly on subjects with which we are acquainted, and as to every thing which we see about them, we must inquire:—

1. What is man's ultimate object in language?

2. What are the means, or rather what is the progression, through which nature herself, by the gradual development of the faculty of language, brings us to this end?

The answer to the first question is, evidently: To bring our race from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas; and to the second: The means by which she gradually brings us to this end have, unquestionably, this order of succession, viz.:—

a. We recognize an object generally, and designate it as a unity—an object.

b. We become generally acquainted with its characteristics, and learn to designate them.

c. We acquire, through language, the power of defining more in detail these traits, by verbs and adverbs, and making clear to ourselves their modifications by modifications in words themselves, and in their juxtaposition.

1. On the effort to learn the names of objects, I have already spoken.

2. Efforts to comprehend and to teach the names of the qualities of objects as desirable, are divided into—

a. Efforts to teach the child to express himself with distinctness in relation to number and form: (Number and form, as qualities possessed by all things, are the two most comprehensive universal abstractions of physical nature; and are the two central points to which are referred all other means of rendering our ideas intelligent.)

b. Efforts to teach the child to express himself with distinctness upon all other qualities of things, besides number and form; as well those qualities which are perceived through the five senses, as those which are perceived, not by means of a simple intuition of them, but by means of our faculties of imagination and judgment.

Children must early become accustomed to consider with ease form and number, the first physical universal qualities which the experience of thousands of years has taught us to abstract from the nature of all things; and to

consider them, not merely as qualities inherent in each particular thing, but as physical universal qualities. He must not only learn early to distinguish a round and a triangular thing as such, but must as early as possible have impressed upon his mind the idea of circularity, and triangularity, as a pure abstraction; so that he may be able to apply the proper term, expressing this universal abstract idea, to whatever occurs to him in nature which is round, triangular, simple, fourfold, &c. Here also comes up clearly the reason why speech is to be and must be treated as a means of expressing form and number, in a special manner, differing from its treatment as a means of expressing all the other qualities which we observe in natural objects by the five senses.

I therefore began, even in the "*Book for Mothers*," to lead the children toward the clear knowledge of those universal qualities. This book furnishes both a comprehensive view of the most usual forms and the simplest means of making the first relations of numbers intelligible to the child.

More advanced steps toward this purpose must, however, together with the corresponding exercises in language, be put off to a later period, and must be connected with the special exercises in number and form, which two, as the elementary points of our knowledge, must be taken up after a full course of exercises in language.

The cuts in the elementary manual for this instruction, the "*Book for Mothers*, or for the earliest childhood," are so selected as to bring forward all the universal physical qualities of which we become aware through the five senses; and as to enable mothers readily to give their children the command of the most definite expressions relative to them, without any pains of their own.

As relates, next, to those qualities of things which become known to us, not immediately through the five senses, but through the separating powers of our faculty of comparison, imagination, and faculty of abstraction, in regard to them also, I adhere to my principle, not to endeavor to bring any human opinion to a premature ripeness, but to make use of the necessary knowledge of the appropriate abstract terms by the children, as a mere exercise of memory; and also to some extent as a light nourishment for the play of their imaginations and of their powers of forethought.

In reference to such objects as we recognize immediately by the five senses, and in reference to which it is necessary to teach the child as quickly as possible to express himself with precision, I take from a dictionary substances whose most prominent qualities are such as we can distinguish by the five senses, and put down with them the adjectives which describe those qualities; as—

(*Aal.*) Eel. Slippery, worm-shaped, tough-skinned.

(*Aas.*) Carcass. Dead, offensive.

(*Abend.*) Evening. Quiet, cheerful, cool, rainy.

(*Achse.*) Axle. Strong, weak, greasy.

(*Acker.*) Field. Sandy, clayey, sowed, manured, fertile, profitable, unprofitable.

Then I reverse this proceeding, and in the same way select from the dictionary adjectives expressing distinguishing qualities of objects recognized by the five senses, and set down after them the substantive names of objects possessing them; as—

Round. Ball, hat, moon, sun.

Light. Feather, down, air.

Heavy. Gold, lead, oak-wood.
Hot. Oven, summer-day, fire.
High. Tower, mountain, giants, trees.
Deep. Oceans, seas, cellars, graves.
Soft. Flesh, wax, butter.
Elastic, Steel-springs, whalebone.

I did not endeavor, by completing these explanatory suffixes, to diminish the field of the child's independent intellectual activity; but only gave a few terms, calculated to appeal distinctly to his senses, and then inquired, in continuation: What else can you mention of the same sort?

In far the greatest number of cases the children found that their experience furnished them additional terms, frequently such as had not occurred to the teacher; and thus their circle of knowledge was widened and elucidated in a manner either impossible by the catechetical method, or possible only with a hundred times greater expenditure of art and exertion.

In all proceedings by catechisation, the child is constrained, in part by the limits of the defined idea respecting which he is catechised, in part by the form in which it is done, in part by the limits of the teacher's knowledge, and lastly, and more important, by the limits of a painful care lest they should get out of the regular artistic track. What unfortunate limitations for the child! but in my course they are avoided.

Having finished this portion of study, I proceed, by means of the dictionary, to communicate to the child, now variously acquainted with the objects of the world, a further increase of the gradually growing clearness of his knowledge of objects so far as known to him.

For this purpose, I divide language, that great witness of the past respecting all that now exists, into four chief heads, viz.:—

1. Geography.
2. History.
3. Nature.
4. Natural History.

But in order to avoid all unnecessary repetition of the same words, and to make the form of instruction as brief as possible, I divide these chief heads into some forty subheads, and bring the names of objects before the children only under these latter subdivisions.

I then turn attention to that great object of my intuitions, myself; or rather, to that whole series of terms in language which relate to myself; by bringing all that language, that great witness of the past, says upon man under the following chief heads.

First head. What does language say of man, considered as a merely physical being; as a member of the animal world?

Second head. What does she say of him as striving toward physical independence by means of the social state?

Third head. What does she say of him as a reasoning being, striving for inner independence; or self-improvement?

I then divide these three chief heads, as before, into some forty subheads, and bring them before the children only under the latter.

The first exhibition of these series of names, both relating to men and to the other subjects of the world, must be strictly alphabetical, without any inter-

mixture of any opinion, and not as any consequence of any opinion; but a gradually increased clearness in the knowledge of them must be attained merely by the juxtaposition of similar intuitions, and similar intuitional ideas.

When this has been done, when the witness of the past as to all that now exists has thus been made useful in the whole simplicity of her alphabetical arrangement, I propose this question:—

How does the method arrange these subjects further, for fuller definition? To answer this, a new labor begins. The same columns of words with which the child has become acquainted in seven or eight columns, in an alphabetical order, almost beyond the possibility of forgetting them, are laid before him again, in the same columns, but in a classified manner, by which the method arranges them very differently, and enables the child himself to arrange them on the new principle.

The plan is this: The different heads, under which the words are to be newly arranged, are put in a row, and distinguished by a series of numbers, abbreviations, or some other arbitrary marks.

The child must, during his first studies in reading, become thoroughly master of this series of heads; and he may then find, in the columns of words, against each word, the mark of that head under which it belongs; and thus he can, at first sight of the figure, tell under what head it belongs, and thus himself alter the alphabetical nomenclature into a scientific one.

I do not know that this plan needs to be illustrated by an example; but, though it seems to me almost superfluous, I will still give one, on account of the newness of the plan. Thus, for instance, one of the subdivisions of Europe is Germany. Let the child first become acquainted, beyond the power of forgetting them, with the subdivision of Germany into ten circles. Now let the names of the cities of Germany be laid before him in alphabetical order, to be read; there being, at the name of each city, the number of the circle in which it lies. As soon as he can read these names of cities fluently, let him be shown how the numbers annexed to them refer to the heads above, and the child will after a few lessons be able to locate all the cities of Germany according to the heads thus set above them. Let there be put before him, for instance, the following names of German places, with figures:—

Aachen, 8	Allendorf, 5	Altona, 10
Aalen, 3	Allersperg, 2	Altorf, 1
Abendberg, 4	Alschausen, 3	Altranstädt, 9
Aberthan, 11	Alsleben, 10	Altwasser, 13
Acken, 10	Altbunzlau, 11	Alkerdissen, 8
Adersbach, 11	Altena, 8	Amberg, 2
Agler, 1	Altenau, 10	Ambras, 1
Ahrbergen, 10	Altenberg, 9	Amöneburg, 6
Aigremont, 8	Altenburg, 9	Andernach, 6.
Ala, 1	Altensalza, 10	
Allenbach, 5	Altkirchen, 8	

He may then read these as follows:—

Aachen is in the Westphalian circle.

Abendberg is in the Franconian circle.

Aacken is in the Lower Saxon circle; &c.

The child will thus evidently be enabled, at the first glance at the number or

mark which distinguishes the head under which any word belongs, to determine it; and thus, as was said, to change the alphabetical nomenclature into a scientific one.

And having gone so far, I find myself, in this direction, at the limit of my course, as peculiar to me; and the powers of the children so developed, that they can, in any department of the method to which their disposition inclines them, and to which they are inclined to attend, make an independent use for themselves of the means of assistance which already exist in all these departments, but which are of such a character that, hitherto, only a few fortunate persons have been able to use them. To this point, and no further, have I sought to attain. What I desired, and desire, was, not to teach the world any art or science—for I know none—but to make more easy for the people at large the mastery of the points of commencement of all arts and sciences; to open to the powers of the poor and weak in the country, neglected and given up to desolation, the approaches to learning, which are the approaches to humanity; and, if possible, to burn down the barrier which keeps the more lowly of the citizens of Europe far behind the barbarians of the north and south in respect to independent intellectual power, which is the basis of all efficient acquirement. It keeps them so, because, notwithstanding our windy boastings on universal enlightenment, it deprives ten men to one of the right of all men in society, the right of being instructed; or at least of the possibility of making use of this right.

May that barrier, after my death, burn up with a bright flame! But yet I know that I myself am only one feeble coal, lying among wet straw. But I see a wind, and that not far off, which shall kindle the coal into a blaze; the wet straw around me will gradually dry, grow warm, kindle, and at last burn. Yes, however wet it is round me now, it will burn, it will burn!

But I have occupied so much time with the second of the special means of instruction in language, that I find I have not yet said any thing of the third of those means, by which is to be attained the last purpose of instruction, the rendering our ideas intelligent. It is this:—

c. The endeavor to enable the child correctly to define, by language, the connections of objects with each other, and their intermodifications by number, time, and relation; or, rather, to make still better understood the existence, the qualities, and the powers of all those objects of which knowledge has been gained by the study of names, and made clear to a certain extent by juxtaposition of their names and their qualities.

From this point of view we may discern the foundations on which a real grammar is to be constructed, and, at the same time, the further progression by which, through this means, we are to arrive at the last purpose of instruction, the rendering intelligent of ideas.

Here, also, I prepare the children for the first steps by very simple but still psychological instruction in speaking; and, without a word of any form or rule, I cause the mother first to repeat to the child, as mere exercises in speaking, sentences, which are to be repeated after her, almost as much on account of the training of the organs of speech, as of the sentences themselves. The two objects, practice in speaking and the learning of words as language, must be kept apart from each other; and the former must also be attended to by itself, by proper exercises. In the exercises for both purposes at once, then, the mother repeats to the child the following sentences:—

The father is kind.
The butterfly has variously-colored wings.
Cattle eat grass.
The pine is straight-stemmed.*

When the child has pronounced these so often that it is easy for him, the mother inquires, "Who is good? What has various-colored wings?" And again, "What is the father? What has the butterfly?" And so on, as follows:—

Who is? What are?
Carnivorous beasts eat flesh.
Deer are light-footed.
Roots are spread out.
Who has? What has?
The lion hath strength.
Man has reason.
The hound has a keen scent.
The elephant has a trunk, &c., &c.

Thus I proceed, through the whole extent of the declensions and conjugations, to unite the first and second steps of these exercises; going also, in particular, into the use of the verbs, after a mode of which I give the following examples:—

Simple Connection.

Regard—the teacher's words.
Breathe—through the lungs.
Bend—a tree.
Tie—a sheaf, the stockings, &c.

After this comes the second species of exercise, in verbs in composition; as,

Regard. I regard (*achte*) the teacher's words, my duty, my estate. I regard one person more than another; I judge (*erachte*) whether a thing is so, or otherwise; I take an important matter into consideration (*obacht;*)I watch over (*beobachte*) a man whom I do not trust, an affair which I am desirous of arranging, and my duty; a good man honors (*hochachtet*) virtue, and despises (*verachtet*) vice.

So far as a man regards any thing, he is attentive (*achtsam*) to it; so far as he does not regard it, he is inattentive (*unachtsam.*)

I regard myself more than every thing else; and care more for (*achten auf*) myself than every thing else.

Then I proceed to enlarge the sphere of these exercises by additions gradually more extensive, and thus progressively more variously developed and more definite; as, for instance:—

I shall.
I shall gain.
I shall gain my health by no other means.
I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered, by no other means.
I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered in my illness, by no other means.
I shall gain my health, after all that I have suffered in my sickness, by no other means than by temperance, &c., &c.

All these sentences are then each to be carried through the whole tense-conjugation; as,

I shall gain.
Thou wilt gain, &c.
I shall gain my health.
Thou wilt gain thy health, &c.

The same may then be carried through the different tenses.

Care is taken to select, for these sentences, so firmly to be fixed in the child's

* In the German, all these sentences are constructed precisely like the first; and are as simple.—*Trans.*

mind, such as shall be particularly instructive, elevating, and suitable to his condition.

With them I join examples of description of material objects, in order to exercise and strengthen in the children the powers which these exercises develop in them. For instance:—

A bell is a bowl or vessel, open below, wide, thick, round, usually hanging free, growing smaller from below up, egg-shaped at the top, and having in the middle of it a perpendicular bar, hanging loose, which, upon a violent motion of the bell, strikes it from below on both sides, and thus occasions the sound which we hear from it.

Go. To move forward step by step.
Stand. To rest on the legs with the body upright.
Lie. To rest upon any thing with the body horizontal, &c., &c.

I would gladly leave these exercises in language, at my death, as a legacy to my pupils, making them, by means of brief observations annexed to the more important verbs, a vehicle for conveying to their minds the same impressions which have been made upon my own, by the experiences of my life on the subjects of their significance. Thus I would make these exercises in words a means of imparting truth, correct views, and pure feelings on all the doings and failings of men. For example:—

Breathe, (*athmen.*) Thy life depends upon a breath. Man! when thou snortest like a tyrant, and inspirest the pure air of the earth like poison into thy lungs, what doest thou but to hasten to become breathless, and so free humanity, weary of thy snorting, from thy presence.

But I must leave this part of the subject.

I have dwelt at length upon language as a means of the gradual clearing up of our ideas. But it is the most important means for that purpose. My method of instruction is distinguished especially in this, that it makes more use of language, as a means of lifting the child from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas, than has heretofore been the case; and also in this, that it excludes from the first elementary instruction all combinations of words which presuppose an actual knowledge of language. Any one who admits how nature leads to intelligent comprehension of all things by a clear comprehension of single things, will admit also that single words must be clearly understood by the child before he can intelligently comprehend them in connection; and any one who admits this, rejects at once all the received elementary books of instruction; for they all presuppose an acquaintance with language in the child before they communicate it to him. It is a remarkable fact that even the best schoolbook of the last century forgot that the child must learn to talk before he can be talked with. This omission is remarkable, but it is true; and since I observed it, I have wondered no longer that we can develop children into other men than were trained by those who had so far forgotten both the piety and the wisdom of antiquity. Language is an art—an immeasurable art; or, rather, the compendium of all the arts which our race has acquired. It is in a peculiar sense the reflection of all the impressions which the whole extent of nature has made upon our race. As such I use it, and seek, by means of its spoken sounds, to produce in the children the same impressions which have occasioned the production of the sounds by mankind. The gift of speech is a great one. It gives the child, in a moment, what it has taken nature thousands of years to give mankind. It is said of the poor beast, What would he be if he knew his strength? And I say of man, What would he be if he knew his strength—through language?

It is a great defect in the very heart of human education, that we have been so forgetful of what was proper, as not only to do nothing toward teaching the lower classes to speak, but as to have permitted the speechless to learn by rote isolated abstract terms.

In truth, the Indians could not do more in order to keep their lower classes eternally in stupidity, and in the lowest ranks of humanity.

Let these facts be denied by any one who dares. I appeal to all clergymen, all authorities, all men who live among the people, who, in the midst of their so great carelessness, are subjected to such a distorted and mistaken model of fatherly care. Let any one who has lived among such a people stand forward, and testify whether he has not experienced how difficult it is to get any idea into the heads of the poor creatures. But all are agreed on the point. "Yes, yes," say the clergy; "When they come to us they do not understand one word of our instructions." "Yes, yes," say the judges; "However right they are, it is impossible for them to make any one understand the justice of their cause." The lady says, pitifully and proudly, they are scarcely a step in advance of beasts; they can not be trained to any service. Fools, who can not count five, look upon them as more foolish than themselves, the fools; and villains of all sorts cry out, each with the gesture natural to him, "Well for us that it is so! If it were otherwise, we could no longer buy so cheaply, nor sell so dearly."

Nearly the same is the speech of all the boxes of the great European Christian comic theater, regarding the pit: and they can not speak otherwise of it; for they have been for a century making the pit more mindless than any Asiatic or heathen one would be. I repeat my position once more:—The Christian people of our portion of the world is sunken to this depth, because, for more than a century, in its lower schools, a power over the human mind has been accorded to empty words, which not only in itself destroyed the power of attention to the impressions of nature, but destroyed the very susceptibility itself of men to them. I say, once more, that while this has been done, and has made of our European Christian people the most wordy, rattle-box people on the face of the earth, *they have not been taught to speak.* This being the case, it is no wonder that the Christianity of this century and this part of the world has its present prospects; it is, on the contrary, a wonder that, considering all the bungling methods which have been proved upon it in our wordy and rattle-box schools, it has retained so much of its native force as can still be recognized every where in the hearts of the people. But, God be praised! the folly of all these apish methods will always find an end, an antagonist in human nature itself; and will cease to injure our race, when it has reached the highest point of its apishness which can be endured. Folly and error, in whatever garb, contain the seeds of their own transitoriness and destruction; truth alone, in every form, contains within itself the seeds of eternal life.

The second elementary means, from which all human knowledge, and consequently the existence of all means of instruction, proceeds and must proceed, is

FORM.

Instruction in form must precede the conscious intuition of things having form; whose representation, for purposes of instruction, must be deduced in part from the nature of the means of intuition, and in part from the purpose of instruction itself.

The whole sum of our knowledge comes,

1. Through the impressions derived from all things around us, when brought into relation with our five senses. This mode of intuition is without rule, confused, and its progress is very confused and tedious.

2. Through whatever is brought before our senses by the intervention of methodic guidance, so far as this depends upon our parents and teachers. This mode of intuition naturally corresponds to the intelligence and activity of our parents and teachers, in respect to comprehensiveness and connection; and is of a more or less correct psychological character; and, according to the same rule, it pursues a course more or less rapid, and leading with more or less speed and certainty toward the purpose of instruction, the attainment of intelligent ideas.

3. Through our own determination to attain to knowledge, and to obtain intuitions by our independent striving after the various means of them. Knowledge thus attained possesses a positive and proper value; and, by giving to the results of our intuitions a free existence within ourselves, brings us nearer to the attainment of a moral influence upon our own education.

4. Through the results of effort and labor in our callings, and all activity which has not mere intuition as its object. This department of knowledge connects our intuitions with our situations and relations; brings the results of those intuitions into agreement with our duty and with virtue; and, both by the constraining force of its progress and by our purposelessness as to its results, a most important influence upon the correctness, completeness, and harmony of our views, as related to the attainment of our purpose, intelligent ideas.

5. Through a means analogous to our intuitional knowledge; inasmuch as it instructs us in the properties of things not pertaining properly to our intuitions, but in which we perceive a similarity to things which we know by our intuitions. This mode of intuition enables us to make our progress in knowledge, which, as a result of actual intuition, is only the work of the five senses, the work of our minds and of all their powers; so that thus we enjoy as many kinds of intuition as we have powers of mind. But the term intuition, in this latter sense, has a more extended meaning than in the common usage of language; and includes the whole range of feelings which are by nature inseparable from my mind.

It is important to be acquainted with the distinction between these two kinds of intuitions; in order to be able to comprehend the rules which apply to each of them.

With this purpose, I return to the course of my discussion.

From the consciousness of intuition of things having form, comes the art of geometry. This however depends upon a power of intuition which it is important to distinguish from the primary means of knowledge, as well as from the mere simple intuition of things. From this power of intuition are developed all the departments of geometry and those deduced from them. But this very faculty of intuition leads us, by the comparison of different objects, beyond the rules of surveying, to a freer imitation of the relations between those objects—to drawing; and, lastly, we make use of the art of drawing in writing.

GEOMETRY.

This presupposes an intuitional A B C; that is, the power of simplifying and defining the rules of geometry by the accurate distinction of all the dissimilarities which come before the intuition.

I will draw attention again to the empirical succession which led me to my views on this subject, and will give for this purpose an extract from my Report.

In this I say, "Having granted the principle that intuition is the basis of all knowledge, it follows irresistibly that correct intuition is the proper basis of the most correct opinions.

"But with reference to the method of education, thorough correctness of intuition is evidently a result of measuring the subject to be judged of, or else of a faculty of perceiving relations, so far developed as to make such measuring superfluous. Thus a readiness at measuring correctly has, in education, an immediate relation to the necessity of intuition. Drawing is a linear definition of forms, whose shape and contents are correctly and fully defined by means of a developed power of measuring.

"The principle that practice and readiness in measuring should precede practice in drawing, or at least must keep pace with it, is as obvious as it is unused. But the process of our methods of education is, to begin with incorrect seeing; to build awry, then to pull down, and so on ten times over, until after a long time the sense of relations becomes developed, and then at last we come to what we should have begun with—to measuring. Such is the proceeding of our methods, and yet we are so many thousands of years older than the Egyptians and Etruscans, whose drawings all depend upon a trained power of measuring, or in fact were at bottom nothing than measurings.

"And now the question comes up, By what means is the child to be trained to this basis of all art, the right meaning of objects which come before his eyes? Evidently by a succession including the whole of all possible intuitions; and by an analysis of the square, according to simple, certain, and definite rules.

"Young artists, in the absence of such elementary exercises, find the means, by long practice in their art, of acquiring greater or less facility in so placing any object before their eyes and imitating it as it is in nature. And it can not be denied that many of them, by painful and long-continued efforts, have, from the most confused intuitions, attained to a sense of relations so far advanced that the measuring of objects is superfluous to them. But then each individual had a different system; none of them had any nomenclature, for none of them had any distinct conscious comprehension of the system; and, accordingly, they could not properly communicate it to their scholars. The latter were thus in the same condition in which their teachers had been, and were obliged to attain the same result—correct sense of relations—with the extremest exertion and by long practice, and with their own means, or rather with no means at all. Thus art remained in the possession of a few fortunate individuals, who had time and leisure to travel by such an incommodious road to the requisite attainment. Art could not be considered as concerning all men, nor could instruction in it be demanded as a universal right, although it is such. At least, this can not be denied by any one who admits that it is the right of living men, in an enlightened state, to be able to learn reading and writing; for the tendencies to draw, and the capacity for measuring, develop naturally and freely in the child; while the painstaking efforts which must be made in order to bring him to spell and read, must be applied either with great skill or with harshness and violence, if they are not to injure him more than reading is worth to him. And drawing, if it is to promote the aim of instruction, the attainment of intelligent ideas, is necessarily connected with the measuring of forms. The child

before whom an object is placed to be drawn before he can represent to himself its proportions in their whole form, and express himself upon it, can never make the art, as it should be, an actual means of proceeding from obscure intuitions to intelligent ideas; nor procure from it the actual substantial advantage, throughout his whole education and in harmony with the great purpose of it, which it ought to and can afford him."

In order to establish the art of drawing upon this basis, it must be subordinated to that of geometry; and the subdivisions into angles and curves which proceed from the rudimental form of the square, as well as the divisions of curves by straight lines, must be arranged into regularly classified geometrical forms. This has been done; and I believe that I have arranged a series of geometrical forms, whose use will as much facilitate the child's acquisition of geometry, and his acquaintance with the proportions of all forms, as does the alphabet of sounds his studies in language.

This intuitional alphabet* is a symmetrical subdivision of an equilateral square into fixed geometrical forms, and evidently requires a knowledge of the origin of the square; that is, of horizontal and perpendicular lines.

The subdivision of the square by right lines produces means of determining and measuring angles, circles, and all curves.

This is brought before the child in the following manner:—

The qualities of the right line are first explained to him by itself alone, and drawn in various arbitrary directions; until a variety of exercises has given him a clear apprehension of it, without reference to any ulterior application. He is next made acquainted with right lines, as horizontal, perpendicular, and oblique, and to distinguish them as inclining or extending toward the right or left; then with various parallel lines and their names, as horizontal, perpendicular, and inclined parallels; then with the names of the different varieties of angles formed by the intersection of these lines, so that he can distinguish them as right, acute, and obtuse angles. He is then made acquainted with the primitive of all geometrical forms, the equilateral triangle, which is formed by the junction of two angles, and with its divisions into halves, fourths, sixths, &c.; and then with the circle and its variations, and to recognize and name them and their forms.

All these definitions are to be done merely by the power of the eye; and the names of the geometrical forms are, in this part of the studies, merely square; horizontal and perpendicular quadrilateral, or rectangle; circle, semicircle, quarter-circle; first-oval, half-oval, and quarter-oval; second, third, &c., oval; and thus he must be introduced to the use of these forms as means of geometrical study; and must learn the nature of the relations by which they are generated.

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* I should here observe that the alphabet of intuition is the indispensable and only true means of instruction in judging correctly of the forms of all things. Yet it has hitherto been entirely neglected, until it is entirely unknown. For instruction in number and speech, on the contrary, there are a hundred such means. But this want of means of instruction in form is not merely a simple defect in the system of education to human knowledge—it is also a breach in the necessary foundations of all knowledge. It is a defect of knowledge upon a point to which knowledge of number and speech must be subordinated. My alphabet of intuition will supply this serious defect in instruction, and assure the basis upon which all other means of instruction must be founded. I beg such Germans as may be inclined to form an opinion on the subject, to consider this position as the basis of my method; upon whose correctness or incorrectness depends the value or worthlessness of all my researches.

The first means of reaching these results is—

1. The endeavor to teach the child to recognize and name the relations of these geometrical forms.

2. To enable him to know and make use of them independently.

Preparation for this purpose has already been made in the "*Book for Mothers;*" and various objects set before him—triangular, round, oval, wide, long, and narrow. After this, various detached portions of the alphabet of intuition are set before him, as a quadrilateral in quarters, eighths, sixths, &c., and circles, and half and quarter-circles, ovals, and half and quarter-ovals; thus furnishing him in advance with an obscure consciousness of the clear conception which he must acquire under the instruction of the method, and the subsequent application of these forms. He is also prepared for this conception and application in the "*Book for Mothers,*" in which are given, on one hand, the rudiments of a definite nomenclature for these forms, and, on the other, the commencement of arithmetic, which presupposes geometry.

The study of the alphabet of intuition will lead toward the same end; for in that alphabet speech and number, the means before used for attaining an obscure consciousness, are made more clearly applicable to the definite aim of geometry, and thus the pupil will gain a more assured power of expressing himself definitely as to the number and proportion of all forms.

3. The third means of attaining this purpose is the copying of forms themselves; by means of which the children, using at the same time the two other means above-mentioned, will generally gain not only intelligent ideas as to each form, but the power of laying off each form with certainty. In order to gain the first of those steps, the relations of the forms known to them in the first course as horizontal and perpendicular quadrilaterals, are now to be brought out by teaching them that "Horizontal quadrilateral, two are twice as long as wide; perpendicular quadrilateral, two are twice as high as wide," &c.; going through all the parts of the figure also. In this exercise, also, on account of the various directions of the inclined lines of some quadrilaterals, it must be shown that, of the horizontal ones, some are once and a half times as high as wide, &c., until the description is easy. In like manner are to be studied the various directions of inclined lines, and of acute and obtuse angles, as well as the various subdivisions of the circle, and the ovals and their parts, arising from the subdivisions of the square.

By the recognition of these definite forms, the geometrical faculty develops from an uncertain natural faculty of intuition to an artistic power according to definite rules; from which comes that power of judging correctly of the relations of all forms, which I call the power of intuition. This is a new power; which must precede the former usual and recognized views of the artistic cultivation of our powers, as their common and actual basis.

By means of it, every child arrives, in the simplest manner, at the power of rightly judging of every object in nature according to its inner relations, and its relations to other objects; and of expressing himself with distinctness relatively to it. By this method of proceeding he becomes able, when he sees any figure, to define it accurately, not only as to the proportion between hight and breadth, but as to the relations of every variation of its form from the equilateral triangle, in curves and crooked outlines; and to apply to all these the names by which these variations should be designated in the alphabet of intuition. The

means of attaining this power are within geometry itself, and are to be developed still further by drawing, especially by linear drawing; and carried to such a point, that his power of definitely measuring objects, with such a degree of skill and accuracy, that after completing his course of elementary exercises he will no longer need, even in the case of the most complicated objects, to proceed by actual geometrical rules, but can without assistance correctly determine the relations of all their parts amongst each other, and express himself distinctly respecting them.

Even children of inferior capacity attain to indescribably great results by the development of this power. This assertion is no dream. I have taught children on these principles; and my theory on this subject is nothing except a result of my experience upon it. Let any one come and see the children. They are still at the beginning of the course, but their beginning has carried them so far that it must be a very extraordinary kind of man who can stand by and not quickly be convinced; and still their progress is by no means extraordinary.

DRAWING

Is the ability to represent to one's self, in similar lines, the outlines of any object and what is contained within them, by means of merely looking at the object, and thus to imitate it correctly.

This art is facilitated out of all measure by the new method, since it is, throughout, an easy application of forms which have not only been brought before the intuition of the child, but by practice in imitating which he has acquired actual geometrical ability.

The mode pursued is as follows:—As soon as the child can correctly and readily draw the straight horizontal lines with which the alphabet of intuition begins, there are sought for him, out of the chaos of intuitions, figures whose outline requires nothing but the application of the horizontal lines which are already easy to him, or at most only a not noticeable departure from them.

Then we proceed to the perpendicular line, and then to the right-angled triangle, &c.; and, in proportion as the child is more assured in the simple application of these forms, we gradually pass from them to the application of them. The results of the application of this rule, entirely coincident with the essence of physico-mechanical laws, are no less in drawing than are those of the use of the alphabet of intuition upon the geometrical powers of the child. In this course they become thoroughly acquainted with the first elements of drawing before going further; and accordingly, even in the first stages of their progress, there is developed in them a perception of what the consequences of the thorough mastery of the whole subject will be, and with this an endeavor after perfection, and a perseverance in the attainment of their object, such as the foolishness and disorderliness of the usual methods would never produce. The basis of this progress is not merely in the cultivation of the hand; it is founded upon the innermost powers of human nature; and practical books of geometrical forms coming in succession afterward, enable the children, pursuing this course on correct psychological principles, and under the proper conditions of physico-mechanical laws, gradually to attain the desired point, namely, that the further use of geometrical lines to be employed by the eye shall gradually become entirely superfluous, and that, of the means of attaining their art, nothing shall remain but the art itself.

WRITING.

Nature herself subordinates this art to drawing, and to all the means by which the latter is taught to the child and carried to perfection; and, accordingly, is actually and especially subordinate to geometry.

Writing ought, even still less than drawing, to be begun and pursued without previous training in linear geometry; not only because it is itself a kind of linear drawing, and does not allow arbitrary variations from the fixed lines of its forms, but more particularly because, if facility is acquired in it before drawing, it must necessarily injure the hand for the latter, by confirming it in particular forms before it has been sufficiently trained to a universal capacity for all forms, such as drawing requires. It is another reason why drawing should precede writing, that it beyond measure facilitates the proper formation of the letters by the child, thus saving him a great loss of time spent in weaning himself from wrong forms which he has been acquiring for years together. This, again, is of advantage to him during his whole course, in that, even in the first beginnings of study, he becomes conscious of the power to be acquired by the mastery of it; so that, even in the first part of his studies in writing, he becomes resolved not to leave any thing incomplete or imperfect, in his rudimentary acquirements.

Writing, like drawing, must be first commenced on the slate, with a pencil; children being competent to make a perfect letter on the slate, at an age when it would be infinitely difficult to teach them how to guide the pen.

This use of the slate-pencil before the pen is to be recommended, both in writing and drawing, for the additional reason that it admits of the easy rectification of errors; while, by the remaining on the paper of a faulty letter, a worse one is always made next.

And I shall cite, as a material advantage of this method, that the child will wash from the slate even perfectly good work; an advantage incredible to all who do not know the importance of educating children without presumption, and so as to prevent them from vanity in attaching value to the work of their hands.

I divide the study of writing into two epochs:—

1. That in which the child is to become familiar with the forms of letters and their connection, independently of the use of the pen; and

2. That in which his hand is to be trained to the use of the pen, the proper instrument for writing.

During the first of these epochs I place the letters before the child, in strictly correct forms; and have caused a copy-book to be engraved, by means of which the child, if he has the advantages consequent upon pursuing my whole method, can acquire facility in writing almost by himself without assistance.

The characteristics of this writing-book are:—

1. It dwells sufficiently long upon the rudimentary and fundamental forms of the letters.

2 It proceeds gradually, only from the simple forms of the letters to the complex.

3. It practices the child in the combination of several letters, beginning from the moment when he can correctly write a simple one; and goes on, step by step, in the writing of such words as contain those letters only which he is already able to make perfectly.

4. Lastly, it has the advantage of being cut up into single lines; so that the line to be written upon can always be made to stand immediately under the copy.

In the second epoch, in which the child is to be introduced to the use of the pen, the proper instrument for writing, he is practiced in the forms of the letters and in their combinations, even to a higher degree of perfection; and the teacher's work is then only to apply this perfected skill in drawing these forms to writing proper, by the use of the pen.

But the child must here also come at the new step in his progress with those he has already made. His first copy for the pen is precisely like his copy for the pencil; and he must commence his practice with the pen by writing the letters as large as he drew them, and only gradually becoming accustomed to imitating the smaller usual forms of writing.

The psychology of all departments of education requires a clear distinction to be preserved between their means; and a keen discrimination as to which of them the child can and should be made to practice at any age. As in all departments, I apply this principle in writing also; and by a steady adherence to this principle, and with the help of the book of slate-pencil copies founded on it, which has been prepared for children of four and five years of age, I confidently assert that by this method even an unskillful schoolmaster, or a very inexperienced mother, can instruct children, up to a certain point, in both plain and ornamental writing, without having themselves been previously able to do it. It is, in this particular, as every where, the main design of my method to make home instruction again possible to our neglected people; and to enable every mother, whose heart beats for her child, to follow my elementary exercises in a progressive order, quite to their end; and to practice them throughout with her children. To do this, she need be but a little way forward of the child itself.

My heart is lifted up by the blessed wishes that spring from this idea. But when I first expressed distantly something of these hopes, I was answered, from all sides, "The mothers among the people at large will not approve of it;" and not only men from the common people, but men who teach the common people—who teach them Christianity!—said to me, scoffingly, "You may search all our villages up and down, but you will find no mother who will do what you require from her." I answered them, "Then I will, by the use of these means of mine, enable heathen mothers from the furthest north to do it; and, if it is really true that Christian mothers in peaceful Europe—that Christian mothers in my fatherland—can not be carried forward as far as I will carry heathen mothers from the wild north;—then I will call upon these gentlemen, who are to-day thus insulting the people of the fatherland, whom they and their fathers have hitherto taught, instructed, and directed; and, if they dare wash their hands of the blame, and say, "We are guiltless of this inexpressible shame of the people in peaceful Europe, we are guiltless of this unspeakable disgrace of the best natured, most teachable, and patient of all the European nations, the Swiss"—if they dare say, "We and our fathers have done what it was our duty to do, in order to remove from our father-land the nameless unhappiness of this inhuman condition of our country and our father-land, to prevent this decay of the first foundations of morality and religion in our country and our father-land"—to these men, who dared to tell me, "You may

search the land up and down, but its mothers will not do nor desire what you wish," I will reply, "Cry out to these unnatural mothers of our father-land, as did Christ to Jerusalem, 'Mothers, mothers, how often have we wished to gather you under the wings of wisdom, humanity, and Christianity, as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!'" If they dare do this, then I will be silent, and believe their assertion and their experience, instead of believing in the mothers of the country, and in the hearts which God has put into their breasts. But if they dare not, I will not believe in them, but in the mothers, and in the hearts which God has put in their breasts; and will moreover meet the miserable statement with which they have rejected from themselves the people of the land, like the production of an evil creation, and proclaim it an insult to the people, to nature, and to truth; and will go my way, like a wanderer who in a distant forest hears a wind whose blowing he does not feel. I must go my way, for the sake of what I desire to speak. I have all my life seen all manner of such word-men, hardened in systems and ideals, with no knowledge or respect for the people; and the appearance of those who today are, as I have shown, insulting the people, is more similar to theirs than any other that I know. Such men believe themselves to be upon an eminence, and the people at a depth far below them; but they are mistaken on both points, and like wretched apes, by the arrogance of their miserable nature, hindered and made incapable of right judgment on the real value of actual animal power, or that of real human endowments; thus these wretched word-men are, even by the loftiest attainments of their unnatural course, become incapable of observing that they are walking on stilts, and that they must get down from their wretched wooden legs, in order to be planted as firmly as common people are, upon God's earth. I am forced to pity them. I have heard many of these wretched word-men say, with such a mixture of nun-like innocence and rabbinical wisdom, "What can be better for the people than the Heidelberg catechism and the psalter?" that I have been forced, out of consideration for humanity, to give up my respect for even the foundation of this error. And even if I would excuse the error, it would still be an error, and will be. Men are ever like themselves; and book-learned men, and their pupils, have likewise been so. I will therefore open my mouth no longer against the verbiage of their human sayings, and the tinkling bells of their ceremoniousness, and the delightful foolish frame of mind which must naturally thence arise; but will only say, with that greatest of men, who ever beneficially advocated the cause of truth, the people, and love, against the errors of the book-learned, "Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

But to return: The study of writing seems to appear, in the third place, as an introduction to learning speech. It is, indeed, essentially, nothing but a peculiar and special application of the latter.

As, therefore, writing, considered as a study of form, comes according to my method into connection with geometry and drawing, and thus enjoys all the advantages derivable from the early development of those studies, so, as a special department of the study of speech, it comes into connection with all that has been done, from the cradle upward, by the method for the development of that faculty, and enjoys the same advantages which were secured and established for it, from the previous training of it by the "*Book for Mothers*," and the spelling and reading-book.

A child taught by this method knows the spelling-book and the first reading-book almost by rote; he knows, to a great extent, the basis of orthography and speech; and when he has acquired facility in the forms of writing, by means of the pencil-book and the first exercises, so far as concern single letters and their connection, he will need no special copies to proceed in his studies in writing, for he will then, by means of his knowledge of speech and orthography, have the substance of all the copies in his head, and can write down, from the acquaintance he has acquired with the spelling and reading-books, whole series of words; by which his knowledge of language is continually increased, and his memory and imagination trained.

The advantages of exercises in writing thus arranged, and connected with those in language, are as follows:—

1. They continually increase the grammatical facility which the child has already acquired, and make its basis in his mind more firm. This can not fail to be the case; for the arrangement of the reading-book, in which nouns, adverbs, verbs, conjunctions, &c., stand in separate columns, enables him to write them down as they stand; by which means he acquires the power of determining at once in which series any word belongs that comes before him. In this manner even the rules applicable to these classes of words will shape themselves in his mind.

2. By these exercises in language, according to the method, is also cultivated the general power of arriving at intelligent ideas; for the child may, as a writing-exercise, write out his dictionary, according to the headings and distinctions of the series of subdivisions which he has already learned, into groups of words, and thus arrange for himself orderly, generalized views of the various classes of things.

3. The means of gradually attaining to intelligent ideas by writing-exercises are re-enforced in two ways: first, because the pupil gains practice both by the writing and reading-lessons, through the elucidatory juxtapositions of the important nouns, verbs, adverbs, &c.; and, second, he gains independent power in discovering and adding the ideas derived from his own experience to the various series of terms whose chief conceptions he has made his own while engaged in studying reading.

Thus, in the writing-exercises, for example, he sets down not only the names of what he has learned in the reading-book to call "high" and "pointed," but he practices himself, and the very task stimulates him to do so, in remembering and adding such objects as he recollects, within his own experience, of that form.

I will give an example, to illustrate the investigating spirit of children as to such additions.

I gave out to them the word "Three-cornered;" of which, along with a country schoolmaster, they furnished the following instances:—

Three-cornered: Triangle; plumb-level; half a neck-cloth; carpenter's square; a kind of file; bayonet; prism; beech-nut; engraver's scraper; wound left by leech; blade of a sword-cane; buckwheat kernel; leg of a pair of dividers; the under surface of the nose; leaf of "Good Henry;" spinach leaf; seed-pod of tulip; figure 4; seed-pod of shepherd's pouch.

They found still others on tables, and in round windows, which they were unable to give names for.

The like is the case with reference to the addition of adjectives to the nouns.

For instance, the children annexed to the nouns eel, egg, evening, not only all the adjectives which they had learned as annexed to them in the reading-book, but those also which their own experience enabled them to add as appropriate. Thus, by this mode of collecting the qualities of all things, they arrive, by the simplest of processes, at the means of becoming acquainted and familiar with the nature, essence, and qualities of all things, from various directions, and in a mode harmonizing with their own experience. The same is true of verbs; as, for instance, if the children are to elucidate the verb "to observe," by adding nouns and adverbs to it, they would elucidate or accompany them, not only with the words which they had found accompanying them in the reading-book, but would add others, as in the previous case.

The consequences of these exercises are far-reaching. The descriptions which the children have learned by rote, as of the bell, going, standing, lying, the eye, the ear, &c., become definite and universal guides to them, by means of which they become able to express themselves, both orally and in writing, as to every thing with whose form and contents they become acquainted. It will of course be observed, that this result can be reached, not by isolated, exclusive practice in writing, but by connecting it with the whole series of means by which the method gradually elevates its pupils to the attainment of intelligent ideas.

It is also, as standing in connection with the whole course of instruction, that I say of the study of writing, that it should be completed, not merely as an art, but as a business acquirement; and that the child should be carried to such a degree of facility in it, that he shall be able to express himself as distinctly respecting it, and use it as easily and as universally, as speaking.

The third elementary means of our knowledge is

NUMBER.

While sound and form lead us toward the intelligence of ideas, and the intellectual independence which are attained through them, by the use of various means of instruction subordinate to themselves, arithmetic is the only department of instruction which makes use of no such subordinate means, but seems, throughout the whole extent of its influence, to be only a simple result of the primitive faculty, by which we represent clearly to ourselves, in all cases of intuition, the relations of greater and less, and, in cases where measurement is impossible, to form a perfectly clear idea of the relation.

Sound and form often, and in various ways, contain within themselves a germ of error and delusion; but number, never: it alone leads to infallible results; and, if geometry makes the same claim, it can be only by means of the application of arithmetic, and in conjunction with it; that is, it is infallible, as long as it arithmeticizes.

Since, therefore, this department of instruction, which leads with most certainty toward the purpose of all instruction—intelligent ideas—must be honored as the most important of all the departments, it is therefore evident that it must also be pursued universally, and with the utmost care and wisdom; and that it is of the utmost importance for the attainment of the ultimate object of education; and also that it should be put in a form which shall admit all the advantages which a profound psychology and a most comprehensive knowledge of the invariable laws of the physical mechanism of instruction can secure. I

have, therefore, made the utmost efforts to bring arithmetic before the intuition of the child, as the clearest result of these laws; and not only to reduce the element of it in the mind to that simplicity which they wear in the actual phenomena of nature, but also to preserve this same simplicity, without any variation, strictly and without exception, in every step of onward progress; in the conviction that even the furthest attainments in this study can only be the means of true enlightenment—that is, means of attaining to intelligent ideas and correct views—so far as it is developed in the human mind in the same order of progress in which it proceeds from nature herself, from the very beginning.

ARITHMETIC.

This arises wholly from the simple collocation and separation of several unities. Its primitive formula is evidently as has been stated. One and one make two, and one from two leaves one. Every figure, whatever its value, is in itself only a mode of abbreviating this rudimentary form of all computation. It is, however, important that the recollection of the primitive form of the relations of numbers should not be weakened in the mind by the abbreviated means of arithmetic; but that they should, by means of the forms in which the study is pursued, be carefully and deeply impressed upon it; and that all progress in this department toward the end proposed should be founded upon that deeply-seated consciousness of the material relations which lies at the basis of all arithmetic. If this does not happen, the very first means of attaining intelligent ideas would be degraded to a mere plan of memory and imagination, and thus made powerless for its real object.

This must, of course, be the case; for if, for instance, we learn by rote that three and four are seven, and then proceed to use this seven as if we *really* knew that three and four made it, we should deceive ourselves; for the inner truth of the seven would not be in us, since we should not be conscious of the material basis which alone can give the empty words any truth for us. The fact is the same in all the departments of human knowledge. Drawing, in like manner, if not based upon the geometry from which it is deduced, loses that internal truthfulness by means of which only it can lead us toward intelligent ideas.

I begin, in the "*Book for Mothers*," to endeavor to make upon the child that firm impression of the relations of numbers, as such actual interchanges of more and less, as may be observed in objects discernible by the eye. The first tables of that work contain a series of objects intended to bring distinctly before the eyes of the children the ideas of one, two, three, &c., up to ten. Then I let the children select from the pictures the objects which represent one; then the twos, threes, &c. Then I make the same relations familiar to them by their fingers, or with peas, small stones, or such other objects as may be at hand; and I daily renew the consciousness of the numbers hundreds and hundreds of times, by the division of words into syllables and letters on the spelling-board, and asking, How many syllables has that word? What is the first? The second? &c. In this manner the primitive form of all arithmetic becomes deeply impressed upon the children's minds, by which means they become familiar with the means of abbreviating it, by figures, with the full consciousness of their inner truth, before proceeding to the use of the figures, without keeping this background of intuition before their eyes. Aside from the advantage of thus

making arithmetic a basis for intelligent ideas, it is incredible how easy the study thus becomes, even to children, through this assured preparation of the intuition; and experience shows that the beginning even is difficult only because this psychological rule is not used to the proper extent. I must, therefore, go somewhat more into detail upon such of my rules as are here applicable.

Besides the steps already mentioned, and after them, I make use of the spelling-tablets also as a means of teaching arithmetic. I call each tablet one, and begin with the child at a time when it can learn its letters, to instruct it in the knowledge of the relations of numbers. I lay down one tablet, and ask the child, "Are there many tablets?" He answers, "No; only one." Then I put one more, and say, "One and one. How many is it?" The child answers, "One and one are two." And so I go on, adding only one at a time, then two, three, &c., at a time.

When the child has thoroughly mastered the combinations of one and one, as far as ten, and states them with entire facility, I put the spelling-tablets before him in the same manner, but vary the question, and say, "If you have two tablets, how many times one tablet have you?" The child sees, reckons, and answers correctly, "If I have two tablets, I have twice one tablet."

When he has thus, by the limited and often-repeated computation of their parts, gained a clear understanding of the number of ones in each of the first numbers, the question is varied again, and he is asked, with the tablets in sight as before, "How many times one are two? how many times one are three?" &c.; and again, "How many times is one in two; in three?" &c. When the child has thus become acquainted with the simplest rudimentary forms of addition, multiplication, and division, and intuition has enabled him to master the essence of the processes, the next step is to make him thoroughly acquainted, in like manner, by intuition, with the rudimentary forms of subtraction. This is done as follows:—From the whole ten tablets together I take away one, and ask, "If you take away one from ten, how many remains?" The child reckons, finds nine, and answers, "If I take one away from ten, there remain nine." Then I take away another, and ask, "One less than nine is how many?" The child reckons again, finds nine, and answers, "One less than nine is eight." And so it proceeds to the end.

This mode of explaining arithmetic can be practiced by means of the following series of figures:—

1	11	11	11	&c.
1	111	111	111	&c.
1	1111	1111	1111	&c.

When the additions in one of these columns are finished, they may be used for subtraction; e. g.:—

If one and two are three, and two and three make five, and two and five make seven, &c., up to twenty-one; then two tablets may be removed, and the question asked, "Two less than twenty-one is how many?" and so on, until none are left.

The knowledge of the greater or less number of objects, which is awakened in the child by the laying before him of actual movable bodies, is strengthened again by the use of arithmetical tables, by means of which the same successions of relations are set before him in lines and points. These tables are used as guides, in reference to computing with real objects, as the spelling-book is in

connection with writing words on the blackboard; and when the child has proceeded as far, in reckoning with real objects, as these tables, which are entirely based on intuition, his apprehension of the actual relations of numbers will have become so strengthened, that the abbreviated modes of proceeding by the usual figures, even without the intuition of objects, will be incredibly easy to him, while his mind will have been preserved from error, defects, and fanciful instructions. Thus it may be said, with strict correctness, that such a study of arithmetic is exclusively an exercise of the reason, and not at all of the memory, nor any mechanical routine practice; but the result of the clearest and most definite intuitions, and leading to nothing except to intelligent ideas.

But as increase and decrease takes place, not only by increase and decrease of the number of single objects, but by the division of single objects into several parts, there thus arises a second form of arithmetic, or, rather, a method is offered by which each single object may itself be made the basis of an infinite partition of itself, and an infinite division into single parts existing within it.

And as, in the previous form of arithmetic, the number one was taken as the starting-point for the increase and decrease in the number of single objects, and as the basis of the intuitional knowledge of all their changes, in like manner a figure must be found in the second form of arithmetic which shall occupy the same place. It must be infinitely divisible, and all its parts alike; a figure by which the parts in fractional arithmetic, each first as part of a whole, and again as independent, undivided unities, may be brought before the intuition in such a way that every relation of a fraction to its integer may be presented to the child's eye as definitely and accurately as, by our method, in the simple form of arithmetic, the number one was seen by him to be distinctly contained three times in three.

No figure will serve this purpose except the equilateral square.

By means of this figure we can place before the eye of the child the relation of the parts to unity; that is, the progressive series of fractions, beginning with the universal starting-point of all increase and decrease, the number one, with as much distinctness as we formerly set before him in a sensible form the increase and decrease of whole unities. I have also prepared an intuitional table of fractions, in eleven columns, each consisting of ten squares. The squares in the first column are whole, those in the second are divided into two equal parts, those in the third into three, &c., as far as ten. This simply-divided table is followed by a second, in which these simple intuitional divisions are continued in a further progression. The squares, which in the first table are divided into two equal parts, are now divided into two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty parts; those in the next column into three, six, nine, twelve, &c.

As this intuitional alphabet consists of geometrical forms, which are derived from the tenfold subdivision of an equilateral square, it is evident that we have established a common source for the alphabet of intuition, and this arithmetical alphabet; or, rather, that we have established such a harmony between the elementary means of instruction in form and number, that our geometrical forms are made the primary basis of the relations of numbers, and the fundamental relations of numbers, on the other hand, the primary basis of the geometrical forms.

In this manner we arrive at the conclusion that we can not teach children

arithmetic, under our method, except by the use of the same alphabet which we used previously as an alphabet of intuition in the more restricted sense; that is, as a basis for measuring, writing, and drawing.

The child's apprehension of the actual material relations of all fractions will become so clear by the use of this table, that the study of fractions in the usual figures, as in the case of the arithmetic of integers, will become incredibly easy. Experience shows that by this method the children arrive four or five years earlier at a proper facility by this method than could possibly be the case without its use. These exercises also, as well as the previous ones, preserve the child's mind from confusion, omissions, and fanciful instructions; and in this respect also it may be said, with distinctness, that this mode of studying arithmetic is exclusively a training of the reason; in no sense a mere exercise of memory, nor any routine mechanical process. It is the result of the clearest and most definite intuitions; and leads, by an easy path, through correct understanding, to truth.

TEACHING AS THE FATHER OF A FAMILY.

[FROM BIBER'S LIFE OF PESTALOZZI.]

THE spirit in which Pestalozzi presided over his house can not be better described than by his own words, in the discourses which he addressed to the whole family every Christmas Eve and New-Year's Day. One of these, delivered on Christmas Eve, 1810, will be read with interest, as it is not only a faithful expression of the tone which he maintained in his establishment, but affords, at the same time, a pleasing picture of that peculiarity of continental custom, by which Christmas Eve and New-Year's Day are consecrated as the two great family festivals.

Children, sons and daughters of this house, and ye matured men, my friends and brethren!

What is there in this day that calls for rejoicing! For nearly twice ten centuries, this hour has ever been an hour of gladness! Is its joy, peradventure, worn out with age, and do we possess no more than the dregs and forms of its sacred solemnity? If so, I would rather not partake in it; I would not rejoice, but mourn, in this hour of ancient joy. And I ask: That ancient joy, what was it? And I look around me, to see what it is now. I have heard of the ancients, and I have partly seen it in my own days, that Christmas Eve was a night on the earth above all earthly nights. Its shades were brighter than the noon-day of highest earthly joy. The anniversaries of national emancipation from the thraldom of tyranny were not to be compared to that heavenly night, the night of heavenly rejoicing. Through the holy silence of its service resounded the words: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and unto men purity of heart." It was as if the angels were again gathering together over the heads of men in that hour, praising God that a Saviour was born unto the world. Oh! in those days, Christmas Eve was indeed a holy night, whose joys no words can describe, its bliss no tongue declare. The earth was changed into a heaven every such night. God in the highest was glorified, on earth there was peace, and gladness among the children of men. It was a joy flowing from the innermost sanctuary of the heart, not a joy of human affection. The joys of human affection are tied to place and outward circumstances; they are individual joys. But the joy of our ancient Christmas Eve was a universal joy, it was the common joy of humankind; for it was not a human, but a divine rejoicing.

Friends and brethren, and ye, my children; Oh that I could lead you back to Christendom of old, and show you the solemnity of this hour in the days of simplicity and faith, when half the world was ready to suffer death for the faith in Christ Jesus!

My friends and brethren! Oh that I could show you the joys of Christmas

Eve in the mirror of those days! The Christian stood at this hour in the midst of his brethren, his heart filled with the Holy Ghost, and his hand with earthly gifts. Thus stood the mother among her children, the master among his workmen, the landlord among his tenants. Thus assembled the congregation before its pastor; thus the rich entered the cottage of the poor. This was the hour in which enemies offered each other the hand of reconciliation, in which the heavily laden sinner knelt down, praying in tears for the pardon of his transgressions, and rejoicing in his heart that a Saviour was born to take away sin.

This hour of heavenly joy was an hour of sanctification; the earth was a heaven-like earth, and, though the dwelling-place of mortal man, breathed the breath of immortality. Death and sorrow seemed to have departed from the earth. The holy joys of that night lightened the burdens of the poor, and eased the pangs of the wretched. Prisoners, who had long been shut out from the light of day, were liberated on that night, and returned, as if led by an angel of God, to their desolate homes, to their wives and children, who were kneeling, weeping, and praying for their deliverance; for the heart of the judge had softened itself in the joy, that to him too a Saviour was born, and it had grown milder toward his fellow-men, his enemy, and his captive. Even the criminal under sentence of death, whom no human power could rescue from his fate, was more kindly treated; words of peace, words of life everlasting, instilled comfort into his trembling nerves. He felt not merely his guilt and misery; he felt the pardon of iniquity, and when his hour drew near, he went to meet his end with manly composure. Many thousands, entangled in debt by the necessity or the weakness of life, and persecuted by the arms of the law with merciless rigor, obtained in this sacred interval remission of their debts from the more generous feelings of their creditors, who, in the joy of having a Redeemer born to them, became themselves the redeemers of unfortunate debtors.

Oh, what a night was Christmas Eve to ancient Christendom? Oh that I could describe its blessings, and your hearts would be moved to seek God's Holy Spirit, and your hands would tremblingly give and receive human gifts sanctified by the solemnity of this hour; for you would remember, that in this hour was born unto you Christ the Saviour, and you would rejoice in him with a holy joy.

Oh that Christ Jesus would now appear to us in spirit! that we might all be like unto our children, to whom the invisible love of God is made manifest in the Christ-child* under the form of an innocent babe, like unto them in appearance, but descending from heaven with pleasant gifts. Oh that the joy of this hour, wherewith we rejoice over the birth of our Saviour, could enable us to see in spirit the divine love of Christ Jesus, giving himself up to death to be a ransom for us. Let us rejoice in the hour in which he was made flesh, in the hour in which he brought into the world the great gift of his death to be deposited on the altar of divine love. From this hour was he the Lord's High Priest, the victim for our sins.

My friends, my brethren and sisters! let us pray: "Bring back, Oh Lord, bring back unto the world those happy days, when mankind were truly rejoicing

* Christmas Eve abroad is the time when children receive gifts of every kind from their parents, godfathers, &c.; but instead of "Christmas boxes," they are "Christmas trees,"—young fir-stems, lighted up with little wax-tapers, on the twigs of which all the glittering gifts are hung. The preparation of the "Christmas tree" is a family mystery, and if the child ask from whence all the goodly things come, the answer is, "The Christ-child brought them."—B.

in their Saviour Jesus Christ, and in the hour of his birth. Bring back unto us those times, when at this hour the hearts of men were filled with the Holy Ghost, and their hands with gifts of brotherly love. Oh heavenly Father, thou wilt bring them back if we seek for them. And, as one of old asked Jesus Christ: 'Lord, what must I do to be saved?' even so let us ask: 'Lord, what must we do, that Christmas Eve may bring unto us those blessings which it brought to the Christian world in its better days? what must we do that the joy of Christmas may be an universal joy to our house, as it was in the days of old to all mankind?' "

It is by answering this question, my friends and brethren, that I will endeavor to edify you in the solemn moments of this festival, so sacred to the Christian's heart.

My friends, my brethren! the joy of Christmas was to our fathers a universal joy, the common joy of humankind, because it was the joy of holy and heavenly love. In like manner in our house, the joy of Christmas will become a universal joy only if it become among us a joy of holy and heavenly love. The fellowship of love is the only true source of fellowship in rejoicing; its divine power alone can break the bonds by which joy is restrained in the human breast. In the absence of that love, our joy is only the joy of individuals in single objects, in whose excitement selfishness is enthroned. The troop of the joyful is separated from the multitude of the mournful; and the latter are left to their fate without one feeling of sympathy, while the former, full of envy and anxiety, are jealously guarding the sources of their joy, lest any of those that are rejoicing with them should divert its streams into their own channels. Such is the joy which, fettered by the bonds of human selfishness, is unable to rise into a holy and divine feeling.

My friends and brethren! wherever the fellowship of love is wanting, the fellowship of joy is precluded. If, then, we desire to make Christmas Eve a festival to our hearts, as it was to the hearts of our fathers, the fellowship of love must first be established and secured among us. But this is wanting wherever there is not the mind of Jesus Christ and the power of his Spirit.

My friends and brethren! unless that mind and that power be in the midst of us, our house will prove to be built on sand. In vain shall we seek for the fellowship of joy, if we have not that of love.

My friends and brethren! if there be no other but human and temporal ties to bind us, we are inwardly divided already, and our external union will and must be broken up, as a spider's web by the strong wings of a wasp, or by a gush of wind.

My friends and brethren! it is no small thing for men to be united for a holy purpose. They must sanctify themselves in their union, that their purpose may remain to them a holy purpose, and that the work of their hands also may be holy. But it is far more common for men to corrupt than to sanctify themselves by their union.

My friends and brethren! let us not overlook the dangers of every union between man and man. Wherever men unite in their human capacities, their union will not lead to their purification or sanctification. It is only where a divine life forms the tie of union, that man by his union with other men can become purified and sanctified; but the union in the tie of a divine life is only possible by the fellowship of the mind of Christ and the communion of his Holy Spirit. Whoever has not the mind of Christ, nor his Spirit, will not be ennobled by any union with man. Let us not be blind, therefore, my brethren, to the dangers of our union. They are great, very great. It is the work of thy mercy, Oh Lord,

that they have not ensnared us already. For how variously has in our union the human nature of the one attached itself to the human nature of the other! how manifold has been among us the fellowship of weakness! Have we not endeavored each of us to make the weakness of others a cloak wherewith to cover his own. Oh, how little has the success of our undertaking effected toward raising us to a higher state, and strengthening in us the power of divine grace! How often have we rejoiced with a merely human joy, unsanctified by the divine Spirit, in that outward success which became the more illusory as we took a merely human view of it! Oh Lord, how little have we been strengthened, and how much have we been enfeebled, by our prosperity. My friends and brethren! let us not conceal this matter from ourselves; the history of our union is nothing else than the history of the merciful dealings of divine grace, with the weakness of men united together for a holy purpose. We have pursued this purpose after the fashion of men, but the Lord has blessed our labors with the blessing of heaven. Of that blessing we have proved ourselves unworthy, for in the midst of his loving kindness toward us, our weaknesses not only remained the same, but they were often increased.

My friends and brethren! the days of our prosperity have not, as they ought to have done, prepared and strengthened us for the days of adversity; and yet adversity must necessarily come upon us, lest we should be subdued by our human weaknesses, which are in open conflict with the divine purpose of our union. My friends and brethren! are we to give way to those weaknesses of our human nature, and see our house stride on toward dissolution; or shall we, by elevating ourselves above them, save our work from destruction?

My friends and brethren! is the coming Christmas to be to us a day of deep mourning, or a joyful day of triumph, to celebrate our conquests over ourselves and our infirmities? The decisive moment is come. We must no longer rely upon outward prosperity for the success of our undertaking; for there is no prosperity that can now become really conducive to its progress; nothing but righteousness can any longer advance the object of our union. You are left, my friends, almost without a leader. My strength is gone. I am no longer an example for you of what you ought to be day by day, as members of our family. Your task is an important one. You are to educate yourselves as well as the children intrusted to our care. You are to resist the world and its vain works, and yet you are to satisfy men who have grown grey-headed in its vanities. You are to pave a new road through impervious tracts, and to walk on it as if it had been paved long ago. You are to act the parts of youths in your development, and that of men in your position to the world.

My friends! our meeting together was on a less high, it was on a human ground; nor has our temporal connection raised us to such an elevation; and yet it is indispensable for the attainment of our end, that we should rise to that point.

Oh my friends, my brethren! in what a sublime light does this purpose present itself to my view. Oh that it were possible for me to present it to you in the like manner as I did the Christmas joy of our forefathers. The purpose of our union is not founded upon our human nature, but upon the divine spark implanted within it; it is on this account that it embraces the whole of humankind; it is a universal purpose, because it addresses itself to that divine seed which God has universally deposited in the hearts of men. Our means likewise are not derived

from our human nature; they emanate from a divine life within us. So far only as we are alive to that purpose in its divine character, so far as it is unfolded in us by divine means, so far only has it in us a real foundation; and it is so far only, that the attainment of it can become to us a source of universal peace and tranquillity.

My friends and brethren! if that be wanting among us, our union for the purpose of education is no more than a vain dream; from which when we wake, we shall find our eyes filled with tears.

My friends and brethren! if we be united by no better tie than that which binds men together in the vanity of their common pursuits, our union will share the fate of all vain human associations. The fetters of this vain world will then keep our union in an unholy bondage, and we shall sink, as man always does in union with man, except he be raised above the degrading influence of merely human relationship by sanctification in a divine bond. Mean selfishness will then preside among us, as it presides every where in human society, and it will cause our union to perish in itself, like a house thrown on a heap by an earthquake, in the same manner as it has ruined before thousands of human associations. Fix your view upon this prospect, my friends; do not turn your eyes from this picture. How should we feel if all this should be fulfilled in us? Oh! do not turn away your eyes from this picture of truth. If ever we should be overcome by our own weakness, and obliged to separate; if any of us should forsake the common cause and look to their private interests, some in the apparent calmness and satisfaction of selfishness, and some in the selfish sorrow of weakness; if we should part from each other; if those that are strong among us should abandon the weak ones to their fate; if any of us should become intoxicated with the narcotic of vain glory, or should endeavor for the sake of contemptible gain to obtain for themselves the credit due to all. * * * * * My friends and brethren! is it possible for you to place this picture of dissolution, degradation and ruin before your eyes, and not to feel a sacred determination kindled in your bosom, to do all in your power to avert the day of such a calamity?

It is impossible, my friends, my brethren, that you can be indifferent to that prospect: you will, I know you will, be elevated and united. Oh! let us deliver ourselves and our cause from danger, by elevation and unity of spirit. Can we do otherwise? Could we have cherished for years the idea of raising the condition of the people by a better education, and now allow it to sink into oblivion? Is it possible for us to forget those sacred hours in which our hearts were filled with pious enthusiasm at the recollection of our great purpose; those hours in which, separated from the world, and firmly united among ourselves, we acknowledged each other as devoted instruments of that purpose, and gave each other the solemn promise, which also we have openly declared before men, that we would consecrate ourselves to the holy cause for which we are called, and assist each other in its pursuit, until every one of us should have obtained strength and ability to pursue it by himself, independently of any farther assistance? Who that has for a moment felt in his bosom the spirit of our union, could consent to abandon the least among us that is truly attached to our cause, instead of lending him a helping hand, and leading him to become a mature instrument for the common purpose? Is it possible to see our blooming youth, whom none can equal in cheerfulness, in native wit, in intelligence and practical acquirements, in physical power and agility, whose whole education is so evidently superior to that commonly

imparted, and not to mourn at the thought that our union should ever be dissolved? Is it possible to view the improvements produced in the method of instruction, by rendering it conformable to the nature of the human mind, and to be indifferent to the idea that the experiment, out of which these improvements arose, should be interrupted? No, it is impossible. I know you, and though I may have to complain of much frailty among you, yet I am sure, that many of you would rather die, than suffer the blessed fruits of our union to be arrested in their growth by your failings.

No, no! my brethren! let the voice of union be raised among us with a shout in the solemn hour of this festival: the voice of that union which has raised us to the privilege of becoming the servants of our brethren. Let us be faithful to that union, let us not depart from the path prescribed to us by the love of mankind. Let our object be now and forever, to consecrate ourselves to our holy calling, and to remain faithful to each other in coöperating for the attainment of our great purpose; to remain faithful to the beloved children who grow up in the midst of us, in the flower of youth; to remain faithful to truth and love in all the means that we adopt; and in the whole sphere of our exertions to preserve purity of heart.

My friends and brethren! let this day, consecrated to the remembrance of a Saviour's birth, be the day of a holy renovation of our union! let it be the day of a holy renovation of ourselves for the purposes of our calling! let the joy that Jesus Christ came in the flesh, be one with the joy that we are united in his service; let our joy be the joy of faith and love in Him! Let the sacred, the divine character of our calling, raise us far above ourselves, and above the dangers of human weakness, which exist in our union as in the union of all our brethren. Let us be sincere with ourselves, let us not deceive ourselves by the vain jingle of words, let us not contaminate the holy night of our Lord by the delusion of selfishness! Whoever seeks in our union to serve himself only, let him depart from us! Whoever makes our union a scene for the freer indulgence of his weakness, let him depart from us! Whoever feels that in our union he grows more frail and faulty than he would have allowed himself to become elsewhere, let him depart from us!

We are brought together by chance; it could not be otherwise; but let not chance keep us together like fishes caught in a net, who must all perish together. No, no! the hour is come to separate the wheat from the chaff. The hour is come, when our union must cease to afford food for the wicked. It is enough! It is enough! The goodness of God has given to each of us a time of grace and long suffering. For those who have abused that time, it is now at an end, it must be at an end! Whoever does not serve the holy purpose of our union, whoever disturbs it by his presence, let him depart from us!

My brethren! The ties of chance must this day be broken! No other tie can henceforth be suffered to exist among us than that of love and righteousness. Let us part rather than perish! We must either part and follow every one his own appointed way, or else we must stand together this day, before God and men, with one heart and one soul! resolved to follow our common calling. Such is our duty this day!

My friends, my brethren! let us be faithful to that calling; let us cheerfully run our race together! I am the weakest among you, but I am ready to bring any sacrifice that may be required of me for the attainment of our holy purpose.

My friends and brethren! be you also ready to bring those sacrifices which will

be required of you! They will not be small. It is no small matter to put one's hand to the work of educating mankind; to stand forward among men, and to say: "Come to us and see the great thing which we propose to do for improving the education of the human race, for benefiting the world, and securing the welfare of our species."

My friends and brethren! This is the view which has been taken of the object of our union, and we ourselves have represented it nearly in the same light. Feeling the corrupt state into which education has fallen, and suffering under its mistakes, the world has awarded confidence to the language of my enthusiasm, and has crowned us with laurel, when we had hardly begun to search after the means by which a beautiful dream might be realized. I was myself under a great mistake. I thought the way to my end much shorter than it actually is; while the incense with which we were perfumed, as well as the unexpected success of some unripe experiments, confirmed us in that mistake, and had a prejudicial influence on our union and our institution. The seeds of corruption began to unfold themselves among us. We contradicted one another with our unripe opinions in dogmatical arrogance, and ills began to spring up in our house, which, when the fashion of praising us had grown old, afforded the world an opportunity of abusing us, likewise as a matter of fashion. Our time of trial is come, but it is better for us than the hour of vain praise. Let us not deceive ourselves. The voice of censure is becoming severe against us, and times of trouble are at hand. My poor house! thy lovers are become thy accusers, and know thou that the accusations of lovers are severe, and that their blame will become a testimony against thee in the mouth of thy enemies. My poor house! thou art grown up as a beautiful flower of the field; the gardeners envy thy beauty, because it shakes the faith of the world in their hot-houses, and verily they will take vengeance upon thee!

My friends, my brethren! despise not this time of tribulation! Our gold will be purified, and the heat of the refiner's fire will bring the dross to the surface! The world will for awhile see nothing but dross, and will lose for a time all faith in the gold, which is underneath the drossy bubbles.

My friends, my brethren! let not this offend you, but rejoice rather that your dross shall be separated from the gold of our holy cause. If the dross be permitted to swim on the surface, and all that is good and valuable among us be hidden from the eyes of the world, which can not see beyond the surface, rejoice ye! The hour of purifying will pass over; the vain dross of our labors will be thrown away, and be lost like chaff in the fire, but that which is purified will remain. Think on this, pass it not over lightly! Ask yourselves: "What then will remain! much, very much, of what we consider as gold, is now boiling up with the dross. But be ye not offended. The gold of our cause is not to be found in our outward labors, in our outward success; it is within you; there you must seek it, there you shall find, there you must value it. Our cause can have no value to us, except that which we possess in ourselves; and that value is great, it can not be little; nor must we allow ourselves to lose it in the unstable estimation formed of our external undertaking, like a diamond in a heap of sand. No! the intrinsic value of our cause is great. It requires an uncommon elevation of heart, singleness of sight, absolute submission to the guidance of Providence, indefatigable exertion, undaunted courage, constant self-denial, the humility of love, and the strength of heroes.

My friends, my brethren! let us not deceive ourselves, our aim is one which heroes only can hope to reach. Whence shall we get that heroic strength of which we stand in need?

My brethren! remember that the strength of the Lord is made perfect in weakness. The Saviour came into the world, lying in a manger, a helpless infant; and the glory of the only begotten of the Father was declared unto poor shepherds that kept watch over their flocks.

May the holy reminiscences of this day inspire us with a high and holy courage for our work. My brethren! if we are able to celebrate this festival in the spirit of our noble-hearted ancestors, in the spirit of genuine Christians, then are we capable likewise of accomplishing our work. The Lord Jesus has said: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain: 'Remove hence to yonder place!' and it shall remove." My friends, if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, though obstacles should lie in your way like mountains, whose feet are rooted in the depth of the earth, and whose tops reach unto heaven, ye shall say to them: "Remove hence to yonder place!" and they shall remove. My friends! if we celebrate this holy festival in true faith, we shall in the same faith accomplish our task. Cast back your looks upon the times of old, and see how this festival was celebrated by true faith. His heart filled with the Holy Spirit, and his hand with gifts of human kindness, the Christian stood at this hour in the midst of his brethren. The solemn hour of heavenly joy was an hour of sanctification to our species. The earth was at this hour a heavenly earth. The dwelling-place of mortal man was filled with the breath of immortality.

If we celebrate this hour in the spirit of ancient Christendom, in the spirit of better days that are gone by, our hearts will be filled with the Holy Spirit, as well as our hands with earthly gifts. Thus shall every one of us stand in the midst of his brethren, in the cheerful circle of our children. With the hand of kindness will we seek their hands, and their eye shall find in ours the beam of love. Then will the joys of this day be to us heavenly joys, then shall we be sanctified in the rejoicing of this hour. Then, my friends, my brethren, will our house be a heavenly house, and the dwelling-place of our weakness be filled with the breath of immortality.

My friends, my brethren! the fellowship of our joy will then be a fellowship of love, and our house will no longer be built on sand. Selfishness and sensual appetite will then no longer rule over our pleasures, nor embitter our sufferings. Our union will no longer be disturbed, for heartless indifference will be banished from among us, and whoever sins against love, will stand confounded before the image of offended and weeping love. Then shall our union rest, not upon a human but upon a divine basis, and then it will and must become a source of blessing to all its members. The pangs of the suffering, the sorrows of the afflicted, and the burden of the oppressed, will then disappear. I may then adopt with truth the language of internal tranquillity, and say: "I cast my burden upon thee, Oh Lord; thou wilt sustain me." My friends, my brethren! our cause is secured, if the fellowship of love dwell among us. Oh heavenly Father, grant Thou us the grace of fellowship in Thy Spirit!

All human fellowship disturbs the high fellowship of love, which is only to be found in a divine fellowship, and of this none can partake but those who have the mind of Christ Jesus, and follow after him in the strength of his Spirit.

My friends, my brethren! let this holy night be consecrated by earnest prayer

to God for the mind of Christ Jesus, and for the strength of his Spirit, that our house may be established, and the work of our calling accomplished in the fellowship of love.

And you, my beloved children, who celebrate this Christmas in the simplicity of your hearts, what shall I say to you? We wish to be partakers of your simplicity, of your child-like joy. We know, that except we be converted and become as little children, except we be elevated to the simplicity of a child-like mind, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, we shall not attain the fellowship of love, by which alone our house can be established on a sure foundation. Beloved children! it is for your sakes that we are united in one family; our house is your house, and for your sakes only is it our house. Live in our family in the simplicity of love, and trust in our faithfulness and our paternal affection toward you. Be ye children, be ye innocent children in the full sense of the word. Let this festival establish you in the holy strength of a child-like mind. Behold Christ Jesus, the Saviour of the world; behold him with the graces of holy childhood at the bosom of his mother; behold him in the manger with the sweet look of holy innocence. Remember him, how he grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and how the grace of God was upon him; how he was subject unto his parents; how in fear and love toward them he increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man; how, being yet a child, he sat in the temple in the midst of the wise men, and astonished all that heard him by his understanding and answers; how grace and love never departed from him all his days; how he drew the souls of men toward him by the excellency of his life; how he took unto him little children, and declared their sweetness and simplicity to be the source of life everlasting in and with God; how his grace and love was made manifest in his sufferings and death, as the power of God to the salvation of mankind; how it forsook him not even in the last hour, that in the midst of its torments his lips instilled consolation into the soul of his mother. Oh, my children, may this solemn hour inspire you with that spirit of grace and love that was in Him, and may you be preserved in it all the days of your lives! We too, my children, stand in need of your grace and love, to nourish and to strengthen these paternal feelings, which we pray God that he may grant unto us, and without which we can not render you any service of love and righteousness

Children, let the graces of childhood elevate our souls, and purify us of all contamination of anger and wrath, and hastiness in your education. May your love animate our hearts and refresh our spirits, that we may not grow weary in the duties of our office.

Children, I must conclude: I will again speak to you in a little while. For the present let it suffice. Children, young men, men, friends and brethren, let our Christmas be unto us a day of holiness! May God in heaven sanctify it unto us! Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, and meekness of heart among the children of men! Amen!

PESTALOZZI.—NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS, 1809.

* * * I bow down my face, fall down, and ask myself, Am I worthy of the benefactions of my Father? Am I worthy of that salvation of my work, and of all the value which God has given, during the past year, to me, and to my house? O God! dare I even ask it? Is man ever worthy of God's benefits? and dare I, for a moment, imagine myself worthy of the wonderful manner in which the paternal goodness of God has carried our existence, with all its weaknesses, through the dangers of the past year? The year was an important one for us. We saw what our work requires more clearly than ever before; we saw its power, and felt our own weakness, more clearly than ever. The force of circumstances had nearly swallowed up our existence. The means we used, to extricate ourselves from perils beyond our strength, increased the evil. Let an everlasting veil fall over the human part of our labors. Let the first festive hours of this day be devoted to the gratitude which we owe to the Saviour of our work, the Father of our life, the everlasting source of all that is holy or good within our association. I will thank him. I will look within myself, and acknowledge how little I was worthy of his goodness; how little I was worthy that he should thus rescue the labor of my life. O thou good God, how much did it require, even to undertake that work! Father in Heaven, what an expanse of duty did even the dream of my work lay before me! I myself dare scarcely think of the accomplishment of all those duties. Fear and shame must seize hold upon me, when I reflect what is officially required of me by the religious and human duties, and the extent, of my house. What have I done, in taking such extensive burdens on my shoulders? Near the grave, feeling more than ever the need of rest, too weak for ordinary duties, uneasy at almost every occurrence, unforeseeing its almost every danger, inconsiderate in almost every conclusion, unskillful, helpless, and unpractical in almost every thing which I begin and ought to finish. I see myself placed in relations to you, which demand the utmost calmness, the greatest foresight, the deepest deliberation, and the utmost skill and practical dexterity, that any one human task ever required. I have had nothing to oppose to all these defects of mine, except my love, and my presentiment of the possibility of good results; which have never left me. But this presentiment, and this love, were not re-enforced for my work, either by corresponding inner powers nor corresponding outward means. Thus stood my enterprise for years. Yet it was not my enterprise: I did not seek what I found; I did not know the ocean in which I was to swim, when I threw myself into the stream which has borne me into it. What I do, is not my work; I did not begin what I now see completed here; nor am I completing what I began. I stand here, surrounded by benefits from my fate, which fate yet controls; by benefits from God, which he yet controls; by friends, whom God himself has given to me, and whom he yet controls. My work exists, my friends, through you, who are around me; my work exists through you. I have ever the least share in it. My powers of sharing it, how small soever, are continually becoming smaller. What has

come to pass, has come to pass through you; and what is to come to pass, must happen through you. God's providence will never leave me to lose you, and to be obliged to seek out new supports for my work. I could thank you—but what words could render thanks for what you are to me, and to my work? Sorrow takes hold upon me. How little am I to you, in comparison with what you are to me! I look within myself, and acknowledge how much I have been wanting to my work; how my weaknesses have almost hindered my work more than they have advanced it. . . .

. . . Deeply beloved children; you too should, in this festive hour, raise your hearts to your Father in heaven, and promise him to be his children; with thanks and devotion, to be his children. Children, your good fortune is great. At a time when the great majority of children go on in neglect and abandonment, with only want for their teacher, and their passions for their guides; in days when so many, so innumerably many, better and more fortunate children, suffering under a combination of harshness, violence, and bad guidance, diverted from the paths of nature, not educated, but trained only into a one-sided, empty show of knowledge, and an equally one-sided pretense and fashion of practical efficiency, and thus offered up to the world; in such a time, you are not given over to abandonment and neglect: want is in no respect your bad counselor; nor are the dubious impulses of passion used in your training. Amongst us, neither vanity nor fear, neither honor nor shame, neither reward nor punishment, as they are elsewhere almost universally used, purposely and as part of the method, are used to show you the path in which you are to go. The divine nature, which is in you, is counted holy in you. You are, among us, what the divine nature within you and without you summon you to be. We oppose no vile force against your gifts or your tendencies; we constrain them not—we only develop them. We do not instil into you what is ours, what exists in us as corrupted by ourselves; we develop in you what remains uncorrupted within yourselves. Among us, you are not under the misfortune of seeing your whole being, your whole humanity, subordinated, and thus sacrificed to the training of some single power, some single view of your nature. It is far from us to make you such men as we are. It is far from us to make you such men as the majority of the men of the time are. Under our hands, you will become such men as your natures require; as the holy, the divine, within your natures, require. Father in heaven, grant to us that the purpose of our labors may be visibly and undeniably in thee, and through thee. Men around us assert that we propose, as the ultimate end of our labors, not thine understanding, thy wisdom; but thy humanity. No, no! It is far from me to resign myself to the cunning and art of my race, confined to the limits within which those faculties do their work. It is far from me to seek, as the end of my labor, a confined development of the lower endowments of men, and of their material senses. O God, no! What I seek is, to elevate human nature to its highest, its noblest; and this I seek to do by love Only in the holy power of love do I recognize the basis of the development of my race to whatever of the divine and eternal lies within its nature. All the capacities for intellect, and art, and knowledge, which are within my nature, I hold to be only means for the divine elevation of the heart to love. It is only in the elevation of man that I recognize the possibility of the development of the race itself to manhood. Love is the only, the eternal foundation of the training of our race to humanity. The error was great, the deception immeasurable, of believing that I sought the complete development of human nature by a one-sided cultivation of the intellect; by

the exclusive study of arithmetic and mathematics. No. I seek it through the universality of love. No, no. I seek not training to mathematics, I seek training to humanity; and this comes only through love. Let your lives, your whole lives, my children, show that the whole purpose of my instruction was only love, and elevation to humanity through love. They will show it. The error of believing that I sought any other end, of believing that my method was intended only to obtain for the poor better means of earning bread, will disappear. Deeply beloved children, you will cause it to disappear. This error has arisen, not from me, not from my labors, not from my instructions to you; but only from hasty glances at my books, the special means of developing single faculties.

Your existence is a contradiction of this opinion, which gladdens my heart. Since your examination, I have seen you only for a moment yesterday, I have spoken with you but little; but my heart is full of affection for you. How little were those miserable mechanical accomplishments, which we dealt with, filling your minds! Freedom, courage, elevating strife after the lofty, the noble; these were upon your brows, in your eyes, in your glances, in your whole being. The bliss of love beamed from many eyes. Peace was upon your lips. You were far more yourselves, and for the sake of God, than you were created by us. The talents which you possess appear in their own form, as you possess them, and not at all as we have given them to you. It is true that, among us, the bonds of the folly, the self-seeking, and the misery of our day, are loosed. With us, a man may be poor. With us, any one may be destitute of all those means toward artistic training which are attainable by wealth and by favor, and may yet claim all the elevation of mind and of heart for which human nature is created. Among us, the saying is not heard, that he who is born to eat hay may eat hay. We know no class of men born only to live like beasts. We believe that the lofty endowments of human nature are found in all ranks and conditions of men. We believe that as every man, who does righteously, is acceptable before God his creator, so that every man, to whom God himself has given lofty powers of mind and of heart, is entitled to assistance, before the eyes of men, and in the midst of them, in the development of the powers which God has given him. Therefore is it that we simplify the means of that development; and therefore that we found upon the holy power of love. Children, that this love may increase, and be assured within you, is all that we propose for our object. Instruction, as such, and of itself, does not produce love, any more than it produces hate. Therefore it is that it is not the essence of education. Love is its essence.

PESTALOZZI.—ADDRESS ON HIS SEVENTY-THIRD BIRTHDAY.

Upon closer investigation of all these practical means of elevating the poor, we shall not be able to conceal from ourselves the fact that they all alike lack the firm certainty arising from the innmost pure spirit of all true and profoundly thorough human education, namely, the divinely-given instinct of father and mother; the divinely-given impulse of childlike instincts; the everlasting purity of brotherly and sisterly affection, which never passes beyond the narrow circle of the domestic relations. They all lack the certainty and continuity which comes from the connection of material stimuli to faith and love with similarly powerful stimuli to intellectual and physical activity, which appeal to the whole of human nature in freedom and by conviction. They all lack the lofty, holy influence of home. Their external scale of magnitude, on one hand, deprives them all of the genial intimateness of domestic life, which can only exist within a narrow circle of little close relations; and, on the other hand, their organization always rather makes forcible impressions by public or at least by external force, than exerts the blessed influence of domestic piety; and who can conceal from himself how unfatherly and unmotherly are the human beings often sent forth by such institutions, owing to their circumstances, and especially to all sorts of influences and interests from directors, managers, stewards, &c.? Who can estimate the difficulties which must arise from this source, in such institutions, in the way of the inner, holy essence of true human education? Such institutions, however, owing to the present condition of non-education, and of the corresponding moral, mental, and domestic debasement from overrefinement, are at present an urgent necessity. May God grant that the heart of those of the present day may be interested in the object, and take pity even according to the prevailing contracted views on the want and degradation of the poor, in all that concerns both soul and body—but that, at the same time, it will not be forgotten that good institutions for the relief of sufferers by fire and water are not good institutions for the education of the poor. Provident regulations for the prevention of losses by fire and water may, after a fashion, be classed under the head of institutions for educating the poor; but institutions for relieving actual losses by them can not.

The only sure foundation upon which we must build, for institutions for popular education, national culture, and elevating the poor, is the parental heart; which, by means of the innocence, truth, power, and purity of its love, kindles in the children the belief in love; by means of which all the bodily and mental powers of the children are united to obedience in love, and to diligence in obedience. It is only in the holiness of home that the equal development of all the human faculties can be directed, managed, and assured; and it is from this point that educational efforts must be conducted, if education, as a national affair, is to have real reference to the wants of the people, and is to cause, by its influence, the coinciding of external human knowledge, power, and motives with the internal, everlasting, divine essence of our nature.

If the saying is true, "It is easy to add to what is already discovered," it is infinitely more true that it is easy to add to the inward eternal goodness of human nature, whatever external goodness human skill can communicate to our race; but to reverse this process, to endeavor to develop that eternal inward goodness of human nature, out of our mere miserable human art, deprived of its divine foundation; this is the cause of the deepest error of the wretched debasement of the present time. The homes of the people—I do not say of the mob, for the mob have no homes—the homes of the people are the centers where unites all that is divine in those powers of human nature which admit of education. . . .

The greatest evil of our time, and the greatest and almost insurmountable obstacle to the operation of any thorough means is this, that the fathers and mothers of our times have almost universally lost the consciousness that they can do any thing—every thing—for the education of their children. This great falling away from their faith, of fathers and mothers, is the universal source of the superficial character of our means of education.

In order to improve the education of the people as a national interest, and universally, it is, above all, necessary that parents should be awakened again to consciousness that they can do something—much—every thing—for the education of their children. Fathers and mothers must, above all, learn to feel vividly how great an advantage—as intrusted by God and their own conscience with the duty of educating their own children—they enjoy, over any others to be employed as assistants therein. And, for like reasons, it is indispensable that there should be a general public recognition of the fact that a child who has lost father and mother is still a poor, unfortunate orphan, even though his guardian can employ the first among all the masters of education in the world to teach him. . . .

. . . Truth is every where and nowhere; and only he lives in the truth who sees it every where, as a phenomenon bound up with a thousand others, and nowhere, as an exacting, isolated idol before him. But the visionary weakness of man easily leads him to carve a graven image out of every great idea which he takes to his bosom, and to recognize and admit all truth, all the rights of men, only with a one-sided reference to this idol, and to whatever may serve its selfish requirements. Even great men, and deep thinkers, are not secure from the danger of seeing isolated opinions become almost a sort of monomania; not indeed as absolutely as those, the terror of mankind, which are heard from hopeless bedlamites; yet it is undeniable that favorite conceptions pushed too far, and views which become daily familiar, are liable, even in deep thinkers, to acquire such a sort of hardness that it easily becomes impossible to treat them as they are, moral and intellectual, without prejudice, and freely, but the thinker becomes a servant to his idea. The world is full of men thus prejudiced for some particular views. Are there not hundreds in every profession—military, civil, judicial, or any other, distinguished each in his department—who are holden by their opinions relative to their favorite pursuit, in a manner at least very similar to those possessed by a monomania? I must proceed still further. I must ask myself whether there are not, amongst us, many traces of this hardening into views of some great idea? I must ask, distinctly, have not incompatible ideas become equally fixed, in this way, in our heads? This I believe so truly to be the case, that I am completely convinced that we can in no way arrive at a universal internal union of the hour, and at an actual harmony of views relative to what we call our method, except by efforts to put upon an equality within us all views relative to that method—whether mathematical, theological-philosophical, natural-philosophical, humanist, philan-

thropist, or whatever—and by not permitting ourselves to be governed by any idea which is in progress of becoming fixed, as I have described. If we can lift ourselves to this point, the stand to which our efforts have come, by means of the determination of some of us to conform ourselves in certain views, would, by means of the increased power of each of us within his department, become really valuable for the whole of our enterprise; and I am certain that, in that case, none of us would intrude himself beyond the circle in which he can work most profitably for the promotion of our designs. In that case, I myself should not be entirely without that circle. On the contrary, I am sure that the sentence of death, of moral and intellectual failure, would no longer be passed upon me with so much zeal and pleasure as has been the case for years immediately around me. Many would then be convinced that I am alive. The misunderstandings which are and must be every moment crowding about me, as things are, are innumerable. But if they are for ever and ever to be taken as true against me, because they last long and are accompanied with the influence of men very active hereabouts, what must I think of such a fate? What I do think is this: that courts which condemn the accused on such evidence will be abhorred by the whole unprejudiced world. And for the future I have no fears on this account. I am not ungrateful, and never shall be known as such. . . . Friends, brothers! coldnesses have crept in among us, which are the result of the whole extent of the history of our association and of that outwardly chaotic condition, which has overpowered the goodness and nobility which lay and still lies at the bottom of our association, and have brought it to pass that, here and there among us, one looks at another through spectacles whose glasses are no longer clear, and can be clear no more. Brothers! the evils of our house are not of to-day, nor of yesterday. They came from afar. From the beginning of our union, we have admitted among us habits and ways of living which must necessarily, by their very nature, produce disagreements; and it is absolutely necessary that, in order to judge of these, we should look carefully back to the days of the beginning of our association. It was in truth then that the origin of the evils, under which we have lain so long, sprouted and took root. What is passed is no longer here; but, even though we forget it, its influence is no less upon the present. Friends, brothers! the hours when we united ourselves in the beginning, were hours of perfect dreaming; and of great error in that dreaming. In those days the world seemed to seek what we sought, and to love what we loved. The delusion of the time fell in with our efforts; the interests of the public authorities seemed at that time to have become the same with our own; even the selfishness of thousands, now in opposition to us, seemed then to coincide with our views. What we did was thought excellent before it was understood; even before we ourselves understood it. Honors and praises carried us almost beyond ourselves. The pecuniary prosperity of our undertaking seemed to us to be secured, almost without effort and without care. But the vision of this paradise in the air soon passed by. The thorns and thistles of the world soon began to grow up around us, as they do round the lives and doings of all men. But the dreams of those days profited us nothing. They weakened our powers, when they so variously and so urgently needed strengthening. Truly, the climate of those days was too pleasant for us. We prepared ourselves for living in the warm South, when the hard, cold days of the North were awaiting us. Why should we conceal from ourselves the truth? The vigor and purity of our ardor for our object grew weak in those days, and became, in some cases, only a pretense while good fortune lasted, not knowing the power of that zeal which in

misfortune still burns, and is not extinguished even in days of the greatest trouble. I myself see in those days the origin of the evils which oppress us now; and consider incorrect all opinions respecting our later condition, which do not have reference to these earlier sources of them. It is always necessary, in judging of any particular situation or occurrence among us, to have reference to the character of the bond which united us to each other; whose peculiar quality was this, that no one of us was, by virtue of that bond, any other than what the peculiarities of his own personal, individual nature made him. Consider the importance of this point; that among us nature did every thing, art nothing. In reference to the persons of the adult members of our house, we lived without government, and without obedience. No more free development of our individuality can be imagined; nor any condition more dangerous and oppressive to my home and my place. Friends! in your judgments upon my condition and my conduct, consider this, and reflect, further, upon the great concourse of persons who became members of the establishment, without knowing what we sought, without desiring what we had, without the abilities which we needed; and who thus were, in reference to myself, presuming, and unrestrained in their conduct, just in proportion as I was under constraint with reference to them. Friends! consider the establishment in the extent of all its relations: all the necessities into which I fell, all the burdens which came upon me; and compare them with my destitution of all those means and powers which were required to meet, even in a distant degree, the external and internal requirements of our association. Friends! our innocence at the beginning of our association was praiseworthy, and the aims of that innocence were praiseworthy. But did innocence ever overcome the power of the many? And is it not a mere natural necessity that it should yield to that power? Or did it ever perfect an enterprise which ventured to throw itself, with all its outward weaknesses, into the power of the world and the current of it, without a strong steersman, as our enterprise did? Truly, we, in the dreams of our first innocence, sought for such a life as ancient piety dreamed of in a cloister; and at the same time we lived in the utmost imaginable freedom. The youngest of our inmates soon almost universally practiced a freedom of speech which the world permits to no novices; and of the elder ones, none thought of any privileges of a father-prior. And I represented the abbot of the monastery; when, in some respects, I was much more fit for the donkey of the monastery, or at least the sheep, than the abbot. Friends! I speak plainly on this point. All this is well understood; and does not at all derogate from the real good which has been planted, has taken root, and still exists among us, and which is so perfectly well known by its results on so many of our pupils, and by the conduct and the success of so many adult men who have been trained among us. But it is now time, and also a duty, to turn our attention, with truth, freedom, and earnestness, to a subject important in itself, and which on various accounts has attracted the attention of the world. We must endure the responsibilities of our places; and it would be well if a deeper consciousness of this obligation prevailed among us. From this responsibility we can not escape. All that is noble and pure—even that which is noblest and purest in the world—if it increases and grows great rapidly, must then decrease and deteriorate; and we grew much too fast, in our efforts after our good object, to know and practice sufficiently the rules which would have maintained and strengthened the growth of what was good amongst us. The greater number of those who called themselves ours, came to us rather by chance than by election or our choice; and however the temporary appear-

ance of many things amongst us might have been understood by a practiced eye to indicate only their ephemeral nature, most of them thought my imprudence and weakness perennial. This could of course not do otherwise than to originate almost incurable evils amongst us. Even the best enterprise, if it increases too rapidly, becomes degraded by the evil qualities of the mass which accretes to it; then seizes, with the vigorous radical power of evil, upon the usually weak roots of what is good; and then becomes, even while intermingled with the overpowered goodness yet remaining, a recruiting-station for evil, which gathers in every incautious passer-by; and experience shows that men once enlisted on the side of evil soon become sworn conspirators for it, and, although feeble in the ordinary operations of life, show great power and much bad cunning in promoting their evil objects, whether idleness, disorder, impudence, or whatever they may be—or at least in obstructing the dominion of their opposites. When things come to this pass, whether in a small or large association of men, the necessity of some governing authority, competent to control such a state of affairs, becomes fully recognized; and, at however late a period, aid from such authority is sought for. But the very cause that makes such control sought for, disenables those who apply to such authority from judging of it. Judgments formed in such cases are, therefore, commonly wrong; and the necessitous state into which such applicants have fallen, is almost always a bad counselor. This was the case with us. We sought, and sought, but did not find. And at no time was there more error relative to myself. Every one thought me unfit to govern; but I was still permitted to remain, as if I were fit, and the relations of all remained such as if I were so. This condition of affairs could lead to no relief. I should surely have succumbed under it, had not the protecting providence of God so graciously watched over me, that often the apparently unavoidable results of my faults passed by, as if they had not happened. This is so true, that I myself do not know, and can not explain it to myself, how I have been able to pass through the turbulent and trackless chaos into which I have been cast, without entire ruin; and to attain to that point of power and efficiency upon which I see and feel myself to be standing.

PATERNAL INSTRUCTIONS.

During that happiest period of Pestalozzi's career, his labors at Burgdorf, he sketched out many rough drafts of lessons, to be filled up by his assistants, in their class room exercises, as a sort of encyclopedia of social science. Many of these fragments came into the possession of Krüsi, who, after the death of Pestalozzi, edited and published them under the title of "*Paternal Instructions*, a Bequest of Father Pestalozzi to His Pupils." We give a few extracts from Biber's volume.

Almsgiving.

"The best alms is that which enables the receiver to cease begging."

Changing.

"Change, my child, change all that thou doest and performest, until thou hast perfected it, and thou be fully satisfied with it. Change not thyself, however, like a weathercock, with every wind; but change thyself so that thou mayest become better and nobler, and that all that thou doest may be ever more excellent and perfect. No such change will ever cause thee to repent."

Baking.

"Baking is, like all cooking, a fruit of civilization. The savage knows of no preparation of his food; he eats every thing raw, like the brutes, and, accordingly, he eats it, like them, with brutal greediness. A wise diet of meat and drink is only possible when the food is prepared by art, and it is then only that man can guard himself against the voracity of the animal. Baking, therefore, and every other sort of cooking, is a far more important business than it appears to be at first sight. It procures to us the most wholesome of all nutriments—that bread which, as a common necessary of life, we daily ask of God, in the most sublime of all prayers."

Bathing.

"By bathing we cleanse ourselves from bodily impurities; the impurities of the soul, however, are not removed either by common or by consecrated water, but only by a renovation of mind in faith and love."

Quaking.

"The most violent quaking, which causes houses and cities to fall in ruins, and which shakes even the foundations of the mountains, is that terrible convulsion of nature which we call an earthquake; but infinitely more terrible is the secret quaking of a guilt-laden soul, at the prospect of the inevitable discovery and punishment of its crimes."

Beginning.

"The beginning of every thing precedes its existence and its continuation. The first day of creation was the beginning of the world. From the beginning God hath set forth his almighty power, his wisdom, and goodness, in all that he

has made. From the beginning, the hand of his providence has ordained the destinies of mankind; it has ordained thy destiny also, my child. Rejoice, therefore, and put thy trust in him, who is, and was, and shall be, the everlasting God."

Bowing and Bending.

"Man, the only creature that carries his head so erect, should he never bow it? Verily, he does! For God has deeply impressed upon his heart the feeling of his weakness, and a reverential awe for all that is great and lofty. His head is involuntarily bowed down under the oppressive consciousness of his guilt. His eye sinks in gratitude before the saver of his life, his wife, his child. Verily, verily, it was no art that bent the knee of the first man who prostrated himself in the dust at the sight of the rising sun. It was God within him, who thus laid him low; and he rose more humanized in his feelings, than if he had proudly faced its bright beam. But the work of God is defiled in the bowings and bendings of hypocrisy, by which human nature is as much degraded as it is elevated and ennobled by pious adoration, lowly modesty, and kneeling gratitude."

Blossoming.

"Youth, thou season of blossoms, how fair thou art! But, remember that thy charms are destined quickly to pass away. Thou canst not ripen, unless they vanish. Therefore, value thou the lasting fruits of life above the fleeting beauty of its blossoms."

Thanking.

'Good men and good things, my child, cause joy to the man of pure heart, even though he derive no benefit from them; but when he is benefited by them, his joy is increased. He then seeks the author of all goodness and of all joy; and, when he has found him, his voice is drowned in the overflowing of his feelings. Tears glisten in his eyes. These, my child, are the thanks of the heart, which elevate and ennoble the soul. Whoever thanks not God, deserves not to be called man; and whoever thanks not his fellow-men, is unworthy of all the good which God bestows upon him through the hand of man."

Thinking.

"Thinking leads men to knowledge. He may see and hear, and read and learn whatever he please, and as much as he please; he will never know any of it, except that which he has thought over, that which, by-thinking, he has made the property of his mind. Is it then saying too much, if I say that man, by thinking only, becomes truly man. Take away thought from man's life, and what remains?"

Threatening.

"It is a misfortune if one man threaten another. Either he is corrupt who does it, or he who requires it."

Failing.

"All men fail, and manifold are their failings. Nothing is perfect under the sun. But, unless a man despise himself, he will not think lightly of any of his failings."

Refining.

"Man wishes to have things not only good, but shining; therefore is there so much refining in the world. Silver, gold, and steel are polished; the finest silk,

the softest wool, the clearest cotton, the mellowest tints, the most exquisite fragrancies, the most delicate sounds, the most delicious spices, and the most luxurious pillows are preferred. But where human nature has attained the greatest refinement of sense, a man of nerve is hardly to be found. The highest degree of this refinement is generally the point from which the decline of individuals and nations takes its beginning.

"The builder, who wishes to erect a durable structure, must do it with strong timber; he must not, by sawing and planing, make his bearers and planks so thin as to render them unfit for the purpose for which they are intended. And in the same way, parents and teachers ought never to refine the children, nor governments the nations, to such a point as to make them lose the strength of their limbs, the freshness of their cheeks, and the muscle of their arms."

Darkening.

"The setting of the sun darkens the earth; and the failing of hope the soul of man. Why, then, is it that every hope of man is not daily renewed, like that of the rising sun. It is well that he should not forever set his hope upon outward things; but seek his repose and his happiness within himself, in those things which do not rise and set daily, like the sun of this earth."

Hoping.

"Hoping and waiting make many a fool. And are we, then, not to hope at all? How unhappy would man be without that beam of hope which, in suffering and sorrow, sheds light through the darkness of his soul. But his hope must be intelligent. He must not hope where there is no hope. *He must look at the past with a steady eye, in order to know what he may hope of the future.*"

INDEX TO VOLUME VII.

OF

BARNARD'S AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

AARGAU, Pestalozzi festival in, 508.
Academician, 517.
Academy della Crusca, 434.
Accuracy, Lindsley on, 31.
Aesticampianus, 474.
Agricola, R., epitaph of, 449.
Alcott, A. B., 517.
Alighieri. *See* Dante.
Allgemeine Schulzeitung, quoted, 510.
Alphabet of intuition, 691.
Altdorf, Comment at, 161.
Alumnea, 390, 392.
Anatomy, beginning of, 281.
Andely, Henry d', 416.
Arndt, 131.
Aretinus, P., 434, 435.
Aristotle, 415.
Arithmetic, at Wittenberg, 241.
  in education, 346.
  Pestalozzi's method, 699.
  geometrical forms in, 701.
Art under Leo X., 458.
Astrology, Picus on, 452.
Astronomy, beginning of, 276.
Augustin, 415.
  Petrarch on, 430.
Austria, action of, on Wartburg festival, 91.

Bacon, Lord, on systems, 381.
Bacon, Roger, 416.
Bahrdt with the Iron Forehead, 186.
Bandlin, J. H., 516.
Barlaam, 428.
Barrios, 474.
Bates, Joshua, memoir of, 270.
Baumeister, 376, 378.
Bavaria, students and professors in, 234.
Bembo, cardinal, 457.
Benefactors. *See* Education, benefactors of.
Beneficiaries. *See* Stipendiaries.
Berkeley, gifts to Yale College, 465.
Berlin University, on Wartburg festival, 183.
Bessarion, cardinal, 439, 440.
Bible, in education, 36, 401.
  illustrated, for children, 401.
  order of reading, 403.
  how to explain in school, 406.
  as text-book, 410.
  comprehension of, 411.
Biber, E., 516, 517.
Bibliography of history of education, 49.
  Pestalozzian, 513.
Biehing, rector, 369.
Bindemann, corrector, 369.
Binzer and Methfessel, song-book, 247.
Biographies. *See* Educational biographies.
Black plague, 431.
Blochmann, K. J., 516.
Blumenbach, 61.
Boarding-houses, for students, 233.
  for scholars. *See* Alumnea.
Boarding-school, teacher of, 392.
Boccaccio, 422.
Book-learning, 207.
Books, of the fifteenth century, 439, 440.
Boston Public Library, 253.
  cut of, 252.
  description of, 255.
Boston Public Library, plans of, 256, 259, 261.
  interior view, 262.
  condition and funds, 263.
  addresses at dedication, 264.
  Mr. Bates' gifts to, 271.
  Mr. Everett and, 342.
Boston Latin School, 1805, 344.
  Mr. Everett on, 365.
Botany, elements of, 244.
  when to teach first, 277, 281.
  and zoölogy, analogy of classing, 278.
Bowditch, how self-taught, 363.
Boyle, on natural science, 228.
Bracciolini. *See* Poggius.
Brander, Brand-Fox, 161.
Breslau, Raumer at, 76.
  turning at, 92.
Brimmer, Martin, 253.
Bundestag, and German universities, 129.
Buri, hymn by, 128.
Burkhart, 516.
Burmann, 374.
Burnett, Gov., 465.
Bursaries, 160.
Burschen, 160.
Burschenschaft, Jena, 80.
  constitution of, 168.
Burschenschaft, General German, 80 to 102.
  foundation, 80.
  principles, 81.
  results of Sand's crime on, 130 to 152.
  good morals, 135.
  reorganization, 148.
  constitution, 165.
Buss, J., memoir, 293.

Cambridge, school expenses of, 345.
Canada, educational foundations in, 188, 190.
  See University of McGill College.
Chemistry, and mineralogy, succession of, 245.
  beginnings of, 277.
Children, understandings of, 304.
  early training of, 362.
  See Infant education.
Christoffel, R., 515.
Christopher and Alice, 665.
Chrysoloras, E., 436.
Ciceronianism, 413, 414, 447, 473.
Circuli Fratrum, 55.
Cities, large, for universities, 33, 240.
Civilization and education, 360.
Clap, Miss Luey, 396.
Class-books. *See* Text-books.
Classics, in education, 30.
  in mediæval Italy, 413 to 460.
  mediæval study of, 471.
Colleges, American, and European universities, 16.
  faults of, 30.
  how to govern, 32.
  and prisons, 33.
  examinations in, 34.
  small, in Tennessee, 38.
  former standard of education in, 399.
  change in, 1812, 330.
  prayers in, 340.
  requisites for presidency, 341.
  discipline of, Everett on, 352.
  progress in, 354.

Colleges. *See* Columbia College; Harvard University; University of Nashville; Yale College.
Columbia College, founded, 467.
Dr. Johnson's presidency of, 467.
funds from England for, 469.
Comment, at Altdorf, 161.
at Jena, 164.
Common school education, what, 346.
Contents of No. XVIII., iii.
of No. XIX., 321.
Cooper, Dr. Myles, 469, 471.
Corps. *See* Landsmannschaften.
Cortesius, Paul, 447.
Course of study, free or prescribed, 213.
gymnasium and lyceum, 216.
university, 17.
Harvard, former, 329.
Boston Latin School, 1805, 344.
Massachusetts, fifty years ago, 348.
higher, idea of, 356.
Germany, seventeenth century, 370 to 380.
in early childhood, 385.
mediæval, 416.
of Vittorino di Feltre, 437.
Ipswich (England) Grammar School, 487.
See Order of Studies.
Crusca, Academy della, 434.
Cumberland College. *See* University of Nashville.
Cutler, rector, 464.

Dante, 418.
Dantzic, gymnasium, 217.
Dawson, J. W., article by, 188.
Day, Hon. Mr., address by, 191.
Decameron, 423.
Decimal system for libraries, 260.
Denzel, B. G., memoir of, 315.
DeWette, on Sand's crime, 120.
Dialogic instruction, 201.
Diesterweg, F. A. D., memoir of, 312.
Wegweiser by, contents, 314.
and Pestalozzi's hundredth birthday, 504.
works by, on Pestalozzi, 516.
Dinter, G. F., memoir, 153.
Dittmar, rector, 152.
Divina Commedia, 419.
Drawing, Pestalozzi's method in, 294.
Hill on elements of, 493.
Dueling, at German universities, 54, 64.
at Halle, 79.
and religion, 107.
disused by Burschenschaft, 135.
Dwight, Edmund, 337.

Eberhard, Prof., 69.
Education. *See* Children; Colleges; Course of Study; Examinations; Home Education; Infant Schools; Instruction; Normal Schools; Order of Studies; Teachers; Universities.
Dr. Lindsley's views on, 26.
the right of all, 27.
of teachers, 26.
university in, 28.
Bible in, 36.
classics in, 30.
religion in, 34.
sectarianism in, 37.
benefactors of. *See* Bates; Berkeley; Dwight; Groning; McGill; Molson.
improvements in, resisted, 283.
when begun, 284.
after graduating, 31.
Everett's views on, 344 to 366.
in common schools, 346.
and science, 350.
moral and intellectual, 353.
and civilization, 360.
popular, what, 361.
same, Pestalozzi's views on, 671.
history of, in Germany, 367.
history of, in Italy, 413.
distinctions of rank in, 377, 378.
Education, early physical, Raumer on, 382.
haste to begin, 385.
age for beginning, 389.
mental and physical, 500.
reformatory, requisite of, 511, 512.
motives of Pestalozzians in, 705.
true success in, 709.
Education, Pestalozzi's outline of his views in, 713.
Educational biographies:—
Bates, J., 270.
Buss, J., 293.
Denzel, B. J., 315.
Diesterweg, F. A. W., 312.
Dinter, G. F., 153.
Everett, E., 325.
Harnisch, W., 317.
Johnson, S., 461.
Lindsley, P., 1.
McGill, J., 188.
Nägeli, H. G., 298.
Niederer, J., 289.
Pestalozzians, 289.
Plamann, 309.
Ramsauer, J., 300.
Raumer, K. von, 59.
Sand, K. L., 130.
Schmid, J., 297.
Zeller, K. A., 305.
Educational errors, in text-books, 274.
in requiring memorizing, 279.
in methods, 283, 284.
Educational history, German, 367.
Italian, 413.
Educational statistics, German universities, 1853, 51.
Edling, Count von, 90.
Elementary instruction. *See* Instruction.
Eliot professorship, Harvard, 331.
Eloquence, Picus on, 450.
Entomology, elements of, 280.
Erasmus, on mediæval learning, 414.
Erlangen University, on Wartburg festival, 184.
compulsory lectures, 223.
professors and students, 235.
subdivision of professorships, 241.
Ernesti, careful writing of Latin, 475.
Everett, Edward, address by, 266.
portrait, 325.
memoir, 325.
early school-days, 326.
Boston School, 327.
Exeter Academy, 328.
Harvard, 329.
teacher, 331.
minister, 331.
Greek professor, 332.
and lecture system, 332.
on American literature, 335.
Governor of Massachusetts, 335.
report on normal schools, 336.
in Board of Education, 337.
address on university education, 339.
president of Harvard University, 339.
and Boston Public Library, 342.
extracts from writings, 344.
Everett, Oliver, 326.
Ewald, J. L., 516.
Examination, college, 34.
Wolf on, 206.
university, 206.
Exeter Academy, Everett on, 328.

Fabricius, G. A., 368.
Facetiæ of Poggius, 443.
Feltre, Vittorino di, 437.
Fencing, Burschenschaft on, 169, 189.
Feuerlein on Latin, 370.
on French influence, 377.
Finley, Rev. R., 9, 10.
Fiorillo, 61.
Florence. *See* Boccaccio; Dante; Petrarch.
influence of, in literature, 435.
Follenius, A. L., hymns by, 127.

Follenius, A. L., *Free Voices of Bold Youth*, 248.
Follenius, Karl, 111, 125.
Forkel, 62.
Form, instruction in, 688.
Fox, 161.
Francké, influence at Halle, 232.
Frankfort-on-Main, gymnasium, 370.
Franklin, a book-man, 267, 268, 366.
Franklin, how self-taught, 362.
and Samuel Johnson, 466.
French influence in Germany, 376.
Friedberg, gymnasium, 367.
Fries, Prof., at Wartburg festival, 83.
and Follenius, 113.
Fritz, Baron von, 90.

Gall, Dr., at Halle, 75.
Gaming, at German universities, 65, 66.
General German Burschenschaft. *See* Burschenschaft.
Genius, early, 303.
Geography, when first to teach, 275.
elementary methods, 275.
Pestalozzi's method, 684.
Geology, Steffens' treatment of, 71, 203.
Werner's treatment of, 71, 203.
Geometry, instruction in, 689.
Gellert, 105.
Gerbert, 416.
German, in teaching, 374, 478.
German universities. *See* Universities, German.
German Union. *See* Bundestag.
German Youth in the Burschenschafts, &c., 105.
Germany, history of education in, 367.
influence of Italian learning on, 459.
older schools of, and Pestalozzi, 503.
French influence in, 376.
See Burschenschaft.
Gervinus, on Latin, 375.
Gesner, on Latin, 374, 481.
meaning of *Leges*, 384.
Giessen, answer on Wartburg festival, 184.
Goethe, at Göttingen, 67.
at Halle, 69.
on foreign languages, 482.
on Latinity, 484.
on Strasburg cathedral, 417.
Goldberg, gymnasium, 369.
Gorlitz, gymnasium at, 379.
Göttingen, Raumer at, 59.
answer on Wartburg festival, 184.
pennalism at, 53.
Everett and Ticknor at, 331.
gymnasium at, 368.
Greaves, J. P., 517.
Greek, at Harvard, under Everett, 331.
labors of Chrysoloras for, 436.
studied in Italy, 440, 446.
and Latin, differently studied, 471.
writing, translating into, 480.
increased study of, recommended, 486.
Grimm, Jacob, on Latin, 482.
Groning, P., 369.
Gruner, A., 516.
Guarino, 436.
Gustavus Adolphus, 368.
Gymnasia, and lycea, 216.
religious instruction in, 408.
German, and Thirty Years' War, 368.
Latin studies in, 485, 486.
Beuthen, 369.
Dantzic, 217.
Frankfort-on-Main, 370.
Friedberg, 367.
Goldberg, 369.
Gorlitz, 378.
Göttingen, 368.
Hersfeld, 367.
Joachimsthal, 391.
Mülhausen, 368.
Nuremberg, 370.
Oels, 369.
Prenzlau, 379.
Gymnasia, Salzwedel, 372.
Schulpforte, 368.
Schweinfurt, 368.
Stargard, 369, 373.
Thorn, 372.
Zittau, 378.

Hardenberg, Prince von, 91.
Halle, Raumer at, 59, 66, 136.
students and professors, 230.
Spener's influence, 231.
Francké's influence, 232.
duels at, 79.
Halsey, Rev. L. J., article by, 9.
Hamburg, Latin in St. John's School at, 371, 375.
Harnisch, quoted, 287.
memoir, 317.
works, 318.
Harris, Thaddeus M., 326.
Harvard Lyceum, 329.
Harvard University, old course of study at, 329.
Everett's professorship, 331.
" presidency, 339.
chapel services in, 340.
life in, fifty years ago, 245.
progress in, 354.
Helmstadt, students and professors at, 233.
Henning, 516.
Herbart, 516.
Herder, 60.
Hermolaus, Barbarus, 449, 454.
Hersfeld, gymnasium, 367.
Heussler, rector, 510, 516.
Hill, T., article by, 273, 491.
Holywood, John, 416.
Home education, Lindsley on, 29.
Everett on, 348.
Raumer on, 387.
Pestalozzi on, 695.
Homer, Everett on, 357.
Hohnhorst, work by, 103.
quoted, 103, 114 to 119.
How Gertrude Teaches her Children, 669.
Hufeland, on physical training, 388.
Hugo, Prof., 60.
on studying law, 219.
Hymns, by A. L. Follenius, 127.
children to learn, 404.

Ignorance, Lindsley on, 19.
Imagination, training of, 407.
Index to Vol. VII., 723.
Infancy. *See* Children.
Infant schools, origin, 386.
methods in, 388.
Infant training, Raumer on, 389.
Instruction, dialogic and lecturing, 201.
in large and small universities, 239.
elementary, in universities, 241.
gift of giving, 277.
wrong modes in, 283, 284.
Pestalozzi's, 294.
religious, Raumer on, 401.
elementary, Pestalozzi's, 675.
language, 677.
form, 678.
geometry, 689.
drawing, 693.
writing, 694.
number, 698.
arithmetic, 699.
Intuition, a means of learning, 675.
alphabet of, 691.
Ipswich Grammar School, Wolsey's course of study for, 487.
Italian, Dante's labors for, 430.
Boccaccio's influence on, 423.
Academy della Crusca on, 434.
under Leo X., 457.
Italy, history of education in, 413.
mediæval art in, 458.
learning in, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, 458.

Itho, J., 516.

Jarcke, work by, 103.
  quoted, 121, 129.
Jena, Comment at, 164.
Jena Burschenschaft, 80
  dissolution of, 133.
  constitution, 168.
  answers of universities to, 183.
John of Ravenna, 435, 439.
Johnson, Samuel, memoir, 461.
  at Yale College, 461.
  visit to England for ordination, 464.
  influences Berkeley's gift, 465.
  as author, 466.
  as president of Columbia College, 467.
Jugendbund, 146, 151.
Jullien, M. A., 517.

Kamptz, K. A. von, 87.
Kasthofer, Rosette, 290.
Kiel, pennalism at, 53.
  answer on Wartburg festival, 81.
Kieser, Prof., on Wartburg festival, 88, 89.
Klupfel, on Landsmannschaften, 53.
Königsberg, professors and students in, 235.
  Zeller's labors at, 306.
Kotzebue, 68.
  death of, 115, 119.
  Bahrdt with the Iron Forehead, 186.
Kroger, J. C., 516.
Krusi, H., 516.

Landinus, C., 445.
Landsmannschaften, 52.
  Comments of, 161.
Language, in education, 346.
  speaking foreign, 483.
  elements of teaching, 494, 678, 680.
  phonetics in teaching, 495.
  foreign, how to teach, 497.
  native, in teaching, 374, 478.
Languages. *See* German; Greek; Italian; Latin.
Latin, methods in, 370.
  use of, in teaching, 370.
  as a measure of learning, 413.
  of middle ages, 414, 434, 477.
  same, use of, 417.
  same, study of, 471.
  and Italian, Dante on, 420.
  and Greek, differently studied, 471.
  and German, 374, 478.
  how to be written, 476, 479, 480.
Law, as school-study, 219.
  collateral studies for, 225.
Le Clerc, on writing Latin, 476.
Learning, usefulness of, 30.
  vindication of, 19.
Lectures, in universities, 201.
  compulsory, 213, 220, 223.
  Raumer's, how given, 243.
  Everett's, on Greek, 332.
  popular, Everett an originator of, 332.
  See Lyceum lectures.
Leipzig, answer on Wartburg festival, 185.
Leo X., 454.
Leonard and Gertrude, 519.
Library, Boston Public, 253.
  Shurtleff's decimal system in, 260.
  Philadelphia, first, 269.
  St. Mark's, 433, 439.
  Medicean, 439.
Liegnitz, school for princes, 369.
Lindsley, Philip, portrait, 1.
  memoir, 9.
  sketch of life, 9.
  on universities, 14.
  writings of, 22.
  on education, 26.
  religious character of, 38.
  results of labors of, 39.
Little, Mr., 344.

Leges, meaning of, 384.
Louise, Queen of Prussia, 287.
Luther, 120, 503.
Lycea, German, 216.
Lyceum lectures, Emerson on, 332.

Maclean, Dr., 12.
Madwig, on writing Latin, 479.
Manuscripts, early collectors of, 439, 442.
Marburg, answer on Wartburg festival, 185.
Massachusetts. *See* Boston, &c.
  Board of Education, 335.
  Everett's influence on schools of, 338.
  schools of, in 1800, 348.
Mathematics. *See* Arithmetic.
  mediæval, 416.
McGill, James, portrait of, 188.
  memoir, 188.
McGill College, 189.
  See University of McGill College.
McGill Normal School, 193.
Mechanics, when first to teach, 274.
  elementary method, 274.
Medici, Cosmo di, 439, 445.
Medici, Lorenzo di, 439, 445, 452.
Medicean Library, 439.
Medicine, studies for, 225.
  in large and small universities, 229.
Meiners, on German universities, 64, 233.
Memorizing, wrongly required, 279.
  proper use of, 405.
Mental faculties used in learning, 676.
Methfessel. *See* Binzer.
Methods. *See* Order of studies.
  Pestalozzi's, 675.
Middle Ages, education in, 367, 413.
  learning of, 413.
Mineralogy, lectures on, without specimens, 77.
  how to teach, 205.
  elementary instruction in, 244.
  and chemistry, order of, 245.
Mirandola. *See* Picus.
Molson, Messrs., 195.
Monitorial system, 312.
Monnich, W. B., 516.
Montreal. *See* McGill; University of McGill College.
Moral and intellectual education, 353.
Mothers, Pestalozzi on teaching by, 695.
  Raumer on, 385, 387.
Müller, rector, 373, 378.
Music, Nägeli's labors for, 300.
Nägeli, H. G., memoir of, 300.
Names, instruction in, 60.
Nashville, described, 42, 43.
Nashville University. *See* University of Nashville.
Nationalism in German universities, 52.
Natural history, in order of studies, 273.
Natural science, value of, 225.
  elementary, at universities, 241.
  subdivision of departments, 241.
  in education, 347.
  mediæval, 416.
New England, school system, 325, 330.
Nicholas V., 439.
Niederer, J., 285.
  memoir, 289.
  work on Pestalozzi, 516.
Nobles, at German universities, 65.
Normal schools, Lindsley on, 28.
  Everett on, 336.
North British Review, quoted, 312.
Number, Pestalozzi on, 698.
Nuremberg, gymnasium, 370.

Occupation, constant, 32.
Oels, gymnasium, 369.
Oral method, 201.
Order of studies, 245.
  Rev. T. Hill on, 273, 491.
Orders, students', 56.

Parents, and teachers, 390.

Parents, and tutors, 398, 399.
educational duties of, 715.
Pestalozzi's hopes from, 695,
Parochial system, Scotch, 319.
Pennalism, end of, 52, 53.
Perkins, F. B., translations by, 46, 160, 200.
Pestalozzi, peculiar powers of, 285.
assistants of, 285.
spread of system in Prussia, 286.
advantages of system, 287.
description of Niederer, 290.
Bues on school of, 293.
Schmid's edition of works of, 297.
estimate of Schmid, 298.
hundredth birthday of, 503.
publications by and on, 513.
selections from, viz.:—
Leonard and Gertrude, 519.
School in Bonnal, 651.
Christopher and Alice, 665.
How Gertrude Teaches, &c., 669.
anniversary addresses, 703.
influence on German schools, 503, 506.
anecdotes of, 510.
his view of his enterprise, 712, 717.
in educating the poor, 688, 715.
educational experience of, 671.
Pestalozzi Foundation, 504, 507, 516.
Petrarch, 424, 435.
and classical learning, 428.
coronation of, 425.
Pflug, Bishop Julius, 475.
Philadelphia, early library in, 269.
Philanthropinum, 391, 392.
Philelphus, F., 441.
Philister, 55, 163.
Philosophical and other faculties, 223.
Phonetics in teaching, 495.
Phrenology, at Halle, 74.
Physical education, Raumer on early, 382.
V. di Feltre on, 437.
Picket, A. and J. W., 517.
Pious of Mirandola, 449.
Pilatus, L., 423.
Plamann, J. E., memoir, 309.
work on Pestalozzi, 517.
Plato, studied in Italy, 440.
Pletho, Gemistus, 440
Poggius Bracciolini, 442.
Pugianus, on Latin, 476.
Politianus, A., 445.
Political economy, 499.
Poor, education of, 688, 715.
Popes—Nicholas V., 439.
Sylvester II., 416.
Popular education. *See* Education, popular.
Portraits—E. Everett, 325.
P. Lindsley, 1.
J. McGill, 188.
Prayers, college, 340.
Prenzlau, gymnasium, 379.
Prisons and colleges, 33.
Private schools, 393.
Professional studies, in university, 223.
Professors, and students, 229.
Prussia, action of, on Wartburg festival, 91.
Prussia, university overseers in, 137.
Pestalozzianism in, 286.

Quadrivium, 416.
Quickness in learning, 303.

Ramsauer, J., memoir of, 301.
autobiography, 517.
Ratich, 375.
Raumer, K. von, articles by, 47, 200, 367, 381, 401, 413, 471.
university life of, 59.
at Halle, 59, 68, 136.
at Göttingen, 59.
at Breslau, 76.
at Erlangen, 200.
Raumer, K. von, historical labors of, 249.
authorities cited by, 49.
works on Pestalozzi, 517.
Reading, elements of, 679.
bad method, 385.
Real studies. value of, 225.
Rev. T. Hill on, 491.
Pestalozzi's method, 689.
Reformatory education. *See* Education, reformatory.
Religion. *See* Bible; Sectarianism.
in education, 34, 366, 409.
same, Petrarch on, 429.
at Halle, 231, 232.
private tutor and, 398.
Raumer on, 401.
Thomasius on, 408.
use of Sunday, 412.
Renouncers, 161.
Repetition, value of, 304.
Rewards in colleges, 33.
Rice, A. H., address by, 265.
Riepenhausen, 62.
Ripley, G., 517.
Robert, King of Naples, 425.
Rostock, pennalism at, 53.
Rote. *See* Memorizing.
Rousseau, on early training, 382.
Rush, work by, 377.

Sacrobusto, John, 416.
Salzwedel, gymnasium, 372.
Sand, K. L., 103 to 124.
authorities on, 103.
early life, 103.
student life, 105.
diary, 105.
at Jena, 108.
and Follenius, 111.
murder of Kotzebue, 115.
execution, 117.
and the Burschenschaft, 118.
letter to his friends, 122.
consequences of crime, 124.
Savigny, on lectures, 220, 222.
Savonarola, 453.
Scharnhorst's Last Prayer, 128.
Schiller, 70.
Schleiermacher. 72, 200.
Schlingschlangschlorum, 233.
Schlosser, quoted, 414.
Schmid, J., 285.
memoir of, 297.
School age, 389.
School-books. *See* Text-books.
School committees, 348.
Schoolmen, mediæval, 415.
Petrarch on, 431.
Schools. *See* Infant Schools; Private Schools.
resisting improvements in, 283.
conditions of good, 347.
in Massachusetts, fifty years ago, 344, 348.
distinctions of rank in, 377, 378.
ancient German, 503.
German, and Pestalozzi, 503.
same, dramas in, 372.
Schulpforte, gymnasium, 368.
Schultz, overseer of Berlin University, 157.
Schuppius, B., 371.
Schweinfurt, gymnasium, 368.
Science. *See* Natural Science in Education, 350.
Scientific academies, 236.
Scotland, parochial system, 319.
Scriptures. *See* Bible.
Sectarianism in education, 37.
not in McGill College, 196.
Self-taught men, and learning, 20, 362.
Shurtleff, N. B., decimal system, 260.
Sigeros, N., 428.
Simultaneous method, 679.
Singing, when to begin teaching, 493.
Society of Usefulness, 375.
Songs. *See* Students, songs of.

Sound, in elementary teaching, 677.
Spelling, rudiments of, 678.
Spener, influence at Halle, 231.
St. Francis, college of, 193.
St John's School, Hamburg, 371.
St. Mark, library of, 433, 439.
Stargaris, a school drama, 373.
Stargard, gymnasium, 217, 369, 373.
Steffens, Prof., 70, 203.
Stipendiaries, examination of, 200.
Students, orders of, 56.
  traveling for, 63.
  committee, at Tubingen, 187.
  relations to professors, 229.
  same, Helmstadt, 233.
  same, Bavaria, 234.
  same, Königsberg, 235.
  same, Erlangen, 235.
  songs of, 245.
  constant occupation of, 32.
Studies, order of. *See* Order of studies.
  Rev. T. Hill's article on, 273.
Sturm, J., equality in school of, 377.
  method in Latin, 475, 477.
  on school dramas, 373.
Sunday, use of, 412.
Sylvester II., pope, 416.
Systematizing, Bacon on, 361.
Schweigger, Prof., 145.

Teacher. *See* Instruction; Normal School; Tutor.
  vocation of, 26.
  training of, 35.
  natural science for, 236.
  university, needs of, 237, 238.
  gifts of, 36, 277, 347.
  and parents, 390.
  as head of boarding-school, 392.
  of private school, 393, 394.
Tennessee, Dr. Lindsley on. *See* Lindsley.
Text-books, defects in, 274.
  early New England, 397.
Theological education, drama in, 154.
  real studies in, 228.
  See Religion.
Theremin, 201.
Thinking, how learned, 384.
Thirty Years' War, and schools, 367.
Thomasius, C., 374, 461.
Thomasius, G., 408.
Thorn, gymnasium at, 372.
Ticknor, G., article by, 270.
  at Göttingen, 331.
Tileston, Master, 344.
Translation, 497.
Traveling, for students, 63.
Trivium, 416.
Trotzendorf's school, equality in, 377.
True Order of Studies, 273.
Truth, how to arrive at, 716.
Tubingen, students' committee at, 187.
Türk, W. von, 517.
Turners, Breslau, 92, 141.
  conversation on, 92.
  at Jena, 169, 182.
Tutors, private, 395.
  requisites of, 397.
  and parents, 398.

United States, war of 1812, and education in, 330.
  progress of literature in, 334.
Unconditionals. *See* Follenius.
Union, German. *See* Bundestag.
Universities, Lindsley on, 17, 20, 28.
  proper place for, 33.
Universities, policy and needs of, 197 to 199.
  dialogic and lecturing systems in, 201.
  examinations in, 206.
  large and small, 236.
  how to choose collections for, 238.
  in large cities, 240.
  elementary natural science in, 241.
  Everett on education in, 339.
  German, Raumer on, 47, 200.
    authorities on, 49.
    statistics, 1853, 51.
    nationalism in, 52.
    Landsmannschaften, 52.
    students' orders, 56.
    effect of war on, 79.
    Sand's crime and, 194.
    Bundestag and, 199.
    Comment at, 161.
    answers on Wartburg festival, 183.
    summary of history, 249.
    course of study, 17.
    noblemen at, 65.
    gaming at, 65, 66.
    See Altdorf; Berlin; Breslau; Erlangen; Giessen; Göttingen; Halle; Heidelberg; Jena; Leipzig; Marburg; Tubingen.
  of Nashville, 10, 14 to 22, 39, 41, 42.
  of McGill College, 189.
  same, organization, 192.
  same, government of, 196.

Vacations, benefit of, 350.
Valla, Laurentius, 443, 459, 472.
Vattemare, A., 253.
Vittorino di Feltre, 437.

Wagenseil, C., 370.
Waldeck, Prof., 60.
Wangenheim, von, 87.
Wartburg festival, 80 to 92, 108, 125, 183.
  correspondence on, 80, 183.
  ceremonies, 82.
  books burned at, 86.
  controversy on, 87.
  government action on, 89.
Weimar, action of, on Wartburg festival, 89.
Weigel, C., his Bible, 401.
Wenzky, rector, 376, 379.
Werner, 203.
Wesselhöft, R., 80, 111.
Wette. *See* De Wette.
Wethersfield, rival to Yale College at, 462.
Winthrop, R. C., address by, 264.
Witzleben, von, 138, 145.
Wolf, Prof., 72, 203, 206, 209, 222.
  on speaking Latin, 482.
Wolsey, his course for Ipswich Grammar School 487.
Writing, Pestalozzi's method in, 694, 696.
Wurm, on writing Latin, 482.

Yale College, early state, 461.
  Dummer's invoice of books, 462.
  Wethersfield rival of, 462.
  Berkeley's gift to, 465.
Youth's Union. *See* Jugendbund.

Zahn's *Biblical History*, 402.
Zeller, R. A., 286.
  memoir, 305.
  works, 308.
Zittau, gymnasium, 378.
Zoölogy, elements of, 244, 279, 281.
  and botany, analogy of classes, 277.
Zichy, Count von, 91.
Zurich, instruction of teachers at, 305.

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